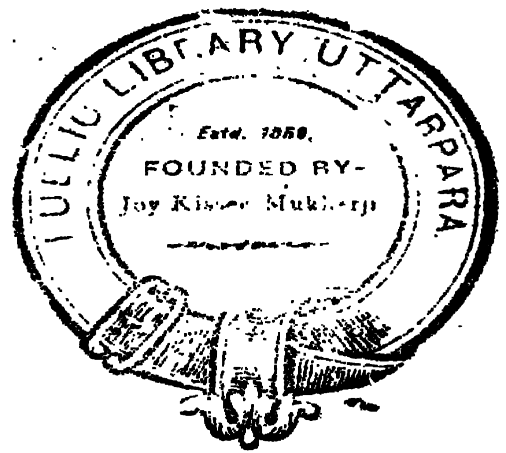


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THE LOTUS BLOOM

By Santosh Sen Gupta

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NOTES

Is India Prosperous ?

However false and absurd some assertions of British statesmen relating to India may be, Indians feel called upon to controvert them seriously, such is their humiliating plight.

Mr. Amery, the present Secretary of State for India, said in one of his recent speeches relating to India, "India is prosperous," and so on and so forth; and all Indian editors and many other Indian publicists had to pulverize this obviously false assertion of his. Now, after some time has passed since Mr. Amery's speech, the aged Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, sometime president of the Central Assembly, has come forward with arguments and with statistics derived from official publications to expose the Secretary of State's ignorance.

There is good ground for presuming that it was practicable for Mr. Amery not to remain ignorant on this point and to avoid terminological inexactitude. The British Ministry of Information has published a pamphlet entitled "British Empire Publicity Campaign—Talking Points on India" for the use of the propagandists employed by the British Government for 'publicity' work in the United States of America. The information, whether correct or incorrect, contained in this pamphlet, must have been supplied by the office of the Secretary of State for India. For where else would a British Ministry most naturally seek for information about India than in India Office ? Now, one of the points on which Britain's propagandists are instructed to expatiate is :

> "The Poverty of India. Why is the Indian peasant so poor ? (Average income Rs. 50 a head per annum, etc.)."

In the pamphlet relating to India, containing information derived from India Office, India is admitted to be poor. It is admitted that Indian peasants, the bulk of India's population, have an average annual income of Rs. 50 per head. But the head of India Office says, "India is prosperous." How is one to characterize this glaring self-contradiction ? The most charitable supposition is that Mr. Amery is so incompetent or negligent so far as his own proper duties are concerned, that he does not know or does not care to know the main facts relating to India which his office is able to supply to another British Government office. But we have had from British sources high encomiums on Mr. Amery's ability. So some other supposition relating to him may be necessary.

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's statement is well argued and his facts and statistics are incontestable. His first argument is based on the All-India Income Tax Report for 1938-39 published by the Central Board of Revenue. He writes :

> It is axiomatic that the prosperity of a country depends upon its savings. It is, therefore, necessary to examine what the conditions are in this respect, whether India is able to save something worthwhile or whether there is going on a steady deterioration in the economic condition of this country. The All-India Income Tax

report published by the Central Board of Revenue throws an illuminating light on the economic condition of India. Income Tax is levied on all incomes of Rs. 2,000 per annum and over. According to this official report, there are in this country the huge number of 2,85,940 assessees with an income of Rs. 2,000 or £150 per annum and over. On the basis of a population of 300 millions in British India, this figure works out at one-tenth of one per cent of the population. Can there be better evidence of India's prosperity?

It is true that agricultural incomes are not subject to this tax. So far as the actual cultivators are concerned, no one will be presumptuous enough to claim that any one of them could possibly have an income of Rs. 2,000 per annum and over. The only class that remains to be taken into consideration is the agricultural landlords. It is difficult to find any official data to show that exact number under this category but it cannot be very numerous, thanks to the land revenue policy pursued by the British Government.

It has been admitted in "Talking Points on India" that the average annual income of Indian peasants per capita is Rs. 50.

Another point to which Sir Ibrahim draws attention is the average annual income of an Indian.

With a view to get a clearer idea of the economic condition of this country including all classes of its population it is necessary to draw attention to the speech which Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member of the Government of India, made in his budget speech in April, 1938, on the eve of his retirement from India. He is reported to have said that the national income of India is 1,600 crores of rupees per annum. If this official figure is divided by 300 millions, the population in British India, it works out at Rs. 53.5.4 per unit of population. If a rough figure of Rs. 8.5.4 is deducted for imperial, provincial and local taxation the balance works out at Rs. 45 per unit per annum or less than Rs. 4 per month. India is indeed very "prosperous."

We reproduce below one more passage from Sir Ibrahim's statement, namely, that which relates to the number of wealthy men in Britain and India respectively.

The Secretary of State when he talks of India's prosperity is probably carried away by conditions in Britain. Recently it is announced in the press that during the year 1938-39 there were in Britain with a population of 45 millions, 539 individual assessees with an income of £40,000 and over per annum. In British India with a population of 300 millions the number of individual assessees with an income of Rs. 5 lakhs and over is the huge figure of 9. It will be admitted that these statistics supplied by official records provide full and ample justification to Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, to declare that India is "prosperous."

Increasing Poverty of India

In Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's statement on the economic condition of India, drawn upon in our first note in this issue, he mentions the probable steady deterioration in the economic condition of India. Seth Ghanshyam Das Birla has shown that there has been such deterioration. According to him the people of India were poorer in 1939-40 than they were in 1930-31. In 1930-31 they consumed or used 11,21,000 tons of sugar, 22,78,00,000 gallons of kerosene oil, and 18,486 gross match-boxes. In 1939-40 the corresponding figures were 10,74,000 tons of sugar, 22,20,00,000 gallons of kerosene oil and 21,969 gross match-boxes. In 1930-31 they used 601 crores of yards of cloth, and in 1939-40 they used 616 crores of yards. People must light a fire or a stone and cook some food; so there has been a slight increase in the consumption of match-boxes. And perhaps the increasing habit of smoking—to deaden the pangs of hunger and drive away anxiety, among other reasons—has added to the increased consumption of match-boxes. But the increase is slight and much less than the marked increase of population during the decade. The number of absolutely naked adult males in India is small and all adult women must cover their shame. Nevertheless the increase in the consumption of cloth falls far below the increase in population, 14 or 15 per cent. during the decade.

Two other sets of statistics quoted by Seth G. D. Birla are conclusive. In 1930-31 the number of third class railway passengers in India was 55,08,00,000; in 1939-40 the number fell to 51,35,00,000. In 1930-31 Indians wrote 54,07,00,000 post cards, in 1939-40 they wrote very many less—that is, only 37,18,00,000.

But the Secretary of State for India says, "India is prosperous." And he is our Sir Oracle.

Opening of Scindia Shipbuilding Yard An Event of Historic Importance

In ancient times India was one of the foremost maritime nations in the world. Even in the days of the East India Company there were India-built ocean-going vessels which carried goods and passengers to and from many foreign countries. Indian shipping received its death-blow during British rule. Its ruin was brought about mostly under the rule of the East India Company in order that British shipping might hold undisputed sway both in the coastal trade of India as well as in international maritime commerce.

Books have been written relating to the past history of India's shipping and ship-building trade. But perhaps the earliest article published in an Indian periodical on the subject during the present century was that which was contributed to *The Modern Reveiw* for February, 1908, by the late Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi, B.A., of Satara, who was an authority on this and other Indian industrial subjects. His article covered about seventeen pages of this Review

and will amply repay perusal even now—so masterly it is. *The Modern Review* has taken unabated interest in the subject all along. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee wrote an article on "Ships and Ship-building in Ancient India" in *The Modern Review* for October, 1909. A complete list of articles on the subject in this journal need not be given. But it may be pointed out that our last number contained an article on "The Rise and Fall of the Indian Shipping Industry" by Samarendra Nath Sen, M.Sc.

Writing in 1908, Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi gave the following brief account of the ship-building industry in Japan, which must have developed greatly during the 33 years which have since elapsed :

"In Japan it is only during the last 30 years since 1878 that ship-building on the modern methods has made such wonderful progress, and ship-building yards have been established which might well claim a place among the leading ones in the world. The ship-building yard at Osaka is 34 acres in extent and employs 4,000 men; the Kobe yards have an area of 50 acres and 8,000 workmen; the Nagasaki, the largest in the country, cover an area of 80 acres and employ over 10,000 men. Besides, there are 205 private ship-yards and 32 private docks. Bounties are given for the construction of iron or steel vessels of not less than 700 gross tons. The building of merchant ships of over 10,000 tons is not uncommon. Numerous small vessels of 200-300 tons are turned out every year, and also many iron vessels of 800 tons and upwards. At Nagasaki, a ship of 13,000 tons is at present in course of construction."

After giving this brief account of the industry in Japan the writer observed, more than 33 years ago, that

"A few ship-yards of the kind created on the Indian littoral, would be a boon of incalculable value and a means of reviving a great national industry. The outlay involved need not be more than 2 or 3 crores."

Thirty-three years after the writer had expressed this hope, it has been fulfilled to a little extent by the enterprise of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. Not, however, in the Japanese way. In Japan the ship-building industry like other industries, has all along received bounties and other kinds of State help. In India it is some small mercy that the British Government has not yet made it unlawful for any Indian company or private individual to own a ship-building yard and build ships there. But from the days of the East India Company British men in power and British capitalists have taken every possible step to ruin and discourage Indian shipping and ship-building. Rate-cutting has been one of the principal weapons used by British ship-owning companies to destroy Indian shipping enterprise. *The Bombay Chronicle* writes in this connection :

The inter-imperial trade was reserved for British shipping. When any Indian concern ventured to challenge the British monopoly to any extent, it was crippled or killed through cut-throat competition by British concerns, Government doing nothing to help the former. For example, when the late Mr. J. N. Tata chartered two British and two Japanese vessels to carry Indian cotton goods and yarn and the vessels began monthly sailings between India and Japan, the P. & O. Company reduced its freight of Rs. 19 per 40 cubic feet to Rs. 1½ and carried cotton to Japan free of charge, just to kill the infant Indian line and at last did kill it. Mr. Tata's appeals and protests to the Secretary of State for India availed him nothing. In this way about a hundred Indian shipping companies were sacrificed to British monopolists, supported by British imperialism. In the words of Sir Alfred Watson, "Indian company after Indian company which endeavoured to develop a coastal service has been financially shattered by the heavy combination of British interests." Government would surely not have looked on if British interests were in jeopardy. The net result of British policy is neatly summed up by Gandhiji in the following words :

"The tragic history of the ruin of the national village industry of cotton manufacture in India is also the history of the ruin of Indian shipping. The rise of Lancashire on the ruin of the chief industry of India almost required the destruction of Indian shipping."

Only one Indian shipping company of importance has survived the attacks of the vested interests and is gallantly holding its own against them, with little or no assistance from Government. It is the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, which today represents 90 per cent of Indian shipping. The progress of this company against tremendous odds is too familiar to Indians to need any comments here.

We have said above that the State in Japan helps industries by giving bounties and in other ways. In India the giving of bounties or other help is not against the law. But how can a foreign government encourage ship-building on the part of Indians and thus help them to poach on the preserve of British capitalists? But if a British Company, with the words "India Limited" tacked on to its name, established a ship-building yard in India, Section 111 of the Government of India Act of 1935 would enable the State here to help it in every possible way.

Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi presented the following pictures of the ship-building and shipping industries of India in days gone-by and in his days (1908) in the following paragraph :

"A vast sea-board extending over a length of 4,000 miles *with a thousand harbours and secure anchorages*, once important and prosperous ports, busy and flourishing marts, crowded with our own ships, barques, and brigs and barges; *and each with a ship-building yard of its own* and with a numerous sea-faring population, living in comfort by the industry—now—and that, too, under the rule of a nation, the greatest sea-power in the world,—presenting a sad scene of desolation—a littoral *Sahara*. With its ports mostly deserted, left all but bare and stripped of its old shipping—not even 8,000 vessels plying in its waters, with its countless ship-yards closed, except 48 which together build about 125 galbats a year, with its merchant princes and wealthy ship-

owners, its seamen and shipbuilders all but gone and dependent for maritime trade and transport almost exclusively on foreign assistance. Such has been the tremendous collapse of what was at one period of our history one of the most extensive and prosperous industries in the land !"

The Scindia Company's new enterprise marks a turn in the tide. May it be blessed with full success, will be the whole-hearted prayer of every lover of India. May it also prove the forerunner of numerous other enterprises of the same kind, giving to India her former position in the maritime trade of the world.

Hard-headed economist, industrialist and statistician though G. V. Joshi was, yet his feeling patriotic heart led him almost to burst forth in poetic lamentation at the thought of India's past glory and present woeful condition:

"Unhappy India, Land of ancient renown, Chosen Home of enterprise, industry and commerce in the Orient! Is this all that remains of thy past greatness and glory, as a premier maritime nation? Thy merchants and shippers who once directed and controlled the trade of the East and on whose resourcefulness and enterprise rested thy commercial predominance in Eastern waters, thy seamen renowned throughout the East for their skill and daring, and who braved the perils of the deep and visited the most distant shores, thy ship-builders once so distinguished for their unrivalled skill in naval architecture, where are their modern successors? But, above all, where is that spirit of maritime enterprise which once sent forth thy brave and adventurous sons to far-off lands, East and West, for trade and settlement, and helped to build up thy extensive dominion of the sea? Gone, gone, gone for ever?"

The patriot is able, however, to overcome this mood of despondency and answer:

"No. There is a passing eclipse, a temporary collapse, albeit so total, so disastrous, due to an unfortunate combination of circumstances over which we could exercise no control, but assuredly it can never be a permanent feature of our position. A nation like ourselves with a mighty and glorious past behind it and a lofty mission awaiting it in the future, can have no reason to despair. Conditions and opportunities exist for revival and rehabilitation of this important industry which are all that we should desire, excepting, of course, *Laissez-Faire*, the unalterably settled economic policy of the State, and if we only should go about the work in the right way, learning the newer principles and the newer methods from our rulers, whose guidance in the matter would prove of incalculable value as being the greatest maritime nation in the world, and profiting by their experience and following in their footsteps, there is nothing to discourage the hope that we might before long be able to recover the ground we have lost and regain for our beloved motherland the proud position she once enjoyed as a premier maritime power in Eastern Waters."

May Mr. Joshi's words of hope prove prophetic and may the Scindia Company be the harbinger of the glorious days of maritime enterprise in store for India.

The guidance of the British nation in the matter would certainly be of incalculable value *if it could be had*. But perhaps it cannot. Nevertheless their example can and should be followed and their experience taken advantage of. Of course, we do not mean that their example can or should be followed in the matter of destroying the shipping of any other nation in order to promote our own maritime enterprise. We have neither the desire nor the power to do so.

Though we have said above that the guidance of the British nation will not perhaps be had in the matter of ship-building and shipping, we do not mean thereby that India should give up her claim on the Government for all kinds of possible help in the matter. Sheer self-interest ought to lead the British Government to help ship-building enterprise in India. Never before did Britain stand in need of more shipping than now when everyday more British ships are sunk than she can replace by her own unaided efforts, as was stated by President Roosevelt the other day. America is trying to help Britain. So are Australia and Canada. In India, too, the Government ought to have acted in the same way by opening ship-building yards. But as it has not done so, the next best thing it can do is to help private enterprise in ship-building. A time there was when India was, as the late Mr. G. V. Joshi showed in his article on the subject in *The Modern Review* for February, 1908, one of the greatest ship-building countries in the world. Turkey used to find it better and cheaper to have her ships built in India than at Alexandria. Even Britain got some of her ships built here. India still has materials and men to build ships. She can again become great in ship-building. For the present, however, machinery must be imported from America. This cannot be done without Government help. For the necessary priorities must be secured by the Scindia Company to import machinery, and Government alone can help it to get them. It is its duty to do so. Self-interest, too, should move it to help the Company in this way.

German Attack on Russia

It is not for a monthly journal to record the changing war situation from day to day and week to week. But as Germany's attack on Russia opens an altogether, though not absolutely unexpected, new chapter, a few words of comment may be allowable in these pages. It has been widely observed that, not long ago, Germany and Soviet Russia had concluded a non-aggression pact for ten years, renewable at the end of that period for five years more; but now that pact is worse than a scrap of paper.

How far the participation of Russia in the war is or is not a feather in the cap of British diplomacy cannot be ascertained just now. But Britain's adverse critics will find in this new chapter in the war fresh material for the cynical comment that Britain generally succeeds in her efforts to find other people, too, to fight her battles.

Hitler's allegation is that as Soviet Russia wanted to stab Germany in the back, he had to act in anticipation of that stab. Others, however, say that Hitler has been compelled by economic necessity to act as he has done. In spite of his utilization of the resources of the many European countries of which he is now master, he is in desperate straits; and so he is under the necessity of occupying the vast wheat-producing areas of Ukrainia and other areas in Soviet Russia which produce oil and other things needed for carrying on the war.

M. Molotov has declared that Napoleon's doom will be Hitler's. The following is the text of M. Molotov's broadcast:

"Today at four o'clock in the morning without giving any reason to the Soviet Government and without a declaration of war, German forces attacked our country, invaded our frontiers at many places and raided our towns of Zhitomir, Kiev, Sebastopol, Kaunas and several others. More than 200 people were killed or wounded. Flights of enemy aircraft as well as artillery fire were made from Finnish and Rumanian territory.

WITHOUT EXAMPLE IN HISTORY

"This unheard of attack on our country is without example in the history of civilised nations. The attack on our country has been made in spite of the fact there is a Non-Aggression Pact between Germany and the U. S. S. R. which was conscientiously kept in every detail. The attack on our country has been made in spite of the fact that throughout the time this Pact was valid the German Government could not furnish proof that the Government of the U. S. S. R. has ever infringed a single one of the Clauses of the Pact.

THIS ROBBER ATTACK

"All responsibility for this robber attack on the Soviet Union falls on the German Fascist Leader. After the attack the German Ambassador in Moscow, Schulenberg, at 05.30 in the morning gave me, the Peoples Commissar for Foreign Affairs, a Note in the name of his Government that the German Government had decided to proceed against the Soviet Union because of concentration of units of the Red Army on the Western German Frontier.

A LIE AND A PROVOCATION

"In answer to this I declared in the name of the Government of the U. S. S. R. that until the last minute the German Government had made no representation to the Soviet Government. Germany decided to attack the Soviet Union in spite of the peaceful attitude of the Soviet Union and because of this very fact Fascist Germany becomes aggressor.

"By the desire of the Soviet Government, I have also to announce that at not a single point have our air force allowed any frontier to be violated and because of that allegation of the Rumanian radio that the Soviet Air Force raided the Rumanian aerodromes as nothing but a lie and a provocation. In the same way, the whole of Hitler's declaration published today is nothing but a provocation.

BEAT BACK THE INVASION

"Now when this attack on the Soviet Union has taken place the Soviet Government has given our Forces the following order:

"*Beat back the invasion and do not allow the enemy force to hold any territory of our country. This war has been forced upon us, not by the German people, not by the German workers or the intelligentsia whose problems we thoroughly understand, but by a clique of blood-thirsty Fascist leaders of Germany, who have oppressed the French, the Czechs, the Poles, the Serbs, the Norwegians, the Belgians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Greeks and other Nations.*

HITLER WILL MEET WITH NAPOLEON'S DOOM

"The Government of the Soviet Union are firmly convinced that our gallant army and navy supported by the Soviet Air Force will honourably fulfil their duties to the Soviet people and will deal a complete blow to the aggressor. This is not the first time that our country has had to deal with an arrogant invading foe. When Napoleon invaded Russia our country answered with a nationalist war and Napoleon was beaten and met his doom. The same thing will happen to the arrogant Hitler who has started a new attack on our country.

WE WILL WAGE VICTORIOUS WAR

"The Red Army and the whole country will once again wage a victorious war for the nation's honour and liberty. The Government of the Soviet Union are convinced that the whole population of our country, all workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, men and women, will act with complete understanding of their duties and work. All our people must be united as never before. Everyone of us must demand from himself and from others discipline, organisation, the self-sacrifice worthy of the true Soviet Patriot, in order to fulfil all needs of the Red Army, Fleet and the Air Force to guarantee victory over the enemy. The Government relies upon all citizens, men and women of the Soviet Union."—*Reuter.*

Russian patriots are confident that victory will be be theirs.

LONDON, June 23.

The *Pravda* today publishes a long article by the well-known leader, M. Yaroslavsky, entitled "The Great National War" according to the Moscow Radio.

"Two hundred million of our people know well what they are fighting for. The feeling of Soviet patriotism might be turned into a torrent which will break down all obstacles in its course. The enemy will be defeated. Victory will be ours."

M. Yaroslavsky stresses the need of increasing production and of helping the Red Army and the Red Air Force. "We must all feel as though we were part of the Red Army," he adds.—*Reuter.*

Hitler Prays to God For Success

Reuter has sent out the message that Hitler has prayed to God for success against Soviet arms. If he did not offer similar prayers in his campaigns against other countries, he perhaps wanted to save God from an embarrassing position;—for these other countries, too, profess

to believe in and pray to God. But the Bolsheviks are atheists, and so Hitler may have thought that God can, without feeling any scruple or delicacy, help him against these atheists.

Turkey's Attitude

TURKEY DECLARES NEUTRALITY

ANKARA, June 23.

It is officially stated that Turkey will remain neutral.—*Reuter.*

TURKEY EXTENDS EMERGENCY

BERLIN, June 22.

The Turkish National Assembly decided on a new prolongation of the state of emergency, declared at Istanbul and European Turkey for a further six months says an Istanbul despatch.—*Reuter.*

ANKARA, June 22.

The Turco-German Pact "has no relation to the new order" says the well-known Turkish journalist, M. Yasin in a much discussed article in the newspaper *Yenisabha*.

M. Yasin declares that the Pact changes nothing in the Turkish policy. The Turks remain attached to the Pact of Ankara and the sincere friendship, which they feel for their ally, Britain.

TURKEY WANTS JUSTICE

Referring to the remark of Von Papen to pressmen that the Turks have always been attached to justice, Yasin says: "He is right; we want justice, sincere justice, equal for all and universal, which will finish with aggressions and recognise the independence and liberty of all races."—*Reuter.*

TURCO-GERMAN TRADE TALK WILL BEGIN SOON

ANKARA, June 23.

Commercial negotiations between Turkey and Germany have not yet started, but are expected to begin soon with a view to reviewing the Treaty of last summer, said M. Sarajoglu, Turkish Foreign Minister, at a Press Conference on Sunday.

He declared no pressure whatsoever has been put on the Turkish Press as a result of the agreement.—*Reuter.*

"Finland Not At War"

LONDON, JUNE 23.

The Finnish Minister, after communicating with the Finnish Government by telephone, stated that Finland is "not at war," but against her wishes has been again "dragged into the midst of international turmoil."

The Finnish Minister, M. Procope added, "Finland's relations with Russia continue as hitherto.

"There have been violations of our territory by Russian planes as told this morning. They are regretable incidents. My hope is we will be left in peace, but if we are attacked, we will defend ourselves because Finland is and will, whatever happens, remain a liberty loving and democratic people."

The Finnish Government, according to the Swedish radio, has published a *communique* stating: "We find ourselves in the immediate danger zone. To increase our security reservists have already been called up for service. Now more than ever before we should be on our guard.

"Free and independent Finland expects that every citizen will at this exacting time retain his self-control, calmly carry on with his work and do his duty firmly believing in Finland and her people's happy future."

Advices from Finland indicated that Finnish troops were not engaged with the Germans in attacking Russia, M. Herman Ramo, Director of the Finnish Information Bureau, told a Finnish meeting, says a New York message.

M. Ramo added that Finland was trying to avoid a clash, but he asked "can we avoid it."—*Reuter.*

Finland has since declared war on Russia.

Communists in U. S. A. Against Hitler

NEW YORK, June 23.

The leader of the Communist Party of the United States described the German assault on Russia as an assault upon the peoples of the United States and the world as well.

Mr. William Forster, the Party's Chairman, issued a statement declaring that Russia "is waging a struggle for the cause of freedom of all other nations and people." The statement calls on all the working class people of America for co-operation against Hitler.—*Reuter.*

Sweden Asked to Act Quickly

STOCKHOLM, June 23.

The Swedish Cabinet which held an emergency meeting yesterday is meeting again today. A secret session of the Riksdag (Parliament) has been planned for Friday or very likely earlier, according to the newspaper *Afton Bladet*.

Meanwhile the newspaper's Berlin correspondent says that political circles emphasise that Sweden has "absolutely the last chance" and must act rapidly and without hesitation. The question for Sweden was whether to travel first-class or in a luggage van in the new Europe. If Sweden did not decide quickly then the hegemony of the northern countries would be Finland's.

It is alleged that Sweden has been the centre of communist activities against Germany.—*Reuter.*

Sweden has since felt compelled to allow Nazi troops to pass through her territory.

China Can Hold Out For Five Years

CHUNGKING, June 23.

The Chinese army can hold out against Japan for at least another three to five years, declared General Pai Chung Hsi, Chief of the General Staff, speaking before the National Finance Conference here yesterday. He urged close co-operation with the army on the part of the economic authorities.

"America feels herself at one with China and Britain," said Mr. Fox, American member of the Chinese Currency Stabilisation Board, speaking at the Chinese National Finance Conference.

He expressed confidence in the success of China's resistance and admiration for her industrial progress in spite of war conditions. He said: "If Chinese currency is to be stabilised the range of economic questions in which we must interest ourselves is vast. Such problems as inflation and rising prices, continued emission of bank-notes, scarcity of foodstuffs, necessity to increase production of military supplies and goods for the people, essential exports of raw materials such as antimony, tin and wood oil, importation of war materials, programmes of taxation and finance Government expenditure must occupy our attention.

"We may from time to time suggest changes and modifications in your economic machinery. Ours is a

united effort in which there is neither time nor place for petty bickerings. Chinese leaders must have vision and courage to impose new taxes. The tax system must be centralised. There must be a well-organised unified system of budgetary control.—*Reuter.*

Creed and Chemistry

The reader must not blame us for mentioning the words 'creed' and 'chemistry' in the same breath. The Government of India whose political creed is religious neutrality (of course, with a vengeance) has obliged us through one of its high officers to place the two words in juxtaposition. The facts are, as brought out by "**Justice**" in the course of a letter to *The Leader* of the 24th June last:

On March 17 last, some questions were asked in the Central Legislative Assembly by some of the Muslim members regarding the appointment of the Archæological Chemist in India. On behalf of the Government, Mr. Tyson gave an assurance that the term of the present incumbent to the post was being extended 'in order to allow time for recruitment and training of his successor,' and that 'the vacancy will be filled by the appointment of a Muslim.'

The writer of the letter observes:

I wonder why Mr. Tyson should go out of his way to give the assurance that a Muslim would be appointed.

We, too, were almost on the point of wondering but just at the nick of time remembered that we live under a Government which has given us the religiously neutral Communal Decision, of which an unpublished interpretation is that, as Muslims form less than one-fourth of the population of India, they should have at least half the jobs, civil and military, which the Government can confer on the people of India. Perhaps, too, Mr. Tyson may have thought that as most of the archaeological objects which require chemical care belong to the Hindu and Buddhist periods of Indian history and as Hindus and Buddhists adore ancient images, paintings, *stupas*, etc., the archaeological chemist should not be a man whose enthusiasm for the preservation of these remnants of antiquity may border on idolatrous worship :—religious neutrality must be observed by every servant of Government. But we need not give rein to our speculative faculty further. Let us hear what more the writer of the letter has to tell us. He proceeds:

While the Government and the Muslim members chose to take an unfortunate communal attitude on this question, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra raised very relevant issues. He asked whether, "in view of the fact that the post of the chemist is a very important and responsible post and requires technical qualifications are the Government prepared to give an assurance that the best man available should be recruited for the post irrespective of the religion of the candidate." He again asked why a departure should be made in the appointment to a technical post which requires technical qualification. Pandit Maitra pointed that "the post is one of a chemist and in the interests of the department itself, the best man available for the post, the man with the highest qualifications irrespective of his religion should be recruited to the post." But Mr. Tyson merely required notice of such questions, and would not answer them.

We do not blame Mr. Tyson. Even Government officers of his rank require time to wriggle out of a tight corner.

The writer of the letter observes:

It is our misfortune that Lord Curzon who inaugurated the Archæological Survey of India is not in our midst, and that others who have succeeded him have not shown the same understanding and intelligence. The subject of Archæological Chemistry is highly specialised, and the post of the Archæological Chemist is the only one of its kind in India. It is the duty of the Archæological Chemist to make a scientific study of the disintegrating forces that operate on Archæological materials and check them. For example, there are beautiful ancient sculptures of various stones. There are varieties of ancient articles of iron, copper, silver, gold, etc., and of their alloys. There are paintings of various painting materials. All these are subjected to varying degrees of disintegration. The study of the process of decay and the methods of preserving the various materials offer complex problems. This complexity can be realised from the following two examples. Recently a committee of experts consisting of chemists, engineer geologist and an archæologist had to be appointed to consider the problem of disintegration and preservation of Elephanta sculptures. Again, in order to preserve the world famous paintings at Ajanta, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government had to import two Italian experts, through the efforts of Sir John Marshall.

The writer concludes:

Again the Archæological Chemist has to study the technical processes prevalent in the past. Up to the present little more than preliminary work has been possible in India. A considerable amount of systematic scientific analysis still remains to be done and a number of problems in Indian Archæology which chemistry alone can solve, still remain to be solved. The Archæologist feels the need for some such general survey of the materials used by the ancient peoples in India for the purpose of establishing their period and their relations to those of other regions. The scientific and technical study in this direction is extremely complex. This can be shown clearly by taking some specific examples. If it is to be determined how exactly the famous iron pillar near the Kutub was made, one has not only to do the chemical analysis of the material of the pillar, but has to study the internal structure of the metal by methods available in a Chemical and Metallurgical Laboratory like the one at Jamshedpur. Again for reconstructing the technique of ancient Indian painting—whether it is an illuminated manuscript or a Persian miniature or a mural painting—one must be well versed in the chemistry of paints and varnishes. Other Archæological materials require similar special knowledge—whether it is a question of studying the technique, or of studying the process of disintegration or of solving the problem of their preservation. Thus the Archæological Chemist requires a high scientific knowledge and training and research experience, and must be resourceful enough to tackle new problems, especially when the subject is new in India, and when there are few workers in the field.

I hope and trust that the Government will appoint a person with the highest scientific qualifications and experience, irrespective of any communal considerations.

"The Use of Radio"

In the course of the review of a book in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* Ivor Brown writes :

For my part, while agreeing with a great deal of his exposition and valuation of modern tendency, I should question his faith in the saving powers of "wireless." The use of radio in politics abroad has been disastrous: it has been the tyrant's joy and a monstrous engine of one-sided propaganda : it is significant that in Germany, when a bankrupt is distrained upon, it is illegal to take his wireless set, since the Government regards this as an essential means of "education"; in other words, of administering mental dope. In Great Britain, it is true, we are not in such a plight, and the B. B. C. is a comparatively liberal and enlightened institution. But the more people listen in, the more dependent do they become on authority, the less reliant on their own judgments. I am continually appalled by the way in which country people in particular, who used to have minds and opinions of their own and express them in native idiom, are now hanging upon the wireless voice and repeating its formulæ, though not yet its intonations.

What is really happening now, under the combined pressure of radio in the house and photography in print, is the collapse of reading. Even the most serious newspapers now have to use larger and larger print, waste space on more and more headlines, and bedizen the whole with more and more pictures, because people have become too lazy to read an unbroken column. I am not recommending a return to the vast slabs of minute type which our grandfathers confronted, perhaps to the ruin of their eyes, but I am certainly convinced that the popular newspaper of thirty years ago was a far better and more dignified product than the same thing today, with its appalling hotch-potch of Jazz "make-up" and its general resolve to give you everything to look at and nothing to read. Journalists are rapidly ceasing to be writers and becoming fillers of odd corners under and round the pictures and captions.

The greater the expenditure on education the worse does popular reading (it really ought to be called "looking") become. The cinema has undoubtedly produced a "news reel mind" which has to have everything pushed at it by illustration and cannot endure a reasoned argument. The change in fashion in magazines confirms this : there is always more illustration, always less reading-matter. There may be no cure for this : but at least it is dangerous to claim, as Mr. Chamier does, that "we life in the dawn of a Renaissance . . . . a spring forward of the human mind quickened by new learning." Mr. Chamier says we must give this upward leap another fifty years. I wish I could share his hopefulness.

These observations afford food for thought to both the radio-listening and newspaper-reading section or sections of the public as well as to the conductors of illustrated and news-displaying journals.

Sanskrit and Philosophy in Universities

In the course of discussing the recommendation of the Syndicate of the Annamalai University that the Honours courses in Sanskrit and Philosophy might be abolished *The Indian Social Reformer* rightly observes :

Sanskrit Chairs are maintained in all the more important Universities in every part of the world and it will detract from the status of any Indian University to be without provision for the most advanced studies in that subject. As for Philosophy, the nineteenth century contempt for it has given place to a high appreciation of its value for the right conduct of individuals and nations.

Democracy in India

The Indian Social Reformer writes :

While Mr. Jinnah is convinced that democracy is unsuited to this country, the Rev. Walter Brookes Foley who was for many years in India, thinks that there are special features in Indian life and character which make India a more favourable soil for democracy than the West has proved itself to be. In an address delivered before the Committee for Philippine-American Cultural Relations at Manila on "Democracy Expands in the East," Occidental democracy, he urged, has been mixed very frequently with bitter doses of imperialism administered to African-Asiatic populations. That fact has poisoned the currents of expanding democratic practice in all parts of Europe for generations to come. "It is the belief of the writer," he went on to say, "after ten years of observation and residence in Asia, that democracy is finding expression in the very heart of the oldest surviving civilisations in our modern world, that all Asiatic peoples whose cultural existence has been interwoven with India and China are as those who have seen a great light, rising in spite of much darkness, out of the West. There are binding cohesive factors in Asiatic societies which have the possibility of giving new content to democratic practice. For just as religion in Asia affects all life, so any doctrine such as democracy to be accepted as of lasting significance in the Asiatic form, must be associated consistently with all the patterns of social conduct."

Bengali As Former State Language of Eastern India

SIMLA, May 31.

The publication of Bengali letters, preserved in the Imperial Records office, now undertaken by the Government through the Calcutta University, is likely to go a long way to support the claim of Bengali to be the *lingua franca* of India.

It is learnt that altogether there are such 200 letters dating from 1778 to 1820. The development of Bengali prose literature and the history of Bhutan, Assam, Manipur, Kachhar could be obtained from them. The Kings of Cooch Behar, Manipur, Assam and Bhutan used to write letters in Bengali and even despatches from them to the Governor-General and also among themselves used to be in Bengali. Thus it can easily be established that Bengali was the *lingua franca* of Eastern India.

Signatures of the Rajas of Cooch Behar, Manipur, Bhutan, Assam and of Krishna Kanta Pal Chowdhury, Jainarayan Ghoshal and such other eminent Bengalis are available. Interesting documents regarding Raja Ram Mohan Roy, setting at right several divergent views regarding him, are also preserved.

The Calcutta University has undertaken the publication of these letters, edited by Dr. S. N. Sen and these are now reported to be in the press.—*A. P. I.*

Subjects and Languages of United Provinces Publications

SIMLA, May 29.

Authors in the United Provinces appear to be more interested in poetry than politics as is indicated by an analysis of publications. Of 2,742 books and periodicals published in 1939, poetry claimed 1,094 and politics only 88. "Language" ranks second with 306. Poetry had pride of place in 1938 also.

Other subjects in the order of output are: Religion 193, Fiction 192, Science (Mathematical and Mechanical) 159, History and Geography 119, Science (Natural and others) 108, Biography 75, Drama and Law each 54, Medicine 51, Philosophy (including Moral and Mental Science) 44, Arts 16 and Travels 8 only. The number of miscellaneous publications was 181.

The largest number of books and periodicals were published in Hindi, 1,773 and 19 respectively. Next comes English with 241 publications, including 11 periodicals. Then comes Urdu (184), Sanskrit (114), Nepali (24), Bengali (9), Garhwali and Persian (6 each), Gujarati (5) and Gurmukhi (3).—*A. P. I.*

The areas which are claimed by Hindus as Hindi-speaking are claimed by Mussalmans as Urdu-speaking. Of these areas the United Provinces have the largest population. Here in this most populous Hindi- or Urdu-speaking area, Hindi publications numbered 1792 and Urdu publications only 184. Perhaps that may be taken as approximately giving the strength of the Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking sections of the people in the U. P. In any case Urdu does not seem to be flourishing.

As regards other languages, Aryāvarta ought to have had more Sanskrit publications to its credit than 114. Even this small output, however, was about 20 times as large as that of Persian, a foster-mother of Urdu.

As Bengalis, we should have expected more Bengali publications than 9.

Unburstable Container Discovered by Sir S. S. Bhatnagar

The *United Press* understands that for dropping petrol and water supplies from aeroplanes, with or without the aid of parachutes, an unburstable container has been evolved by Sir S. S. Bhatnagar, Director of Scientific and Industrial Research. The container has been tested by dropping it from heights of 70 to 100 feet and has satisfactorily withstood the impact of the fall.

The container is made of canvas cum plastic compositions, and as large as two-gallon containers have been made which have satisfactorily withstood the impact when thrown from the roofs of the second storey of the Alipore Test House and of the Secretariat Buildings, New Delhi. The Army Headquarters are making further experiments with the container by dropping it from low-flying aeroplanes.

This unburstable bottle has the necessary property of resilience and is petrol and oil proof. It is stated that, apart from its enormous advantage in war time, it can be used as a container for oil, paints, oils, etc., even after the war. It is lighter and less liable to damage by impact than a tin can. Large orders are, therefore, expected to be placed for these containers.

Conservation of Rivers

A Press Note of the Bengal Government issued states the following:

In July, 1938, a Conference was held to consider the river problems of Bengal. This Conference which was attended by a number of scientific and technical experts expressed the opinion that in view of the complexity and unique nature of river problems in this Province, immediate steps should be taken to establish a Hydraulic Research Laboratory to study scientifically the problems of irrigation, erosion, river training and development with the aid of laboratory models and experiments and to make necessary arrangements for the systematic statistical analysis of data relating to rainfall, irrigation, flood and drainage.

A scheme has accordingly been prepared in collaboration with Dr. N. K Bose, Assistant Director of the Punjab Hydro-Dynamic Research Institute. It has been sanctioned for a period of five years in the first instance.

The scheme provides for the employment of a Director, who will be the officer-in-charge of the institute, and other technical staff. The estimated cost for the entire period is Rs. 5,96,000 consisting of the initial cost of Rs. 1,06,000 for the installation of a laboratory and annual recurring charge of Rs. 98,000.

A sum of Rs. 20,000 has been provided for in the budget for the year 1941-42 for the necessary preliminary work in connection with this scheme which is expected to be in operation from the next year.

There is another river conservation proposal, a joint one for Assam and Bengal.

In view of the above the Government of Bengal in co-operation with the Government of Assam have agreed on principle to constitute a Brahmaputra-Meghna Rivers Commission to deal with all questions concerning the conservancy of these rivers and their tributaries. Pending the formation of the Commission, a small interim Committee consisting of representatives of the two Governments, the Railways, the Steamer Companies and the Tea Industry was set up in June, 1940 (*i*) to collect and study the necessary data and recommend immediate remedial measures as far as possible and (*ii*) to make proposals regarding the constitution and functions of the proposed Commission.

The Committee have submitted their report. The Governments of Bengal and Assam have accepted the Committee's recommendations and their proposal has been submitted to the Government of India for consideration. The Hon'ble Minister-in-Charge of the Department of Communications and Works discussed the matter personally in November, 1940 with the Hon'ble Member-in-Charge of the Department of Labour of the Government of India.

Why were not such schemes and proposals placed before the public earlier? The Bengal and Assam ministries have come out with them before the coming elections. Better late than never, however.

Pandit Kunzru On British Intentions

Pandit Hirdaynāth Kunzru, the famous U. P. Liberal, is president of the Servants of

India Society, of which the political creed includes the permanence of the Indo-British connection. On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of this Society, which has rendered signal service to the country, the Pandit said in the course of his address :

POONA, June 12.

"The war has taken a more serious turn and has come appreciably nearer to India during the last twelve months. England and India should have come closer to one another during this period. The unfortunate fact is that they have drifted further apart."

Pandit Kunzru proceeded to observe that

the British Government had done nothing, to use the words of Sir Stanley Reed, who had been a consistent friend of India for a quarter of a century, to have "the heart and soul of a generous people behind their war effort." Indeed, the last 18 months had made British determination not to part with power clearer than ever. Indians were told that it was their duty to think of nothing but the war at the present time as India's future depended on British victory.

Pandit Kunzru then referred to the proposed conscription in Ireland and said that

as Eire objected to this, the proposal was immediately dropped.

With regard to Syria, Pandit Kunzru said that

the British Government had supported and associated themselves with the promise given by General de Gaulle as to Syrian independence and freedom, **but had taken no steps to advance the constitutional status of the people under their own control.**

The duty of helping England without claiming their own freedom was preached only to countries under the British sway.

RATHBONE'S HOMILY

Referring to Miss Rathbone's recent open letter to the Members of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Kunzru said that

it was not his business to defend the Congress, but he strongly felt that she had been very unfair to India. He said that she did not realize how great and genuine were the apprehensions aroused by the attitude of the British Government during the last eighteen months and their absolute refusal to take any immediate steps to transfer substantial power to Indians.

Mr. Kunzru added that

if Indians forgot their duty to their country and abstained from demanding their rights, their silence would be exploited as meaning contentment.

He asked the Government to take such steps as would convince India that she would be free after the war.

Pandit Kunzru deplored the rejection by the Government of the proposals of the Bombay Leaders' Conference and expressed the view that Government was putting a premium on communal intransigence.

DANGER OF PAKISTAN

Referring to the Pakistan agitation, Pandit Kunzru declared that

if the Government yielded, he feared a civil war in the country. He added that Pakistan would bring no peace but only the sword.

He regretted that no Indian Defence Minister was appointed and the fighting forces were not nationalised. He welcomed, however, the appointment of the Defence Advisory Committee and paid a tribute to the progressive outlook of the Commander-in-Chief and hoped that Government would show the same breadth of mind.

After criticising the appointment of non-Indians in the Supply, Munitions and Information Departments, for which, in his view, there was no excuse, Mr. Kunzru said that

the situation in the country was serious and that only a generous gesture from Government would ease the tension and make India help England on the basis of self-respect.—*A. P.*

Rabindranath Tagore's Reaction to Miss Rathbone's "Open Letter to Indians"

On the 4th June last Rabindranath Tagore issued the following statement in reply to Miss Rathbone's "Open Letter to Some Indian Friends":

"I have been deeply pained at Miss Rathbone's open letter to Indians. I do not know who Miss Rathbone is, but I take it that she represents the mentality of the average 'well-intentioned' Britisher. Her letter is mainly addressed to Jawaharlal and I have no doubt that if that noble fighter of freedom's battle had not been gagged behind prison bars by Miss Rathbone's countrymen he would have made a fitting and spirited reply to her gratuitous sermon. His enforced silence makes it necessary for me to voice a protest even from my sick bed. The lady has ill-served the cause of her people by addressing so indiscreet, indeed impertinent, a challenge to our conscience. She is scandalized at our ingratitude—that having 'drunk deeply at the wells of English thought' we should still have some thought left for our poor country's interests.

ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA

"English thought, in so far as it is representative of the best traditions of western enlightenment, has indeed taught us much, but let me add that those of our countrymen who have profited by it have done so despite the official British attempts to ill-educate us. We might have achieved introduction to western learning through any other European language.

"Have all the other peoples in the world waited for the British to bring them enlightenment? It is sheer insolent self-complacence on the part of our so-called English friends to assume that had they not 'taught' us we would still have remained in the dark ages. Through the official British channels of education in India has flowed to our children in schools not the best of English thought but its refuse, which has only deprived them of a wholesome repast at the table of their own culture. Assuming, however, that the English language is the only channel left to us for 'enlightenment,' all that 'drinking deeply at its wells' has come to is that in 1931, even after a couple of centuries of British administration, only about one per cent. of the population was found to be literate in English—while in the U. S. S. R. in 1932 after only 15 years of Soviet administration, 98 per cent of the children were educated. (These figures are taken from the *Statesman's* Year Book, an English publication, not likely to err on the Russian side).

Elementary Needs of Existence

"But even more necessary than the so-called culture are the bare elementary needs of existence, on which alone can any superstructure of enlightenment rest. And what have the British who have held tight the purse-strings of our nation for more than two centuries and exploited its resources, done for our poor people? Look around and see famished bodies crying for bread. I have seen women in villages dig up mud for a few drops of drinking water, for wells are even more scarce in Indian villages than schools. I know that the population of England itself is today in danger of starvation and I sympathize with them, but when I see how the whole might of the British navy is engaged in convoying food vessels to the English shores and when I recollect that I have seen our people perish of hunger and not even a cart-load of rice brought to their door from the neighbouring district, I cannot help contrasting the British at home with the British in India.

"Shall we then be grateful to the British, if not for keeping us fed, at least for preserving law and order? I look around and see riots raging all over the country. When scores of Indian lives are lost, our property looted, our women dishonoured, the mighty British arms stir in no action; only the British voice is raised from overseas to chide us for our unfitness to put our house in order. Examples are not wanting in history when even fully armed warriors have shrunk before superior might and contingencies have arisen in the present war when even the bravest among the British, French and Greek soldiers have had to evacuate the battle-field in Europe because they were overwhelmed by superior armaments—but when our poor, unarmed and helpless peasants, encumbered with crying babes, flee from homes unable to protect them from armed *goondas*, the British officials perhaps smile in contempt at our cowardice. Every British civilian in England is armed today for protecting his hearth and home against the enemy, but in India even *lathi*-training has been forbidden by decree. Our people have been deliberately disarmed and emasculated in order to keep them perpetually cowed and at the mercy of their armed masters. The British hate the Nazis for merely challenging their world mastery and Miss Rathbone expects us to kiss the hand of her people in servility for having riveted chains on ours.

"A Government must be judged not by the pretensions of its spokesman but by its actual and effective contribution to the well-being of the people. It is not so much because the British are foreigners that they are unwelcome to us and have found no place in our hearts, as because while pretending to be trustees of our welfare they have betrayed the great trust and have sacrificed the happiness of millions in India to bloat the pockets of a few capitalists at home. I should have thought that the decent Britisher would at least keep silent at these wrongs and be grateful to us for our inaction, but that he should add insult to injury and pour salt over our wounds, passes all bounds of decency."

Miss Rathbone's Reply to Her Critics

London, June 21.

The following is a reply by Mrs. Eleanor Rathbone to comments on her Indian letter.

"Reports have reached me of several comments on my letter to Indian friends, including one from Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Writing, as he says, from the sick-bed, I think he cannot fully have read my letter. Otherwise he could not have completely ignored its main purpose and have merely repeated, as my other hostile critics do, the old charges against British rule which I was not concerned to defend. My purpose was simply to ask Indians, who care, as I do, for the cause of Indian progress, to consider whether the non-co-operating movement is really helping that cause. On March 28, 1939, Pandit Nehru wrote "India's freedom will not be worth many days' purchase if Fascism or Nazism dominates the world." Is that less true today and what stands now between the world and its domination by Nazi tyranny but Britain and her Allies? Whatever Britain's errors and imperfections, is it not better for India and the world that we should win the war rather than Hitler? Can the non-co-operators deny that, whatever the intention behind their movement, help to Hitler is its actual result? By evading the issue in their comments on my letter my critics show, I think, that they find these questions unanswerable.—*Reuter.*

It was no business of Rabindranath Tagore, who cast off the prefix 'Sir' to his name long ago and who is not a Non-co-operator, to answer the questions addressed by Miss Rathbone to the Congress leaders. They themselves have answered those questions, which are certainly not unanswerable.

If Miss Rathbone had confined herself to arguments on the political plane, Dr. Tagore would not have felt called upon to issue any statement about her letter. But it was mainly an insolent challenge to the conscience of the people of India and an imperious and impertinent reminder that they should have been and should be grateful to Britain for her gift of culture, "law and order," and the like. This was so outrageous that the poet was roused to reply at his advanced age even from his sickbed.

Individual civil disobedience has not been of even the least indirect use to Hitler. Government is getting all the money, materials and mercenary men that it requires. Satyagrahis have not done anything to prevent or discourage recruiting, nor have they promoted or encouraged strikes in factories producing goods required for war. Such strikes have taken place in America, without the Miss Rathbones of England daring to accuse Americans of helping Hitler thereby.

In order not to embarrass Government at this crisis Gandhiji did not order mass civil disobedience but limited it to picked individuals. Nor does he demand full freedom now. He wants only freedom of speech. If even this little freedom had not been demanded, British propagandists would have filled the whole world with the cry that all India is perfectly satisfied with British rule.

Shri K. M. Munshi's Resignation From the Congress

Shri K. M. Munshi was advised by Mahatma Gandhi to resign his membership of the Congress as, though he believed in non-

violence in the abstract, he thought it would not be possible for him to be thoroughly non-violent in practice, *e.g.*, in suggesting and adopting means for tackling the communal situation. So he has tendered his resignation. Mahatma Gandhi's statement on the subject with Mr. Munshi's statement and the whole correspondence between them, has been published in the press. We are sorry for this split in Congress ranks.

Perhaps many other Congressmen, including leading ones, have scruples similar to those of Mr. Munshi. This became evident when many Congress leaders parted company with Gandhiji and offered, by the Poona resolution, to co-operate with Government's war effort if a National Government, as suggested by them, were formed. It was then Gandhiji who severed his formal connection with Congress, not those Congress leaders.

Sir N. N. Sircar on "Bengal Supervision of Widows' Homes, Etc., Bill"

Sir N. N. Sircar's claims to speak on any bill which is before any legislature will not be disputed by anybody. As President of the Women's Protection League he has issued a statement on the "Bengal Supervision of Widows' Home and Orphanage Bill, 1940." His conviction is that the Bill "is calculated to cause the greatest harm to the largest number concerned." He writes further:

> The "Statement of objects and reasons" opens with the harrowing statement: "In Calcutta, Dacca and in other mofussil towns a 'good number' of institutions under the garb of orphanage, Widows and Rescue Homes and Marriage Bureaus are shady (?) in minor boys and girls. Most of these institutions are not genuine and are clearing houses for supplying girls to designing persons and houses of ill fame."
>
> I trust legislators will enquire—
>
> (1) What is the total number of institutions which will be affected by the Bill.
>
> (2) What is the number of institutions which have been proved to be clearing houses.
>
> (3) What is the number of cases, if any, in which the supposed culprits have escaped justice, on account of the inadequacy of the provisions like those of the Indian Penal Code—the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act, the Police Act and the Bengal Children Act.
>
> Well-intentioned legislative zeal is responsible for the wild and gross exaggeration which has been made the foundation of the Bill.
>
> The definitions in the Bill are remarkable for their crudity, vagueness, and potentiality for mischief.

Though according to the Bill a Widows' Home means "an institution including the house where widows or girls may be kept, by whatever name it may be designated," the word 'institution' is nowhere defined in it. Sir N. N. Sircar shows by quoting examples from British statutes that 'institution' should be defined, and proceeds to observe:

> The Bill, as already mentioned, says "where widows or girls may be kept." They are kept in college hostels, in Nurses' Clubs, and Societies, and even in private households. What has to be shown to enable such places to be outside a Statute, which directed against certain institutions has omitted even to define such institutions."

As regards the 'scheme' of the Bill Sir Nripendranath observes:

> The scheme of the Bill is that no one shall maintain a "Widows' Home" or "Marriage Bureau" or any other "institution" having similar objects without a magistrate's licence.
>
> The Bill has not defined the object of a Widows' Home considered as an "institution" but it hits institutions (though institution is not defined) having similar objects (objects not being defined).

His opinion on the powers given in the Bill to District Magistrates is as follows:

> Powers given to the District Magistrate and the Government are such that instead of Clauses (*a*) to (*f*) of Clause 4, and Clause 6, **it would have been shorter to say that they will have the same powers as Hitler has under the present constitution of the German Reich.** There is no limit or restriction of any kind to the powers of the Government. In forming Societies under Clause 6 any rule may be framed laying down, for instance, the qualifications of the members of the Society, their remunerations, fixation of ratios for communal party and the powers which they will exercise.—(Thick types ours.—EDITOR, *M. R.*).

He adds:

> The society must have sufficient funds for running the institution for two years. If it has funds for running it for a year and reasonable expectation of funds for the future, even that will be immaterial. Government will be the sole judge of the sufficiency of funds. It will equally be the sole judge of the respectability of the members of the Society, of the healthiness of the locality and of sufficiency of accommodation.
>
> Not satisfied with this stranglehold on the victims, the Bill provides for cancellation of licence for breach of the conditions described in (*a*) to (*f*) of Clause 4 or "for any other sufficient cause"—cause of any kind whatsoever—not necessarily *ejusdem generis* with those previously mentioned. Either the Magistrate or the Government will decide what cause is sufficient—the Bill does not say which of them is intended.

Sir N. N. Sircar concludes:

> **Vicious persons should certainly be punished, but if the Bill is passed, all honest and laudable attempts to improve the condition of women, to rescue them, to educate them, and to prosecute offenders against them, will be effectively killed by the misguided kindness of a woman for her sisters. Who is going to take up work for the amelioration of the condition of women, under the situation which will result from the passing of the Bill?**

Indian R. A. F. Officer Dies Fighting

News has been received in Calcutta from the R. A. F. Headquarters of the death in action of Mr. Kali Prasad Chaudhuri, a young Indian pilot officer of the R. A. F. on June 17 last.

He was the youngest son of the late Mr. Kumud Nath Chaudhuri, Barrister-at-Law, brother of the late Justice Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri. A cable received by his mother on June 18 in Calcutta says that he was 'killed in action.'

Mr. Chaudhuri was about 25 years of age. He was the Manager of the Lahore branch of the Indian Oxygen & Acetylene Co. Ltd., drawing, we are informed, a salary of Rs. 900 per mensem. Last September along with 24 other Indian recruits he left for England to receive training as pilot officer under the R. A. F.

Kali Prasad's father was a famous shikari. When past 70, he went to bag a tiger in a C. P. forest. He had bagged many big game before. Unluckily the tiger mauled him fatally and he died in consequence. Love of adventure and daring ran in Kali Prasad's blood, and he has died a soldier's death.

Sir P. C. Ray on Secondary Education Bill Select Committee's Recommendations

"The Bengal Education Council express their definite opinion that the report of the Select Committee, far from improving the Secondary Education Bill, has made it worse in many respects. The Council hold the view that the few apparent improvements made by the Committee, if closely examined, will be found to be unsubstantial, if not illusory. They therefore, urge once more that the Bill be withdrawn. If this is not done, the existing discontent in the province will be greatly intensified and the situation will become immensely wrose," observes Sir P. C. Ray, President, Bengal Education Council, in a statement on the recommendations of the Select Committee on the Secondary Education Bill.

The Bengal Education Council's statement examines the recommendations of the Select Committee in detail and comes to the conclusion that.

> The amendments and the suggestion, if given effect to, will mean that the University will in future have practically no voice in either framing the syllabus and curriculum or prescribing the test for those who wish to avail themselves of University education. Not only the School Final Examination but also the Entrance Examination to the University, by whatever name it may be called, will be the primary concern of those who will have nothing to do with the Universities and University education. It is strange that the absurdity of such proposals did not strike the Select Committee when they made the amendments and the suggestion regarding the Matriculation Examination. If these proposals are carried into practice, they will deal a deathblow not only to secondary education but to higher education as well.

As the British Government seem to be behind the back of the Muslim League ministry in Bengal, all non-Muslims in Bengal will have to decide what they must and will do to safeguard the educational and cultural interests of their children and children's children.

It is not merely secondary education that the Bill will affect. Those who have studied the question know, and it is shown in the Bengal Education Council's statement, that primary education also and collegiate and university education, too, will suffer if the Bill becomes law. It is greatly to be regretted that Bengali Mussalmans have been misled into believing that the Bill will promote their education. It will do nothing of the kind. If the Bill becomes law they as well as non-Muslim Bengalis will be worse educated than now, and educational facilities for them as well as for non-Muslim Bengalis will become more limited than now.

Eastern India 'Rashtrabhasha' Conference

A conference called "Purba Bhārat Rāshtrabhāshā Sammelan" was held last month in Calcutta with Dr. Rajendra Prasad as President and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji as Chairman of its reception committee.

It would have been good if from the very beginning the question of what ought to be the 'State language' of India had been considered and discussed solely or mainly from the linguistic point of view. But it has not been so. It has been mixed up with political considerations, and so the political orthodoxy of a Congressman is questioned if he expresses any doubt about the suitability of Hindi, Urdu, or Hindustani for being made the Rāshtrabhāshā ('State language') of India. Many people seem to think that Rāshtrabhāshā ('State language') and Lingua Franca are synonymous terms, though they are not. French is, or was, the Lingua Franca of Europe, but it is the State language only of France there.

No authorized and full report of the proceedings of this Eastern India State Language Conference has yet been published. So one has to depend upon newspapers for reports of what the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the President and other speakers said. It appears that all the speakers spoke of Hindi as the Rāshtrabhāshā. We are under the impression that the Congress considers Hindustāni as the Rāshtrabhāshā and that this language is in course of manufacture and evolution, and is to be the result of amalgamation of Hindi and Urdu and the importation into it of a fixed proportion of Arabo-Persian and Sanskritic words. It would be convenient if at 'Rāshtrabhāsha' Conferences speakers plainly said what they considered the State Language.

It is reported that according to Dr. Rajendra Prasad the number of speakers of Hindi (that was the word he used, according to newspaper reports) is 150 millions. We have seen other estimates of the number in print before;—some saying it is 120 millions, others 220 millions, and still others 250 millions. What is the correct figure according to the highest politico-linguistic authority? It would be convenient for discussion if the advocates of any particular figure stated in which provinces and other areas the speakers of the Rāshtrabhāsha dwelt and what dialects according to them were included in the Rāshtrabhāsha. We may be allowed to make our meaning clear. It is usual to think that in Bihar proper the language spoken is the Rāshtrabhāshā (Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani). But in the course of a biographical sketch of the late Dr. Grierson, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha has said that the Bihari language (not Hindi or Urdu), spoken in Bihar, has three dialects, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Magahi, and that, besides Bihar, the Behari language is spoken in the eight districts of the Gorakhpur and Benares divisions of the United Provinces. Similarly, it is held by the advocates of Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani as the Rāshtrabhāshā that the people of Rajputana, the Panjab,......are Hindi-speaking, Urdu-speaking, or Hindustani-speaking. It is well known that the Patna, Benares and Calcutta universities have recognized Maithili as a main language separate and different from Hindi or Urdu, and according to Maithils the number of Maithili-speaking people is two crores in round numbers. If all languages like Maithili, Rajsthani and Panjabi which resemble Hindi be considered as Hindi, the question arises whether on the same principle and analogy Oriya and Assamese, etc., cannot be regarded as Bengali. If this principle were conceded the number of Bengali-speakers would greatly increase. We do not ourselves assert that Oriya or Assamese or Manipuri is Bengali. We are only postulating a probable question.

If the question of the Rāshtrabhāsha had been discussed scientifically and, therefore, linguistically, other facts would or should have been taken into consideration besides the number—real or conjectural—of the speakers of a language. For example, the simplicity or otherwise of its grammar, the script or scripts in which it is or may have to be written, the 'singleness' or duality of its literature, the naturalness of its growth or the artificiality of its manufacture, etc. Let us make our meaning clear. We shall mention some points with reference to Bengali—of course, without fondly cherishing the least hope that either the Indian National Congress or the Government will take them into consideration.

So far as our knowledge goes—we are not and do not claim to be linguists—the grammar of Bengali is simpler than that of Hindi-Urdu or Hindustani. Bengali is written in only one kind of script and that script is substantially that of Assamese, Maithili and Manipuri. Hindi and Urdu have different scripts and Hindustani will have to be written in both scripts according to the Congress prescription, and also in Roman script according to those who are of the same way of thinking with Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, involving double or triple labour on the part of learners,—and perhaps sometimes on that of users, too. The best Mussalman writers of Bengali, the best Christian writers of Bengali and the best Hindu writers of Bengali have combined to create one single standard Bengali literature. On the other hand, the best Mussalman writers of Urdu and the best Hindu writers of Hindi have created two different literatures and the manufacturers of Hindustani are engaged in creating a third literature. The Bengali language and literature have evolved and grown naturally. The Hindustani language and literature are being manufactured artificially.

We do not mention here the comparative richness or excellence of different provincial Indian literatures; for what is less rich today may grow as rich as or even richer than some other literatures. But we may be allowed to inform those who, perhaps grudgingly, admit that Bengali has a rich modern literature, assert at the same time that it has no ancient literature or at any rate not one of much richness or excellence. That is not at all true. It has an excellent and copious ancient literature.

Resolutions of Eastern India Rāshtrabhāshā Conference

Though we do not agree that Hindustani is or should be the Rāshtrabhāsha of India, we are entirely in favour of all Bengalis learning Hindi, and, of as many of them as can, learning Urdu also. Therefore, we are for promoting the knowledge of these languages among Bengalis.

We wish to make some observations on some of the other resolutions of the Eastern India State Language Conference.

> The Conference adopted several resolutions one of which, seeking to remove misapprehension prevailing in non-Hindi provinces, announced that the aim of propagation of the national language was not to replace the provincial languages or to harm them in any way

but to help in the cultivation of inter-provincial unity and strengthening of the one-nation idea.

Pandit Shreeram Sharma moving the resolution said that one of the objectives of the national language was to bring about closer relationship among the provinces and facilitate interchange of feelings. It was neither possible nor desirable that the Rastrabhasha should oust a provincial language. Languages like Bengali and Marathi were national assets and to effect their destruction would be nothing but suicidal.

Acharyya J. B. Kripalani held that it was foolish to harbour the suspicion that the national language might supplant a provincial language. If a language like Bengali had succeeded in surviving the onslaught of the English language it could easily survive any attack that might come from Hindi.

Supporting the resolution Shreemati Shanti Devi maintained that the national language should be developed side by side with the development of the provincial languages.

The following other resolutions were passed at the Conference.

This Conference has pleasure in noting that the Educational Institutions in Eastern India, *i.e.*, Assam, Bengal and Orissa, to make arrangement for teaching the 'national' language in their institutions and to assist in popularising the *lingua franca*.

This Conference has pleasure in nothing that the Bengalees have recognised the usefulness of the national language and it proposes that a committee consisting of the following persons be formed for preparing necessary scheme for carrying on the work of popularising Hindi with greater zeal in Bengal : Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (President), Prof. Priyaranjan Sen, Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, Sj. Basantalal Murarka, Pandit Ambica Prosad Bajpai, anl Sj. Bhramarlal Sindhi (Convener).

This Conference recognising the necessity of propagating Hindi in the Santhal and Chota Nagpur divisions of Bihar decides that the work of propagation of Rashtrabhasha be commenced there and to expand it where the work has already begun and that Purba Bharat Rashtrabhasha Prachar Sabha would shoulder the responsibility.

We should have thought that in appreciation of the recognition which has been voluntarily and willingly given to Hindi and Urdu in Bengal the Conference would pass a relations, would not bring any solace to the U. P. to accord to Bengali the same recognition in those provinces,—a recognition which the Bengali inhabitants of those provinces (and of Bengal, too) demand. Without such a resolution the mere assertion that the propagation of Hindi in Bengal, etc., has for its object the promotion of better interprovincial feelings and relations, would not bring any solace to the hearts of Bengalis.

It is not correct to assume that all or most Bengalis have recognized the usefulness of Hindi as the 'national' language. Its usefulness is recognized on other grounds.

The resolution relating to the propagation of Hindi in Chota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas is unfortunate. Bitter complaints have been heard in those areas for a long time that systematic efforts have been and are being made there to make out that people who have been Bengali-speaking from time immemorial are Hindi-speaking. There is an A.-I. C.C. resolution, not given effect to in Bihar, that parts of these areas which are Bengali-speaking should be re-included in Bengal. We stop at that.

Satyagrahis To Be Bi-linguists

Among the A.-I. C. C. instructions for Satyagrahis are the following :

From the date on which the name of a prospective Satyagrahi is forwarded to Mahatma Gandhi for sanction he is to suspend his private activities and devote himself wholly to working out one or more items of the following thirteen-fold items of the constructive programme :

(A) Hindu-Muslim or communal unity.
(B) Removal of untouchability.
(C) Prohibition.
(D) Khadi.
(E) Other village industries.
(F) Village sanitation.
(G) New or basic education.
(H) Adult education.
(I) Uplift of women.
(J) Education in hygiene and health.
(K) The propagation of Rashtrabhasha.
(L) Cultivating love of one's own language.
(M) Working for economic equality.

All these items are important and we support their working out.

With regard to the propagation of the Rāshtrabhāsha and cultivating love of one's own language, we have to ask Mahatma Gandhi two questions :

(1) Will it be incumbent on those whose mother-tongue is the Rāshtrabhāsha to learn some other Indian language ? As he is for economic equality, it is to be presumed that he is for *linguistic* equality also.

(2) How can Bengali children and their parents in Bihar, U. P. etc., cultivate love of their own language if that language is not given proper educational recognition there ?

Miss-Mayo-like British Propaganda In America

The British people are giving indubitable proofs of their sterling qualities of heroism and sportsmanship in the course of the war. They have been fighting quite fearlessly and heroically on land and sea and in the air and, if defeated now and then, they are taking their defeats in quite a sportsmanlike spirit. It is to be regretted that such a people should be behaving in a different manner with regard to India in their propaganda against it in America.

With reference to the pamphlet issued by the British Ministry of Information, entitled

"British Empire Publicity Campaign—Talking Points on India," *The Bombay Chronicle* writes:

It will give them an idea of British propaganda about India, its regard for truth and fairness and its sense of chivalry towards a dependency not permitted by law and censorship to give a fitting reply to it. The pamphlets bristles with untruths and half-truths with glaring instances of the art of *suppressio veri, suggestio falsi*, all calculated to vilify India in the now familiar Mayo fashion. It sometimes descends to vulgar libel as when it says: "Nepotism is a vice to us, a virtue to them" (Orientals). It is not clear why such unworthy propaganda is undertaken at the present time. It is certainly not calculated to stimulate war effort in India. It is evidently meant for America where the people naturally contrast Britain's professions about freedom and democracy with her practice in India and compare inconveniently British denunciation of Fascism and British imperialism in India. Though *India in Bondage* by J. T. Sunderland, an American author, is proscribed in India as it is a most effective exposure of British imperialism, it is said to be extremely popular in America and is now supplemented by American editions of Pandit Jawaharlal's Autobiography. If the Talking Points on India are meant to be a reply to these books they are doomed to fail miserably.

"Nepotism is a Vice to Us, a Virtue to Them"

One of the precious points in the "Talking Points on India" supplied to anti-Indian propagandists in America is, "Nepotism is a vice to us, a virtue to them, *i.e.*, to Indians. It is not denied that nepotism exists and existed in India. But the word is not Indian in origin and the vice is not a monopoly of Indians. No decent Indian considers it a virtue.

As luck would have it, Professor Dr. H. C. Mookerjee in his second article on "Some Allegations Against Indian Officials," published in our last May number had something to say on the subject. We extract some sentences from it below.

We have it on record that between 1790 and 1838 altogether seventy-seven Directors of the East India Company were elected of whom fifty-six were Bengal civilians who held between them 170 posts. Among these were one Peer, nineteen sons of Peers, twelve Baronets and one Mr. Treves—a protege of the Prince Regent. Some of these drew their salaries while staying permanently in England while others, let us say relatively more conscientious, paid flying visits to our country. We do not know whether the long voyage round the Cape was taken for reasons of health, Bengal being utilised as a place for passing the interval pleasantly between the two voyages in new and therefore interesting surroundings. In a formal communication addressed to the Board of Directors the complaint was made that the service was filled with men who "had no recommendation but their high birth and great interest." The author of the abovementioned book should know that people holding such a high rank as William Markham, the Archbishop of York, used their influence to provide for their unqualified young dependents, that Hastings, strong man as he was, found it impossible to abolish certain unnecessary posts only because they were held by relatives and dependents of the Directors and that Lord Cornwallis was pressed very hard by the Prince Regent to supersede an Indian officer "of great talent and universally respected" in favour of his protege though at that time Treves had been in India only two years while the Indian had grown grey in the service of the Company. The last instance to which I shall refer is that of one Dundas, a Scotchman, who was President of the Board of Control for quite a number of years. During his time, nominations to service became, to a certain extent, the price of political support and young Scots "were able to obtain his patronage through the intervention of their members of Parliament."

These examples of nepotism and jobbery belong to the last century. So Dr. H. C. Mookerjee comes to more recent times and writes:

And is nepotism quite unknown among them? Have not posts been either created or filled more than once by ill-qualified Englishmen just to give them a chance of earning their living? That nepotism and jobbery are not quite unknown among the British may be proved by what Sir Valentine Chirol, who was not very well-disposed towards India's political ambitions, has said on page 301 of his book *Indian Unrest*. His words are as follows:

"Men are too often sent out as lawyers or as doctors, or even, as I have already pointed out, to join the Education Department, with inadequate qualifications, and they are allowed to enter upon their work without any knowledge of the language and customs of the people. Such cases are generally the result of carelessness or ignorance at home, but some of them, I fear, can only be described as *jobs*—and there is no room in India for jobs."

With reference to the recent appointment of the new Reforms Commissioner, *The Pioneer*, which cannot be accused of being hostile to the appointment of British "experts," has observed:

"Is it not possible, in the interests of war-time economy in India, to postpone the appointment of distinguished sons of distinguished Indian Civil Servants, especially when there is no work of particular importance to gain their attention?"

The Pioneer's question gains relevancy from the fact that one of the principal qualifications of Mr. Hodson mentioned by the British press is that "Mr. Hodson, though not a Civil Servant, is the son of a distinguished Civil Servant."

Does this appointment illustrate a British virtue?

Untruths and Half-truths in "Talking Points on India"

We have neither the space nor the time at our disposal to expose all the falsehoods and the more dangerous half-truths contained in "Talking Points on India." Moreover, what we could have written would not reach America —during war time at any rate. So we shall rest

content with a few comments on a few points only.

"*Illiteracy : Why are 90 Per Cent Still Illiterate ?*"

Various causes have been alleged for the prevailing illiteracy. But it has not been honestly admitted that, far from making any earnest attempt to make the people literate, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have persistently opposed the introduction of measures for imparting universal education, by various means direct and indirect.

All the present causes alleged existed before the establishment of British rule in India and during the earlier years of the rule of the East India Company. But in spite of the existence of those causes, we find the following positive testimony to the greater prevalence of elementary education in those days :

"Max-Muller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that 'in every Hindu village which has retained its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write, and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared'."—Keir Hardie, *India*, page 5.

For other evidence of the former greater prevalence of literacy in India, see Major B. D. Basu's *History of Education in India under the Rule of the East India Company*. Why has elementary education become less widespread than before ?

Even Mr. Edward Thompson, author of many books of poetry, drama, fiction, essays and belles-Lettres, and history, grudgingly admits.

"Nevertheless, there was more literacy, if of a low kind, than until within the last ten years."—*The Reconstruction of India*, (1930), page 255.

Taking Mr. Edward Thompson's words, 'than until within the last ten years', to be accurate, they would mean that literacy began to spread a little more rapidly since when Indian Ministers were first placed in charge of education. That brings out prominently the indifference of the British officers to the spread of education.

One of the alleged causes of India's 90 per cent. illiteracy is,

"The language difficulty : there are about 20 major languages and 100 or 150 minor languages, many with no script at all and very inadequate as an educational medium."

Let us examine this excuse.

The minor languages which have no script at all of their own are those which are spoken by the aboriginal tribes, following more or less animistic cults. According to the census of 1931, the followers of these tribal religions numbered 8,280,347 in the whole of India out of a total Indian population of 352,837,778. Can the existence of the comparatively few scriptless people account for the 90 per cent. illiteracy of the vast mass of the Indian people ?

Approaching the point from another direction, we find that the Indian languages which have scripts and literatures of their own are spoken by 329,130,000 persons. Why could not the British Government make earnest efforts to make these thirty-three crores of people with scripts and literatures of their own literate ?

In Soviet Russia more languages are spoken than in India and the scriptless languages and peoples there are not less in number than in India. Yet within the few years after the Revolution there has been far greater spread of literacy and education in Soviet Russia than during the nearly two centuries of British rule in India.

Backwardness of Agriculture in India

It is stated in "Talking Points on India" that "the backwardness of Indian agriculture is due to many reasons." We have no space to examine these 'reasons' now. We merely quote here a few sentences from Mr. Edward Thompson's *The Reconstruction of India* :

". . . . we have done less in some material matters—agriculture, for example, than the United States would probably have done." Pp. 257-8.

"We have had Commission after Commission, on every possible subject, the Indianization of the army, the pay and prospects of the services, the working of the Constitution, plans for the future Constitution, the Princes, Agriculture, Education. . . . It has all been largely foolery. Nothing has happened, the Commissions have got us nowhere." P. 261.

Explaining Away India's Poverty

One of the things said in "Talking Points on India" to show that British rule is not in the least responsible for India's poverty, is "India was always a land of great poverty among the masses; the old idea of its wealth came from the splendour of the courts and the habit of hoarding gold and jewellery."

Assuming without admitting the correctness of this allegation, one may ask, why has not the British Government been able to remove or at least reduce poverty of the masses during well-nigh two centuries of its rule ? The reasons stated therefor cannot stand examination.

If the masses have been always very poor, who contributed the hoarded wealth ?

That the British propagandists' allegation

is not correct is proved by the very fact that nation after nation from Europe came to India to trade with and in it and, if possible, to conquer it, and that so long as they have had any foothold here they have all became more or less wealthy. Did a Sahara-like India attract them? Did they become wealthy by simply looting the hoarded gold and jewellery? Or, did they not sell their goods to the common people with great profit? If there was always great poverty among the masses, how could they make the foreign traders wealthy by buying their goods? Perhaps they all came to India to give alms to the masses of the people of India, roused to pity by their great poverty, and in exchange for their large and constant charities they carried back to their country shiploads of Indian desert sands which by their mysterious alchemy was transmuted to gold.

There were a thousand harbours in India with ship-building yards of their own in days past. These employed hundreds of thousands of men. What were harbours and ships for except to carry on commerce? How could commerce be carried on if there were not both agricultural produce as well as manufactured goods? India had a large flourishing agricultural and manufacturing population. Many British authorities can be quoted in support of this statement. One or two will suffice.

"Ere the pyramids looked down upon the valley of the Nile, when Greece and Italy, those cradles of European civilization, nursed only the tenants of the wilderness, India was the seat of wealth and grandeur. A busy population had covered the land with the marks of industry; rich crops of the most coveted productions of nature annually rewarded the toil of the husbandman Skilled artisans converted the rude products of the soil into fabrics of unrivalled delicacy and beauty. Architects and sculptors joined in constructing works, the solidity of which has not, in some instances, been overcome by the evolution of thousands of years. . . . The ancient state of India must have been one of extraordinary magnificence."—Thornton's *Description of Ancient India*, quoted in *The Modern Review* for January, 1921, p. 162.

Dr. Robertson writes in his *A Historical Disquisitions Concerning India* (London, 1817), page 180:

"In no part of the earth do the natives depend so little upon foreign countries either for the necessaries or for the luxuries of life. The blessings of a favourable climate and a fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afford them whatever they desire. In consequence of this, trade with them has always been carried on in one uniform manner, and the precious metals have been given in exchange, for their peculiar productions, whether of nature or art."

Again:

"In all ages, the trade with India has been the same; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in order to purchase the same commodities with which it now supplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it and from which it never returns." *Ibid*, page 203.

When the time came for the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1813, the mercantile classes of England desired that they should be allowed to export their goods freely to India and sell them here freely. Witnesses were examined by the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament to establish the imaginary need and desire of the people of India for British goods, as also how such free trade would 'civilize' and benefit India! But the evidence given by the witnesses was not of the kind desired by the British manufacturers and traders. One of the witnesses who appeared before the Select Committee of the House of Commons was Sir Thomas Munro. In the course of his evidence he said in part:

"The people of India are as much a nation of shopkeepers as we are ourselves; they never lose sight of the shop, they carry it into all their concerns, religious and civil; all their holy places and resorts for pilgrims are so many fairs for sale of goods of every kind; religion and trade are in India sister arts, the one is seldom found in any large assembly without the society of the other."—*Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*, by Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S., pages 26-27.

It is to be noted that the goods which the Indian shopkeepers sold in those days were goods made in India by Indians for Indians. A country where the manufacture and sale of goods were carried on briskly in all parts could not possibly have been a poor country. Of course, as in other civilized countries of Asia and Europe in those days, so in India the distribution of wealth among all classes was not of the ideal kind desired by socialists. But that does not mean that there was great poverty among the masses in India in those days any more than there was such poverty in any other wealthy country.

No Government Help Given to Scindia Shipbuilding Yard

BOMBAY, June 25.

"No facilities either for steel required for the hulls of ships nor for the engines for ships have been secured for the proposed ship-building yard by the Government of India from the United Kingdom," observed Mr. Walchand Hirachand, Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, replying to the editorial comments of the "Times of India," which said that "the Government of India secured from the United Kingdom various facilities, including steel for the ships' hulls and the necessary ships'

engines which cannot be constructed in this country."

President Roosevelt Removes Colour Bar Against Negroes

WASHINGTON, June 15.

Declaring that he had received complaints of nation-wide discrimination against the Negroes, President Roosevelt today called on the office of Production Management to deal effectively with the situation of "grave national importance."

In a memorandum addressed to the co-directors of the office, Mr. William Knudsen and Mr. Hillman, the President says that no nation combating the increasing threat of Totalitarianism can afford arbitrarily to exclude large segments of the population from the defence industries.

Industry, he declares, must open the doors of employment to all loyal and qualified workers, regardless of race, national origin, religion or colour.

"I shall expect the office of Production Management to take immediate steps to facilitate full utilisation of our productive manpower," he adds.—*Reuter.*

We appreciate this action of the U. S. President.

When will he admit citizens of India to the citizenship of his great republic?

Khaksar Movement Declared Unlawful

SIMLA, June 5.

A Government of India *communique* states that steps have been taken to declare the Khaksars to be an unlawful association wherever necessary, and Provincial Governments will take all the action that they consider necessary to dispel the menace which the action of these misguided people has brought into existence.

In consesuence, all Provincial Governments have declared the Khaksar movement unlawful.

If this step had been taken betimes earlier, many disturbances and considerable injury to public interests, and great communal bitterness could have been prevented.

Cattle in Famine-stricken Birbhum

One of the most distressing features in the famine in the Birbhum district is the suffering caused to the cattle for want of fodder and water. It is therefore a matter of gratification that the Famine Relief Committee, organised by the workers of the Visva-Bharati, devoted special attention to this matter. With the co-operation of the Marwari Relief Society of Calcutta, a Cattle camp was started at Ballabhpur on the bank of the Kopai river where 70 heads of cattle have been kept for about 4 months. These include some cattle which were purchased from very poor villagers who were unable to maintain them. In addition to this there are two cattle-feeding centres, at Ballabhpur and Laldaha, where cattle from the neighbouring villages are brought everyday by their owners for feeding. This arrangement was readertd possible with the help of a contribution of Rs. 1250/- paid to the Visva-Bharati by Shri Gogras Gojivdan Mandal of Bombay.

"Negroes Win a Battle"

In a previous note we have expressed our appreciation of the removal of the colour bar against Negroes in the industrial field by President Roosevelt. In another direction, too, the Negro cause has made headway, as will appear from the following paragraphs taken from *Jewish Frontier* for May, 1941:

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court upholding the right of Negroes to accommodations and services equal to those of white passengers on trains passing through the southern States strikes a note of cheer during these days of gloom. Because of the authority of the Supreme Court this decision gains significance extending far beyond the actual case under consideration. It paves the way for further test cases and opens vistas of still greater extension of Negro rights and a stronger affirmation of the principle embodied in the fourteenth amendment.

The ruling of the Supreme Court does not put an end to discrimination and segregation. These are apparently still left to the jurisdiction of the individual Southern States. But it does establish the principle of equal treatment for Negroes on southern trains. Thus if a Negro pays for Pullman accommodations, he may still be limited to the use of a special Pullman car assigned for Negroes. But he can no longer be denied access to this or similar services, as had been the case in the past.

This excellent American Jewish organ points out that

There are still other steps of even greater importance to be taken. A Federal anti-lynch law has been long overdue. Other legislation to curb States' infringement on the spirit and letter of the Bill of Rights should be passed. But the present decision of the Supreme Court is symptomatic of a trend to be welcomed, nor is the unanimity of the decision to be overlooked.

For that reason, in spite of the fact that in America Negroes, Jews, Asiatics (including 'Hindus') and others have grievances, the United States must not be considered at all similar to Germany or Italy.

There are numerous Negroes who, in the present emergency, declared that there is not much choice between a fascist regime and the treatment accorded to the Negro in many parts of the United States. This attitude is abetted and encouraged by the brethren on the left who exploit Negro hurt and dissatisfaction for their own political game. It is true, Negroes, Jews, Asiatics and others are still being discriminated against in the United States in industry and in social life. But there also exist strong progressive forces and it is possible to fight for one's rights and also to win. Would such a thing be possible under a Fascist regime, or under an administration that would seek to appease and placate Fascism? Try and visualize a Nazi Supreme Court rendering such a decision and the answer becomes obvious. Despite its faults and shortcomings a democratic order such as that of the United States is separated from a Fascist regime by an unbridgeable gulf.

S. K. Ratcliffe on Jawaharlal Nehru

Many old newspaper readers in our country will remember the name of Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, a former editor of *The Statesman*, whose political opinions were somewhat more acceptable to Indians than those of the generality of British editors in India. He has contributed an article on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the May number of *The Catholic World* of New York, just to hand. He deplores the imprisonment of the Pandit:

Nehru in jail is an unqualified tragedy. Many among us who know something of India, and the conditions of a period of painful transition, are convinced that this man and his influence might, with the aid of an imaginative decision in high quarters, have been today a valuable ally for a great government involved in a life-and-death struggle. For character and ability he would be eminent in any country.

We quoted similar views in a previous issue from *The Inquirer*, a notable London weekly.

Regarding Nehru's personality Mr. Ratcliffe observes:

Nehru, of course, is a product of two cultures. He has wide intellectual and aesthetic interests, and he displays throughout a spirit wonderfully free from bitterness. He has a large circle of English friends; he has always taken pleasure in his contacts with Englishmen (other than officials in India).

He reveals the mind and ways of a high-caste Hindu born into an Anglicized family, and so to no small extent cut off from its own tradition. Toward the end of the book he confesses that he looks upon himself as essentially an Occidental. In his own land he has often known the exile's feeling; sometimes he has doubts whether he could be said to represent anybody. And yet one would say that the spiritual experience he records in these sentences must be common to all sensitive Hindus who have spent their formative years in England or America.

Referring to Nehru's Autobiography, published in America with the title *Towards Freedom*, the writer says:

Readers of this book will turn with particular interest to the section dealing with India and the world crisis, and the line of action taken by his party which led to the present imprisonment of the author. The record, like so much else in the volume, is tragic. Nehru could not be expected to take the British view of this tremendous conflict; but, in common with the whole educated public of India, he is completely conscious of the fate that would befall his country if Nazi Germany were to be victorious. Perhaps the simplest way of putting the central point here is to say that Nehru, like Gandhi, would not have engaged in any activity that could injure the British war effort if any basis of co-operation had been found, unfortunately it was not. The first item of the Indian case is that the unhappy occurrences of 1940, including the arrest of many prominent members of the Congress party, could have been avoided without difficulty, *had it not been for the initial mistake of the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, in declaring India a belligerent without consulting the Indian Legislatures.* This step was not easy to recall; but one cannot help asking whether, in the hard circumstances of 1940, recovery would not have been made much less difficult, for both sides, if the resignation of the Congress Ministers in the autonomous provinces had been avoided. The abandonment of responsibility in such circumstances makes conciliation and co-operation almost impossible. Gandhi's intervention, too, increased the difficulty, for he advised or sanctioned the resumption of civil disobedience by individuals, which seems like a contradiction in terms. (Italics our. EDITOR, *M. R.*).

Other opinions of Mr. Ratcliffe on the Pandit are given in the notes which follow.

Nehru and Imperialism

"Nehru is an implacable enemy of imperialism in all its forms, and he can find in the British Indian system almost no redeeming feature. We can hardly be surprised at this attitude, for his own public life has been all conflict with British authority. He has endured many terms of imprisonment—and experience over twenty years involving mental suffering of which he writes in a moving passage that few readers are likely to forget."

"By intellectual make-up and training he is a political thinker. After going through his record, one cannot avoid asking whether his choice of method and weapons was not a departure from the line of action for which he was fitted. He deliberately took the road that led to prison; and yet, one would urge, the possession of knowledge and gifts such as his pointed in an opposite direction. His career stands for a loss of public value that one cannot estimate and must deplore; and I am far from suggesting that the blame rests wholly or chiefly with himself."

Gandhi and Nehru

". . . . how came it that Nehru, a modern man, a born politician, with a full mental training of the West, was impelled to complete subjection to a senior with whom, in almost every essential, he disagreed? Again and again he pays tribute to Gandhi's unique qualities. He recognizes in him a man of destiny; *he alone could have fulfilled the amazing mission of awaking the multitudes of India.* But Nehru had no sympathy with Gandhi's religious spirit and outlook. He was entirely against the Gandhist view of society and human destiny; he loathed the idea of a restored peasant community, with life held down upon its barest terms. He accepted, of course, the principle of non-violence and the tactics of boycott. But he believes in the advance of industry, in science, in the full application of modern knowledge and organization to India. Moreover, he dissents altogether from Gandhi's bourgeois theories, as he calls them, of landlordism and the role of the wealthy. *Indeed if there is a more thorough anti-Gandhist in India, it would, I am sure, be difficult to find him.*" (Italics ours. EDITOR, *M. R.*).

Nehru and Russia

"For Nehru is a Socialist and Rationalist. He has been to Russia and, notwithstanding all that he knows of the Stalin sequel to the revolution, he believes that Russia exhibits a great advance along the road that the peasant peoples of Asia must travel. This it is, as one need hardly point out, this more than anything else, which makes Nehru a minority leader in the National Congress, the party of which he has been thrice the titular leader. We cannot wonder, therefore, that at the

close of his history and confession he looks out upon the bewildering condition of his native land without being able to say what he would do now or what he could wish the responsible men of his party to aim at. This man of high intellectual rank, of fine nature, wide knowledge, intense feeling and a will of steel, may be in his middle fifties when next called upon to play a leading part in the affairs of his country. It is the wish and hope of us all that, when the doors of opportunity are again opened to him, India may offer him a field of public service from which, to use the words of an eminent Victorian writer of his own school of thought, "the anarchy of transition shall have passed away."

Guru Saday Dutt

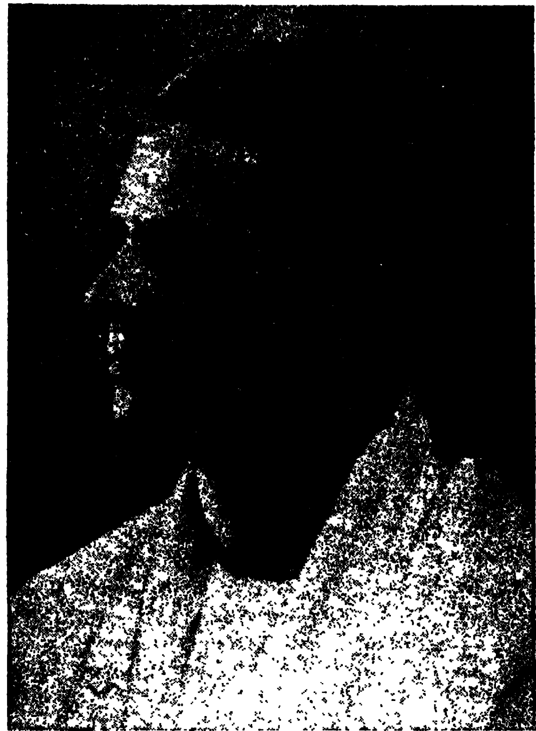
By the death of Guru Saday Dutt Bengal and India have sustained a loss of which the character and measure cannot just now be exactly described. He is most widely known as the founder of the Bratachari Movement. That movement is associated in the minds of many people only with its dances and similar exercises for boys and girls and men and women. These are part of the movement no doubt. But the movement as a whole has a wider and a higher object. Not that the dances, considered as dances alone, do not serve a very useful purpose. Confining ourselves to a consideration of the dances meant for girls and women, we may say that they are community dances and provide the fair sex with a means of wholesome and health-promoting social enjoyment in which all can participate, that they give them opportunities of open air life, and that they are entirely free from voluptuousness. The dances and exercises for boys and men are also community dances and are of a wholesome and health-promoting character. The Bratachari vows give one some idea of the object of the movement. Those who wish to know more about it may read the brochure on the subject which the present writer wrote as an article for the *Asia* magazine, which published it in an abridged form, and which was published later in its original form as a booklet by the Bratachari Society (6-1, Store Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta).

Freed from the trammels of office, Guru Saday Dutt was working for greater usefulness for his movement. He was entirely free from communal bias and so he was able to win for his movement the appreciation and approbation of even some prominent communalists.

Under his guidance and inspiration, Bratacharis have done some remarkable social service work in many places. Even before he had started the movement, he and his wife, Srimati Saroj Nalini Devi, who pre-deceased him many years ago, had done valuable work for the good of society.

Sj. Dutt was an able and dutiful officer and if he had not been an Indian, he might certainly have been appointed Governor of some province.

He had other disqualifications, too, for which he was never made even a Chief Secretary or a Divisional Commissioner. The powers that be, from the Secretary of State downwards, were displeased with him for his independence, as evidenced, for example, by his severe reprimand of the European police and military officers in connection with the Bamangachi shooting case. In and outside office, his genuine and practical sympathy with his countrymen,, particularly the village folk, and his swadeshi dress and manners outside office hours, were perhaps other offences in the eyes of the arbiters of India's destiny.



Guru Saday Dutt

Like the folk dances and folk songs which he revived, he collected some of the old paintings in the form of rolls executed by itinerant members of the *patua* class in Bengal, which they went about exhibiting from village to village. He had a fine collection of old wood carvings also, and some old images, too. He took great interest in the old architecture of Bengal.

We have spoken above of his sympathy with village folk. It was not the commodity called by that name which many a superior person

patronizingly professes. The expression 'rural reconstruction' is now on the lips of even the high and mighty. But it was Guru Saday Dutt who first set the example of serving the masses as a high I.C.S. officer, axe or spade or shovel in hand, clearing jungles, re-excavating silted up tanks or channels, and emptying dust-bins of their refuse. Those who at first stood aghast at the sight or were scoffers behind his back, came ere long to respect him and, some, also to follow him. In this kind of work, and in singing Bratachari songs of his own composition and performing Bratachari dances, before vast gatherings of high and low, he was ridicule-proof.

His sympathy with village folk had that element of respect for them without which no sympathy can be genuine. He had as much of Western learning and culture as the generality of men of his class—perhaps more. But that served only to inspire him with respect for our real indigenous culture. His collection of folk songs and of the products of village arts and crafts was unique. He kept them in his museum, which he wanted to develop into a Folk University, which he had named "Bratachari Janasikshā Parishat."

He was a litterateur also both in prose and verse. He was elected president of the last session of the Prabāsi Banga-sāhitya Sammelan, held at Jamshedpur, and performed his duties with his usual earnestness and ability.

He displayed originality in all that he did.

His devoted love for his wife he transfigured into devoted service to the womanhood of our motherland through the Saroj Nalini Nari-Mangal Samiti, with its numerous branches. There have been devoted wives in our country, and elsewhere, too. There have been devoted husbands, too, though not so many. Among them all Guru Saday Dutt will for ever occupy a foremost place. The transfiguration of the conjugal love of Srimati Saroj Nalini and Guru Saday Dutt will pass into history as perhaps unique.

Servants of India Society

POOONA, June 25.

The Servants of India Society has issued the following statement to the Press:

The thirty sixth session of the Servants of India Society came to a close on June 24 with a concluding address to the members by the President, the Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.

Pandit Kunzru, whose triennial term of Presidentship came to an end this year, was re-elected President of the Society for another term of 3 years.

Mr. Karsondas J. Chitalia was admitted to the membership of the Society this year.

Mr. N. V. Phadke tendered resignation of his membership, which was accepted.

The year 1940-41 closed with a deficit of over Rs. 6,000, though a much larger one was apprehended in December last.—*A. P. I.*

The election of Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru to the presidentship of the Servants of India Society for another term of three years is commendable.

The deficit is to be regretted. The Society continues to do work of advantage to the country and should receive adequate support from the country.

Cyclone Swept Parts of Bengal

The districts of Bakharganj and Noakhali devastated by a terrific cyclone and other neighbouring areas suffering from the effects of inundation urgently stand in need of adequate help. On behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has appealed to the public for contributions. He has himself toured through many of the places which have suffered most and has given a moving account of the miserable plight of their inhabitants. He has also pointed out in what respects the relief operations of the Government are open to criticism. There should be adequate response to his appeal.

Recrudescence of 'Riots' in Dacca

It is greatly to be deplored that there has been a recrudescence of sanguinary rioting in Dacca and that already (29th June) more than ten persons have been killed and many more wounded. The *goonda* element has become so turbulent that even the District Magistrate was attacked.

On the one hand the committee appointed by the Bengal Government to enquire into the cause of the "riots" which took place some weeks ago, has been taking evidence; on the other the city has been witnessing a repitition of the same wicked crimes.

Hindu Mahasabha and Direct Action

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution at its last meeting in Calcutta to the effect that the Mahasabha's Madura resolution be not given effect to in view of the important international developments and also in view of the communal situation in the country. After giving in detail the reasons for the decision arrived at, the resolution states:

(1) That the question of launching the campaign of direct action on an All-India issue and scale be postponed for the present.

(2) That such postponement will not in any manner debar any action that may be required to be taken on important local or provincial issues affecting the civic, religious, cultural or political rights of the Hindus, it

being understood that such action, if proposed to be taken by any Provincial Hindu Sabha will require the previous approval of the All-India Working Committee which will extend to any such movement, if approved, the active support and sympathy of Hindus from all parts of India.

Dr. B. S. Moonje moved the resolution in a speech giving his reasons for moving it. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee seconded it and in the course of his speech asked

the committee to keep in view the conditions prevailing in Bengal. Bengal Hindus had been suffering immensely under the communal ministry. If the Muslim Ministry in Bengal attempted further to cripple the economic and cultural life of the Hindu Bengal, if the ministry in the teeth of opposition continued with the Calcutta Second Municipal Amendment Bill and the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, the Bengal Hindus would demand of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha to allow them to launch a campaign of direct action in Bengal. (Cheers). They would also demand of the rest of Hindu India to stand by Bengal and do their best to protect the life, property and culture of the Hindus in Bengal (prolonged cheers).

In support of the resolution Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee delivered a powerful speech, from which we have quoted a passage in the first article in this issue. Some speakers were for direct action, others moved amendments. and some others were for giving up the idea of direct action altogether once for all.

We think that, on the whole, the decision of the Committee has been wise and statesmanlike.

The Militarization of the Hindus

Militarization of any people is neither the highest nor even a high ideal for any people. But in the present state of India and of the Hindu community, it is necessary for many reasons. Hence any step that may be taken for the militarization of the Hindus has our support.

Hindus ought to be a thoroughly organized and disciplined body of citizens. Militarization may to some extent help to achieve greater solidarity. But it should be remembered that all talk of 'sangathan' or solidarity would be futile so long as the Hindus remained a caste-ridden people.

Other Resolutions of the Hindu Mahasabha Committee

The resolutions of the All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha on communal amity, census operations in Bengal, application of the Defence of India Rules, etc., were quite timely.

Communal Riots and Economic Boycott

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary, Indian National Congress, has suggested economic boycott as a non-violent means of tackling communal riots. He does not want social boycott, or economic boycott so far as foodstuffs or other indispensable necessaries of life are concerned.

We have considered the suggestion and think that it will not work. Perhaps the suggested remedy will be worse than the disease. At present communal riots take place mostly in urban areas. Economic boycott would embitter communal relations even in the smallest hamlets. In Bengal it would serve as an exciting cause for fresh and more widespread riots.

We remember that at a certain provincial conference held last year the question of economic boycott was discussed in the subjects committee. Very few supported it.

"The Achievements of British Rule"

In the "Talking Points on India," among "the achievements of British rule" the first to be mentioned is "Internal and External Peace." The communal riots taking place every now and then in different parts of the country are a sad commentary on the claim that British rule has established internal peace in the country.

We are not sure whether the kidnapping and plundering raids by transfrontier tribesmen are examples of internal or external peace.

New Regiments of the Indian Army

SIMLA, June 12.

The formation is announced of the Bengal Regiment which will be a regular infantry fighting unit of the Indian Army.

Besides the Bengal Regiment, four more regular regiments are being raised on the same basis from amongst "non-martial classes." These new regiments are being formed in Assam, Bihar, Madras, Bombay and the Punjab. The first battalion of the new Assam Regiment is reported to have been formed already from the nucleus provided by the existing Assam Rifles. The Bihar Regiment will be created out of the 11/19th Hyderabad Regiment of the I. T. F.

The formation of these regiments is good so far as it goes. But what is wanted is the abolition in practice of the distinction between the so-called martial and non-martial 'races' and open recruitment on the basis of fixed physical and other qualifications without reference to creed, caste, residence, 'race,' and the like.

Lieutenant Bhagat, V.C.

Lieutenant Bhagat, the young Indian officer who has won the Victoria Cross has done so as leader of a body of Sappers engaged in working in an area strewn with mine-fields and booby-

traps. In military parlance a booby-trap may be some harmless-looking object which conceals or contains within it some most dangerous infernal machine.

We heartily congratulate Lieutenant Bhagat on his well-earned distinction.

South Indian Muslim Anti-Separation Conference

At the South Indian Muslim Anti-Seperation Conference held last month in Madras the Pakistan scheme was strongly condemned.

Mr. Mahomed Yusuf Shareef, the president, concluded his address as follows :

"It must be admitted that communalism is based on fear and suspicion. Those who have sought to win the leadership of their communities have played upon these two passions."

The fears and suspicion is, he said, were the result of estrangement which had been brought about between them in the course of the nineteenth century.

"On the basis of facts relating to language, literature, science, philosophy, art, and religion, it can be stated with every justification that the Moslems and the Hindus of India had evolved a common point of view, a common way of living, a common civilization, during the long centuries of their contact."

The unity between the Hindus and the Moslems was not artificial but real, fostered by age-long association and close contact, and that the Hindus and the Moslems could evolve a common nationality and continue to work together for the common good of all.—*A. P. I.*

Departmental Advisory Defence Committee

SIMLA, June 6.

The decision is announced to set up a departmental committee to advise on defence matters.

It is learned that Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, Leader of the Central Legislative Assembly and Sir Girijashanker Bajpai, Leader of the Council of State, have been requested to get into touch with the leaders of the parties in both the Houses of the Central Legislature to secure nominations of party representatives on the committee.—*A. P.*

Burjorji J. Padshah

Burjorji J. Padshah, whose death at Bombay last month is announced in the Bombay papers, was known for many years as the chosen associate, in fact "the guide, philosopher and friend" of the late Mr. Jamshedji N. Tata, founder of the house of Tata. The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, the colossal Hydro-electric Works, and the Jamshedpur Iron and Steel Works of the Tatas owe their establishment and growth to a considerable extent to his clever planning and organizational ability. He was a scholar and an exceptionally gifted man, but remained comparatively unknown because he shunned publicity.

Delay in Publication of Bengal Census Figures

Mr. Dutch, the officer in charge of census work in Bengal, has come out with an explanation as to why the main census figures have not yet been published. His explanation is not at all satisfactory. He says Bengal is the most populous of Indian provinces, and whereas its population was some 50 millions in 1931, it is now 60 millions. Well, if the main results of the 1931 census could be published 9 days after the day of the final enumeration, this year's census results should and could have been published 12 days after the final enumeration. He further says, whereas in the other provinces the numerical strength of the numerous Hindu castes has not been required to be ascertained and recorded, the figures of their numerical strength has to be compiled in Bengal. But who wanted these numbers to be counted here ? The Government of India had decided to do without such statistics in all the provinces. It is the Muslim League Ministry of Bengal who decided to spend Bengal public money for getting such statistics compiled. But leaving aside that question it may be pointed out that at the 1931 census also caste statistics were compiled, but that did not stand in the way of the main census figures being published quickly.

It is not necessary to examine Mr. Dutch's explanation in greater detail. If this year's census has involved more labour owing to the increased population, more men could and should have been employed to do the work.

Mr. Dutch has avoided answering the question as to why the experienced and able Hindu assistant census officer has been transferred when he was about to finish his work and a Muslim sub-inspector of schools inexperienced in census work has been installed in his place.

Condemnation of "Bengal Supervision of Widows' Home, Orphanages, Etc., Bill"

This Bill has been strongly condemned by the nationalist press of Bengal and at two public meetings in Calcutta. Besides Sj. Sanat Kumar Roy Choudhuri, Ramananda Chatterjee, Sir N. N. Sircar, and a prominent M.L.A. whose statement has not yet been published, Sir M. N. Mukherji has also condemned it, saying, "it has only to be read to be disapproved."

INDIA'S FREEDOM A PREREQUISITE TO WORLD FREEDOM AND WORLD PEACE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

According to the spokesmen of Britain and her Allies at the time, the last great world war was a war to end war and establish world peace and world freedom on an enduring basis. If at the end of that war the chief combatant, the British Empire, the most extensive in the world, had made itself democratic in all its parts—if, particularly, India, which contains four-fifths of its population, had been allowed to be self-ruling, great progress could have been made towards the realization of the ideal of world democracy, world freedom and world peace. But at the end of the war Britain was essentially as imperialistic in its relations with its dependencies, including India, the greatest of them, as at its beginning, and it still remains so. Is there any prospect of Britain changing her mentality in any future that we can foresee? The pronouncements of her prominent statesmen give no such hope. I shall examine some views recently expressed by two specimens of the class of ordinary "well-intentioned" British folk to see if perchance some gleams of hope may be found there. I refer to the views expressed by Mr. George Ridley, M.P., and Miss Rathbone, M.P.

The assertion having been made in Britain by some Britishers that "this is a war of rival imperialisms," Mr. George Ridley, Labour M. P. for Clay Cross, Derbyshire, has examined it in the *Daily Herald* of London. Says he:

> The man who makes the assertion thinks that he has concluded an argument whereas he only invites one to begin.
>
> If we, for instance, accept the definition, we must surely then examine the nature of the imperialisms that are in rivalry and compare them with each other.
>
> On the one hand is an imperialism which, using the bludgeon, bastinado and the block, has subdued the once free countries of western and north-western Europe into vassal States.
>
> It has obliterated every kind of liberty and freedom.
>
> It has imposed a form of government repugnant to the great majority of the peoples concerned.

All this has been said of Nazi imperialism, and said with perfect truth. But, as the differences between different imperialisms, if and when there are any, are substantially differences in degree, not in kind, such things could be said of other imperialisms, too, both in war and peace time, but particularly in war times and times of unrest. For no empire can be run and preserved as such by adherence to the Sermon on the Mount. If any Britisher has any doubt on the point, he may read the history of the British Empire in India during the rule of the East India Company ending with the suppression of the Sepoy Rebellion and also its subsequent history. One need not go even so far back as the later decades of the last century to come across events and incidents characteristic of imperialism. The history of the Panjab and of Bengal during the present century contains enough of such dark episodes.

But let us see what Mr. George Ridley says of the other kind of imperialism, namely, the British one. He asks, "what are the characteristics of the British 'imperialism,'" and inconsistently enough he begins with a description of the freedom enjoyed by the Dominions, which are parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations, not of the British Empire. But it would be useful to follow this description, as it shows wherein the Dominions differ from India, which in the main is *the* British Empire.

> No empire in the history of the world has so widened the bounds of human freedom and within them, the possibilities of material happiness.

Our remark on the use of the word 'empire' in this sentence is that what Britain has done in and for the Dominions she has done by ceasing to be imperial in her relations with them.

Mr. Ridley proceeds:

> Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa and Eire—these are not vassal States controlled by a foreign Government in a form which is repugnant to them and in a language which they do not understand.
>
> They are self-governing countries with constitutional rights of their own—able to choose their own form of government—to plan democratically their own political and economic life.
>
> They are able to engage in the present conflict or not as they themselves each separately please.
>
> Happily, the great majority please to do so.
>
> It is true Eire is an isolated exception, but the fact that she is free to be neutral—dangerous as that neutrality is to us—proves the point I am trying to make. She is free.
>
> But the freedom enjoyed by these self-governing dominions is wider than it was ten years ago.
>
> By the Statute of Westminster they became equal partners with Great Britain in the British Commonwealth.

They are now each of them free to leave the Commonwealth of their own volition whenever they want to do so—and not one of them wants to go.

But however good a show one may make of the British 'Empire' by putting the Dominions in the forefront, no decent man, while speaking of the countries under the British Crown, can omit all reference to India, which contains four-fifths of the population of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the British Empire combined (we use the word 'decent' fully remembering that many eminent British statesmen have spoken of the British Empire as a family of free nations, ignoring India, and thereby showing that they are not decent men). So Mr. Ridley comes to India, but very cautiously. He first fortifies himself by quoting Professor Harold Laski.

As Harold Laski observes in his preface to 'the Betrayal of the Left':

"A heavy indictment can no doubt be made against British imperialism. But it is literally fantastic to argue that its habits even remotely resemble those of its Fascist enemies. . ."

We disagree. This is not the time to go into details; else the essential similarity of British imperialism to other imperialisms could be established beyond dispute.

Mr. Ridley proceeds:

At this point some neo-Communist, ignoring all that has been said, wants to know: "What about India?"

Here the position is different, but, in my view, just as much a matter for satisfaction and hope.

"Matter for satisfaction and hope" to British imperialists, but not in the least to Indians.

Mr. Ridley adds:

In my lifetime, the goal of British policy in India has been entirely changed. One of the most significant things that happened when Mr. Churchill formed his administration was that he appointed Mr. Amery as Secretary of State for India. For Mr. Amery is known to be a warm supporter of the cause of Indian self-government.

Indeed!

Has Mr. Amery been able to satisfy even a single Indian party, not to speak of his satisfying all Indians? Has his Indian record given satisfaction even to the British Parliament and Cabinet?

The writer expresses the opinion that

The goal of British policy, I say, has changed, and changed fundamentally. We no longer want to dominate India.

But all Indian parties are agreed in holding that the British Government is unwilling to part with her power over India.

The writer proceeds:

We offer her, on the contrary, Dominion Status. It would indeed be a tragedy if, with such an opportunity before them, the leaders of Indian opinion were incapable of that kind of statesmanship and political courage which would take immediate advantage of it.

Who are these "we"? It is only the British Parliament which can make a constitutionally *valid offer*. But there has not been any *parliamentary* offer so far. Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, Chairman of the Conservative M.P.s India Committee, stated in the House of Commons in December, 1934:

"No pledge given by any Secretary of State or any Viceroy has any real legal bearing on the matter at all. The only thing that Parliament is really bound by is the Act of 1919."—*Hansard*, 10th December, 1934. Vol. 296, No. 15, p. 142. (This dictum has never been disputed.—EDITOR, *M. R.*).

But the Government of India Act of 1919 did not offer or promise Dominion Status to India, and the Act of 1935 deliberately omitted all reference to it, though some M.P.s demanded it during the debate preceding its passage. It was then said on behalf of the Government that Dominion Status was undefinable, and it is this undefinable, ineffable blessing which has been offered by every Britisher high and low, except the only party which can make a promise whose fulfilment can be constitutionally demanded, namely, the British Parliament. Lord Rankeillour, for many years Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker in the House of Commons, said in the House of Lords on the 13th December, 1934, without anybody calling in question the correctness of his assertion:

"No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement of the Prime Minister, indeed, no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgment."—*Hansard*, House of Lords, December 13th, 1934. Vol. 95, No. 3, Col. 331.

There is no definite valid offer and, therefore, no tangible opportunity of which advantage can be taken. Fine words butter no parsnips, Mr. Ridley!

"The goal of British policy" has not changed.* Not to speak of Dominion Status,

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* The pamphlet entitled "British Empire Publicity Campaign—Taking Points on India," published by the British Ministry of Information, mentions the following as its first point:

"(1) The aim of Britain is self-government by orderly progression. *This has been made clear for over a 100 years.*"

Apart from the question of the constitutional validity of the offer of Dominion Status, its sincerity can be judged from the following fourth and fifth points mentioned in the pamphlet:

"(4) Say nothing about the intentions of His Majesty's Government beyond the general aim towards 'Dominion Status.' *His Majesty's Government does not want to strain the engine by accelerating the pace.*"

even independence was spoken of more than a century ago as the goal of British policy. But all such talk, whether formal or informal, official or private, has been indulged in throughout without any date being fixed as to its fruition and without any definite description or even indication of what exact form Indian self-rule would take. The Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India, wrote in his *Private Journal* (May 17th, 1818) :

"A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactors that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest."—Pp. 361-362, Panini Office Edition.

Mr. Ridley concludes :

This may be a war of rival imperialisms, but they are so much different in colour and character as to make it quite impossible to understand the mind of the man who appears to be indifferent to the end of the present conflict because he can see no difference between them.

We are not at all "indifferent to the end of the present conflict." We desire with all our heart that Britain should remain at the end of the war as free and independent as she is at present. We do see a difference *for the time being* between the 'rival imperialisms'; but we do not believe that, so far at any rate as non-European peoples are concerned, these imperialisms are essentially "different in colour and character."

I now come to the second specimen.

There are some passages in Miss Rathbone's "Open Letter to Some Indian Friends" which are indirectly related to the subject discussed by Mr. Ridley. In order to show that British imperialism is entirely different in character from Nazi imperialism, it is necessary to explain away or at least to gloss over the "Amritsar massacre" and "Martial Law in the Panjab." Mis Rathbone adopts the latter course.

Why, specifically in relation to the question of whether India should help in the war, does he rake up the old story of the 1919 Amritsar massacre and of Martial Law in the Punjab as the things that "really followed" India's help in the last Great War?

Amritsar was a horror of which most progressive Englishmen are deeply ashamed, though there were other Englishmen who condoned it. The General who ordered the massacre was rebuked by a Parliamentary Commission and removed from his command. But were these the only things which "really followed?" Do all the steps towards Indian Self-Government, culminating in the Statute of 1935, the promise of Dominion Status and the latest offer that the framework of India's future constitution should be drawn up by Indians themselves, really count for nothing, however much they may fall short of the full demand?

We do not intend to "rake up the old (not very old though.—Ed., *M.R.*) story of the 1919 Amritsar massacre and of Martial Law in the Panjab" in detail. But it is necessary to mention certain other facts connected with it in order that the attitude of the Government and of sections at any rate of the British public in relation to it may be understood.

The people of England and even Parliament itself were not allowed to know the facts relating to the occurrences in the Panjab *for more than seven months*, except very very inadequately. The censors prevented the news from reaching the world except as they leaked out in small bits here and there. This would not have been the case if the authorities had not thought that something very seriously damaging had happened.

As regards General Dyer, the Hunter Commission gave him more praise than blame. He was censured by the Goverment, because he fired without first giving warning and because he continued the firing too long, but *not* because he fired on an unarmed assembly of men, women and children. When his case came before the House of Commons, the majority voted censure, but a strong minority of 111 members dissented. A strong majority of the House of Lords refused to express any form of disapproval of what he had done. He was removed from his Indian command, as the feeling against him in India was very strong. He was made to retire first on reduced pay and then on a pension. He was generally praised by the militarists and imperialists of the British Empire as a patriot and a hero. His friends and admirers in London presented him with a jewelled sword and a purse of £30,000. We need not mention what was done with regard to the lower officials. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Governor of the Panjab, who was really as responsible for what had happened as General Dyer, does not appear to have received any censure or expression of disapproval.

But what is of the greatest significance is that nothing was done to make the recurrence of such events and incidents impossible in future. Indians were not then, nor have they since then been given any power to prevent their recurrence.* No provisions have been made, no

"(5) Dominion Status is an acquisition rather than a gift. Agreement between different communities and interests in India is a *sine qua non* for its success."

* On the 23rd June last there were talks in Calcutta on the communal situation among Congressmen in which Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani and others

conditions created with that object in view. The people of India have demanded a Bill of Rights but have not got any.

Miss Rathbone seems to consider the Statute of 1935 a great step towards self-government. But it is really a very reactionary and retrograde measure, based as it is on the very harmful and Machiavellian Communal Decision. It has given rise to jealousy, unwholesome rivalry, and enmity between communities, classes and provinces, and instead of promoting Indian unity, has destroyed the degree of uity which existed before it came into effect.

We have already dealt with the illusory promise of Dominion Status. As regards the offer that Indians themselves are to draw up the framework of India's future constitution, does not the guileless Miss know that Indians are required to "agree" among themselves before they can take advantage of the offer—"agree" in spite of all the conditions that put a premium on disagreement?

She has the saving grace of being able to imagine that the things she has mentioned "may fall short of the full demand." But when the Congress expressed readiness to fully co-operate with the Government's war efforts, parting company even with Mahatma Gandhi, if a National Government were formed, no "full demand" was made. The Hindu Mahasabha's proposal of a National Government was not a "full demand," nor did the resolution adopted at the Non-party Leaders' Conference at Bombay embody any national full demand. Why did the British Government turn a deaf ear to all these suggestions? The "well-intentioned" Britisher's reply would perhaps be, "During these critical war times, such serious proposals are embarrassing and cannot be considered and carried out." To such excuses Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee gave a

took part. According to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* Acharya Kripalani said, in part:

"There were two courses open to them to meet the riot situations; either they could take to killing children, women and innocent people as was going on or they could approach the Government. No Congressman, Acharya Kripalani said, could approach the Government who were not playing their part properly. If there was a political movement Government would stop it in a few minutes by creating Jalinwalabaghs. If Government meant business they could capture a few men responsible for riot, bring them quickly to justice and hang them. If they did it everything would have been alright in no time. The resources of the Government were very great. They were fighting the Germans. How was it they could not stop the riots? One Governor of a province was asked why Government had not taken stringent measures to quell these riots. He said that when people did not want to fight the goonda Hitler, how could they expect the Government to fight the communal goondas."

conclusive reply in the course of his speech at the last meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee, held in Calcutta last month:

The British spokesmen speak of the inherent impossibility of transfer of political power to India or of drafting a new constitution for India during the period of war when the destinies of England herself are hanging in the balance. But let me ask in all seriousness that if the British Government is genuinely sincere in its relationship with India and if it has really made up its mind to close for ever the chapter of domination and exploitation, how will it embarrass her to make a simple declaration that India's independence is formally acknowledged subject to the preparation of a detailed constitution, if possible by agreement, after the termination of the war.

How again is it going to embarrass England to agree to the formation of a Central Government in India which will be national in character, representative in composition and autonomous as far as present circumstances will permit? Last year when the fall of France was imminent, did not England express herself unequivocally in favour of a new Anglo-French citizenship binding two countries that were entirely independent politically into a new common political entity? Such an outstanding decision could be reached during a most critical period in the history of the war without raising any technical or constitutional objection. That the scheme fell through was not due to England's want of anxiety but to Germany's superior power which crushed France into defeat and submission. Only recently Syria's independence was declared with a full concurrence of the British Government. May I ask what made it possible for the British Government not to be stricken by qualms of constitutional conscience? Why did it agree to the declaration of Syria's independence during a period in the history of the war which was perhaps even more critical than when France fell about a year ago? The British Government discloses a narrow and pettyfogging mentality which befits a third rate country which is determined to behave in the ostrich-like fashion and bring disaster not only to itself but to others associated with it. It is indeed amazing to find that recent utterances of responsible British spokesmen and political parties even including the Labour Party of England while speaking in an expanding mood about the great war aim and peace aim of England, about the new world order that Britain wishes to see ushered in, observed stolid silence about India's future and her claim for political independence. The truth is that British generosity and justice rise and fall as British interest demands. A common Anglo-French citizenship was called for as it was supposed to suit British interest; Syria's independence was essential for the same reason. Acknowledgment of India's independence cannot pass through this test and must therefore be resisted by any means whatsoever.

Earlier, on the 12th June, at Poona Pandit Hirdaynath Kunzru had said:

"The British Government had supported and associated themselves with the promise given by General de Gaulle as to Syrian independence and freedom but had taken no steps to advance the constitutional status of the people under their own control. The duty of helping England without claiming their own freedom was preached only to countries under the British sway."

In order to frighten India into full co-operation with Britain's war efforts, Miss Rathbone

describes a possible consequence of Congress "irresistance":—

Suppose the irresistance were to prove the straw that turned the scale against us and gave victory to Germany, Italy and Japan, for Japan would come in in the East as Italy did in the West in time to share the expected spoils of victory. Would that mean freedom and independence for India? Writing in August, 1940, when to all but ourselves the day of our defeat seemed near, Pandit Nehru declared: "We are prepared to take risks and face dangers. We do not need the so-called protection of the British Army and Navy. We will shift for ourselves." A rash boast indeed! For a nation to shift for itself now-a-days needs long preparation and victorious aggressors do not give their victims time. They would bring upon India horrors far worse than Amritsar.

What Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has said may or may not be a rash boast. But does it redound to the credit of Britain that, though she has wielded the supreme power in India for nearly two centuries, this country of vast resources and a population of 400 millions has been left (or rather made) so defenceless that the possible collapse of a nation of 50 millions like the British is anticipated to spell her enslavement by another power? Since her defeat in 1918 Germany has had twenty years' time for preparation in the face of numerous crippling conditions imposed on her by the treaty of Versailles. During this period she has built up the mightiest military machine the world has ever seen. In India Britain had that period for preparation without Germany's handicaps;—and Britain had in India the previous century and a half, too, for preparation. What "long preparation" in India did Britain make? The only preparations that are perceptible consist of arrangements for keeping the bulk of the population perpetually at the mercy of their present masters, and, as an indirect consequence, of goondas, or of some future masters.

Miss Rathbone concludes her letter thus:

You must be searching your consciences, as we are searching ours, asking whether you and your leaders have done everything possible to end the deadlock. But are you doing this in a spirit of realism, seeking not the ideal solution which might be achievable if Englishmen and other Indians saw their duty as you see it, but considering what next best solution may be actually achievable, other men and their circumstances being what they are? Are you willing to do your share in making concessions and proposing compromises? Have you considered whether, if there has to be a surrender, the duty of at least temporary surrender may now lie on you and not on the British, since the cause for which Britain bears the main responsibility is a world cause and there will be no freedom or independence for India if it is lost? In the face of that peril can you not forget the old and even the present grievances, injustices, affronts; join hands with us and with other Indians to fight the common foe and afterwards present the strengthened claim of those you represent to shape the destinies of India and of the world you will have helped to save.

The insolent tone of her letter need not deter us from saying what we want to say. Indian leaders of different political parties did make proposals involving a *temporary* surrender and compromise. They did not press their full demand. But the British Government loftily rejected all the proposals. There is, therefore, nothing to surrender by way of compromise now. The reason why the British Government rejected the proposals appears to be that Britain wants India's mechanical and servile obedience, and her materials, money and muscles, but not the heart, brains and idealism of thinking and self-respecting Indians. Hence, considering all the circumstances, it cannot be said that Britain is fighting for a world cause—not at any rate for the cause of a world which includes India where dwells one-fifth of the human race. Britain is fighting for her own freedom and existence, which is quite a worthy cause.

Miss Rathbone says that if Britain be defeated in this war—we do not desire her defeat, "there will be no freedom or independence for India." May be. We may be allowed, however, to add an opinion that, if Britain comes out finally victorious, then, too, "there will be no freedom or independence for India," should that depend entirely on Britain's willingness to allow India to be free.

God fulfils Himself in many ways. The condescending patronage of Britain is not the only way, even if it be assumed to be a way to India's freedom. It is possible for her to win freedom in other ways not yet discerned by unbelievers.

The British people, high and low, appear to think that Britain is the arbiter of India's destiny. They do not perceive another fact, namely, that unless India is free, there cannot be any world freedom and, hence, no lasting freedom for Britain herself. So, India, too, may be said to be in a way the arbiter of the destiny of Britain. She cannot enjoy any long peace so long as she holds India in subjection. In fact, the truth is that during the last two centuries most of her wars were directly or indirectly fought either for obtaining or for keeping possession of India. If she does not part with her power over India, the mere crushing of Hitler will not mean the end of her troubles. The lure of the possession of India will draw into the field other rivals. If, on the other hand, India became self-ruling, she could be a far greater military power with her 400 millions than Germany with her 70 or 80 millions. In that case she would cease to be a tempting prey;—

no one would dare attack her, or attack Britain if India remained her ally.

The real cause of the world war of 1914-1918 was India, and, besides Germany's feeling of revenge, one principal cause of the present world war, too, is also India.

Great Britain's possession, for more than a century and a half, of so vast and rich an empire as India is, had been all the while kindling jealousy, envy and lust of conquest in the breasts of some of the other nations of Europe,—and for some decades past it has been doing so in the breast of an oriental nation, too. All the other leading nations of the world, except America, had looked on with envy and said to themselves as it were: "If Great Britain has such a vast and rich empire, why not we?" Herbert Adams Gibbons says in his book *The New Map of Asia*:

> "No one can understand the foreign policy of Great Britain, which has inspired military and diplomatic activities from the Napoleonic Wars to the present day, who does not interpret wars, diplomatic conflicts, treaties and alliances, territorial annexations, extensions of protectorates, all with the fact of India constantly in mind."

England has fought more wars during the last two centuries than any other country, and, as we have already said, the larger part of them have been directly or indirectly caused by India. These wars include those carried on against the tribes to the north-west of India, against Afghanistan, against Tibet, as also those connected with Egypt in whose territory lay the Suez Canal, the possession of which was necessary to protect the passage to India. In order to keep her hold on India by protecting the passage to it, it has been necessary to have controlling power over Egypt, to have possession of Cyprus and areas on the Arabian coast and the Persian Gulf, to hold and powerfully fortify Gibraltar, Malta and Aden, and to build the great naval base at Singapore.

Britain's great navy, the creation of which was due in great part to the necessity for keeping open her sea route to distant India and for defending that possession against any nation that might want to deprive her of it, has all along caused much uneasiness among other nations and has been a constant incitement to them to increase their navies.

England's possession of India has also indirectly led other nations to increase their armies also.

England's age-long attitude towards Russia was caused primarily by her fear of Russia's encroachment on India. On the other hand, Russia's Asiatic ambitions were inflamed more by Britain's possession of India than by anything else.

It was largely envy of Britain's highly advantageous possession of India that made all the great European powers eager to get slices of China. And not of China alone, but of Africa, too.

All these ambitions of the other leading European powers to follow Britain's example in having foreign possessions, made them undertake many raids and wars. The reaction of these ambitions on Britain was that she became all the more anxious to protect her own foreign possessions. This necessitated increased "defensive" preparations and involved her in many wars.

Britain's various diplomatic and military operations in Iran for some years before the last world war had India in view.

Anglo-German unfriendly relations, which had been deteriorating during the fifteen or twenty years before the war of 1914, sprang largely from Britain's fear that Germany's ambition to get a foothold in Asia might limit her own influence there and especially might endanger her hold on India. Particularly had she been alarmed over Germany's project of the Berlin-Baghdad railway, as such a highway would have brought Germany so much nearer to her rich dependency India.

If some three decades ago Britain had admitted India to partnership within the British Empire, with Home Rule, Germany would never have dreamed of her Berlin-Baghdad railway project. Germany undertook the 1914-1918 war believing that India was Britain's weakness and that the Indian people would take the war as an occasion to revolt against Britain. Germany would not have made this mistake in 1914, if India had been a contented partner in the British Empire. And we are sure that if when the Government of India Bill was being debated upon in 1934, the British Parliament had agreed to confer Dominion Status on India, as was suggested at that time by India's friends, Hitler would have thought twice before going into this war with Britain with a contented and powerful India as her friend and ally.

There would thus have been no war in 1914;—and perhaps there would have been no war now, and most probably the war would not at any rate have been brought near our doors.

This means that if Britain had been wise enough to extend to India in time the hand of justice, friendship and brotherhood, as noble Englishmen like John Bright and Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill and others urged her to do, instead of being guided by her blind

imperialists and militarists, the result would have been an England leading the world in prosperity and peace, instead of a land labouring under a crushing debt of billions of pounds. And on the continent of Europe there would have been nations living in prosperity and peace instead of their present indescribable condition of misery, hopelessness, fear and hate. Britain has been paying dearly, and Europe, too, has been paying dearly, for an India conquered and held in subjection.

It is true not only that India has been the main cause of Britain's wars for two centuries, but also that India-in-subjection has been a constantly inciting cause, even more so than the Balkans or Turkey (although not always realized), of Europe's political jealousies, ambitions, intrigues, rivalries, secret diplomacies and wars.

Professor Parker T. Moon, of Columbia University, says in his book *Imperialism in World Politics* (page 311) :

> "India occupies a most important place both in the British Empire and in world politics. . . . . . In the history of European diplomacy during the last century, India might well appear on every page, so far-reaching has been its influence."

All the *peoples* of the world want peace. But right-thinking men everywhere agree that permanent peace can be based only on justice and freedom. So long as nations are held in bondage by other nations, there can be no peace that will last. On July 14th, 1917, Mr. Lloyd George, then British Premier, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Russia, saying :

> "There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established from one end of Europe to the other."

It would have been quite as true and quite as important, if not more so, if Mr. Lloyd George had added : "There can be no lasting peace until the responsibility of Governments to their people is clearly established *from one end of Asia to the other.*"

Keeping India in subjection has not yet led to Britain's loss of her own independence. But it has inflicted grave moral injury on a large number of her men and women, degrading their character. Politically also it has been injurious to the British nation. It has given them a class of men, trained to lord it over others in India, who are opposed to all progessive measures for extending the bounds of popular liberties and rights in Britain.

I cannot go into details here on that subject.

This article cannot be more fittingly brought to a close than by quoting the following words of a distinguished Englishman whose name cannot be disclosed.

> "The great war of 1914-1918, which ruined and drained Europe, of which few, if any, confess the true aims, was a war for the possession of the routes to Asia, for the possession of Asia, particularly India. Nothing can disarm the rival ambitions of the European powers so long as the prey they covet remains for them a possible prey. Peace will come to Europe from Asia when Asia becomes free, not before. It is not solely for the uplift of Asia, but in the interest of Europe herself, that one must wish for the end of her Asiatic domination. The time has come for her to loose her deadly grip on Asia, for her own sake. The sword with which she struck has turned back, dripping with blood, against herself. The hour has come for Europe to die to her old life of Asiatic conquest, greed, exploitation and domination, that she may be born again. The rebirth of Europe has for its condition the restoration, the restitution of Asia. Of Asia—yes ! and first of all, India. For without India there is no real Asia. There is no Asia free without India free. For India is not simply a part of Asia; she is its living heart, the soul itself."

There is no world free without Asia free. There is no Asia free without India free.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF JOSEPH HACKIN (1886-1941)

By Dr. U. N. GHOSHAL, M.A., Ph.D.,

Professor, Presidency College and Hon. Secretary, Greater India Society

The tragic announcement, on the 23rd April last, of the death in an air crash "somewhere in England," of Dr. Joseph Hackin, Director of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan, is a painful reminder of the heavy toll which the present world-conflagration is taking on the lives of those gifted Western scholars (alas, too few!) who have earned our gratitude by their life-long endeavours in interpreting, not to say, recovering, the lost tracts of the civilizations of India and its neighbouring lands.

To the informed public at large Dr. Hackin's name is associated, in the first place, with his numerous publications on the rich store of Buddhist (specially Tibetan and Central Asian) Art and Archaeology preserved in that

great Museum of Oriental antiquities, the Musée Guimet of Paris. which he served with conspicuous ability first as Assistant Keeper and then as Curator.* A new chapter opened in Hackin's career when he joined the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan in 1924. Just two years before, the archaeology of Afghanistan which had been for long barred with seven seals was thrown open to the enterprise of French scholars, thanks to the efforts of Prof. A. Foucher, the illustrious author of the *Graeco-Buddhist Art of Gandhara* and numerous other works on Indian antiquities. With a number of zealous associates including his devoted wife, Hackin spent the next few years of his life in exploring and excavating numbers of ancient sites in the Afghan country (Bamian, Begram, Khair-Khaneh, Fondukistan and so forth), and the results of these investigations were recorded in a series of magnificent volumes of the series, *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan.* It is in connection with the activities of the late lamented scholar in the Afghan country that I had occasion for the first time to come into contact with him. Towards the close of 1935 I decided in consultation with my friend and colleague Dr. Kalidas Nag to bring out a special number of the *Journal of the Greater India Society* as a token of our appreciation of the services rendered to Greater India studies by that prince of Orientalists, the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi. In replying to my invitation for his collaboration in the task he wrote to me as follows (letter dated 30th December, 1935) :

> "I am very happy to hear that you are bringing out the coming number of the Greater India Society's Journal in honour of the late lamented Prof. Sylvain Levi. This token of friendly remembrance will be appreciated in France and in India the second country of our teacher."

Hackin's token of remembrance came in the shape of a learned contribution on one of the sites he had himself excavated in Kabul. His paper, which we had the pleasure of publishing in English translation in our Journal ("Archaeological exploration of the neck of Khair Khaneh near Kabul," J. G. I. S., Vol. III, No. 1, Sylvain Lévi Memorial Number) dealt exhaustively with the ruins of a temple-complex with Gupta affinities and a unique Surya image deeply touched by fourth-century Sassanide art influences. The high appreciation which this unique discovery roused in this country evoked from Dr. Hackin the following modest acknowledgment (letter dated 2nd September, 1936) :

> "I am greatly honoured to hear from you that my paper has been appreciated by yourself and your colleagues and also by the readers of your esteemed journal. I thank you for all the kindness you have shown to me."

The collaboration begun under such happy auspices was continued in subsequent years. At the Twentieth Session of the International Congress of Orientalists which met at Brussels in September 1938, I had the pleasure of making Hackin's personal acquaintance. It was gratifying for me to find, as I had expected, that he was only too willing to help with his scholarly contributions not only our own Journal but also other Indian Journals seriously engaged in the investigation of our past culture. He gave a practical demonstration of his interest in modern Indian scholarship by contributing a very interesting paper ("A new campaign of excavation at Begram, Afghanistan, 1939") to the Journal *of the United Provinces Historical Society* (Vol. XIII, Pt. 1, July 1940). Here he disclosed a unique collection of ivory plates closely linked with the Mathura art of the Kushan period (I-III centuries A.D.), which were found on the site of ancient Kāpisi. Subsequently we had the privilege of publishing in an English garb his extensive paper ("The Buddhist Monastery at Fondukistan," J. G. I. S.. Vol. VII, No. 1; *ibid.*, N. 2 with 18 plates) giving a masterly account of the excavations of a ruined Buddhist monastery in the Ghorband district of the Afghan country. Among the antiquities described in this paper was a number of clay modellings and mural paintings reminiscent mostly of Gupta and post-Gupta art and to a less extent of Iranian and Central Asian influences. It is inexpressibly sad to reflect that the ties which bound us to the late lamented scholar were snapped by his abrupt resignation which was followed at no distant date by his tragic death on the battle field. May his soul rest in peace!

* The Musee Guimet, originally started at Lyons in 1879 by M. Emile Guimet, was presented by him to the State and removed to its present site in 1888. By 1927 it had grown into a magnificent institution with a library of over 30,000 volumes including manuscripts and an immense mass of antiquities relating to the countries and peoples of the "Middle East" and the "Far East." It has in recent times been enriched by a number of fresh collections such as the Pelliot Collection of silk paintings from Tun Huang in North-West China, the Bacot Collection of Tibetan religious banners, and, last but not the least, the antiquities collected by the French Archæological Delegation in Afghanistan.

CIVILISATION*

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.Sc., Ph.D.

The greatest achievement of man is his culture or civilisation. Man is born an animal and it is only his culture which makes him a man. Culture differs both in extensity and intensity or quantity and quality from group to group, from community to community and even from race to race, but there is a certain common denominator in intellectual, moral and spiritual faculties, whether expressed fully or partially, or a certain common link, in spite of the differences in the stages of their development, among all classes of men, which bind them together into one group or mankind. This denominator or link is the common basis of all cultures or civilisations. The nature, factors, and types of civilisation form the subject-matter of this study.

I. Essential Nature

Man is the product of cosmic evolution and is therefore a part of nature. Man differs however from the rest of nature inasmuch as he is a living being and also from the rest of the animal kingdom, from which he has descended, in having higher mental faculties, such as the power of articulate language, abstract thinking and use of tools, which have helped him to achieve mastery over himself and his environment through various experiences, both subjective and objective. The sum total of these experiences, which have been achieved by a group, community or people, and which are transmissible from generation to generation, is called culture as opposed to nature.

The prime factor in cultural achievement is the mind, which has grown through constant adaptation to physical and social environment. Cultural achievement is both subjective, *i.e.*, expressed in the mind itself, such as sentiments, thoughts and actions, and objective, *i.e.*, expressed in objects outside of the mind, such as what is called material culture. Even in material culture, it is not however material object which counts, but it is the mind which expresses itself in different forms, shapes, styles and ideas in material objects, which form the real elements of culture. Culture consists therefore of the following achievements, namely :—(1) attitudes, such as ideas, beliefs, opinions, judgments and values; (2) codes of ethics, aesthetics and etiquettes; (3) institutions, whether social political or industrial; and (4) material objects such as tools and machines, arts and crafts, language and literature, drawing and painting, and sculpture and architecture.

Various Concepts

The word "civilisation" is of comparatively recent origin and is often synonymous with culture. From the objective point of view, culture is often divided into three stages, namely :—(1) savagery, (2) barbarism and (3) civilisation. While the first two refer to the achievements of the primitive peoples or of the peoples of a little advanced stage, the last implies the achievement of a people which has developed the art of writing. Civilisation is thus only a higher form of culture and is applied to the achievement of a more advanced people. Such a distinction is evidently arbitrary. Some of the people, *e.g.*, North American Indians, developed a very high degree of culture including language, art, and social and political institutions, without the art of writing. In spite of this arbitrariness, some distinction among different cultures is very useful for practical purposes.

The word "culture" carries with it the idea of agriculture or the achievement of a rural people, while civilisation implies *civitas* or life of the city where men meet one another more frequently in various social relations and achieve refinement. Of course, a high culture can also be developed without the city, as has been the case with some nomadic tribes in Central Asia, but the city has nevertheless its function in cultural evolution. Civilisation in fact gives some idea of a higher moral development and more refined social behaviour, and the ordinary sense of the word "civilised" is not without its significance. Moreover, an essential quality of man is to evaluate things, both ideas and objects, and to strive for something better or higher in cultural development; any differentiation which brings out this conception more clearly serves a useful purpose.

Culture implies all transmissible human achievements, of which civilisation in the sense

* A preliminary report on the writer's studies in *India and a New Civilisation*. References to the authorities will be added in the final report.

of the achievement of a more advanced people is only a part. But in common usage, culture may be used in a narrower sense and may imply a part of a civilisation, such as German or French culture in contrast to Western or European civilisation, of which it is only a part. In this particular sense, culture implies the distinctive feature of group achievement or, more properly, a cultural trait.

Culture is the inner self or soul of a group or community, which, without it, is nothing but a conglomeration of psycho-physical units. Culture combines these human units into a social entity. It is the activities, thoughts, and sentiments of a group, whether expressed subjectively in ideas, judgments and values, or objectively in material things, which give a group its cohesion and help it to conserve and transmit all its achievements to other groups or to future generations.

Processes of Growth

Culture arises from the adaptation of man to his environment. The object of life is to live and in order to live, man, like any other organism, must adapt himself to environment, whether physical or social. The experiences arising from the actions and reactions of the stimulii and the responses between man and his environments form the first nucleus of culture, and express themselves, when they have become group habits, in the form of beliefs, opinions, judgments, values, customs, laws and institutions.

Cultural development is brought about by several factors, of which the following are the chief, namely :—first, biological variation or the tendency of the offspring to differ from the parents; secondly, intellectual development or progress in philosophy, science and art as well as in discovery and invention; thirdly, moral progress or achievement by man of mastery over himself and his environment, and specially the power to organise the subjective and objective achievements into a working programme for further achievement; fourthly, social crisis, such as food shortage, flood, cyclone, earthquake, or disturbance in internal and external defence including invasion and conquest, focussing group attention and leading to new discovery or invention, which may not only help to get out of the impasse and to avoid disaster, but also to make further cultural progress in a new direction; and finally, contact with other cultures giving rise to conflict and competition which quicken the mind and stimulate cultural progress. Moreover, fusion and integration of different cultural traits enlarge sphere of group experiences and enrich cultural contents. Most of the great civilisations are the outcomes of the fusion and integration of inumerable cultural traits.

Like personality of an individual, culture is also the expression of group life of a community or people. Culture has, however, a much larger connotation than personality, which means only the subjective aspects of an individual, while culture is both subjective and objective and consists of all those habits of feeling, thinking and doing, or political, industrial, ethical, aesthetic, religious and domestic activities of a group, which have become customary, conventional and transmissible. Moreover, while personality ends with the individual, culture may survive the community or people through diffusibility and transmissibility.

Every culture is an entity in itself. It has its own individuality, and while resembling others in many respects, it also differs from others in some respects. These distinguishing features of a culture are brought about by a variety of factors, of which the most important are the following :—(1) distinctive features of physical environment affecting social attitudes and social institutions, such as those regarding food, clothing and shelter; (2) discoveries and inventions, which may be accidentally arrived at and may help a culture to acquire some distinctive achievements and specific advantages over other cultures; and (3) social environments giving rise to rivalry, competition, readjustment and assimilation, which are likely to be different in different cultures. Moreover, since cultural diffusion takes place along different traits rather than *en masse*, the same culture may produce different effect upon different cultures which may come into its contact.

Similarity in different cultures arises from the commonness of human mind or the common ancestry of human races and from the common need of human groups even under different environments. Even if it be admitted that man has different racial origins, by far the largest number of human traits are similar to one another. The same and similar discoveries have been made by different racial groups in different parts of the world. There is, however, a school of thought which ascribes all higher forms of culture, such as writing, metallurgy and architecture, to a common origin and to a common region, such as Egypt, from which all the higher forms of culture have diffused all over the world, specially through the commerce of the Phœnicians. Culture or more properly cultural trait is diffusive and there is no doubt that some cultural traits, specially those which are not vital to group survival or which have been discovered only accidentally, have spread

over the world through diffusion rather than have been discovered independently. But there is no proof that all higher forms of culture have a common origin.

Cultural differences among communities may arise from several causes, such as the differences in (1) physical environment, regarding climate, fertility and topography; (2) biological heredity, which is likely to be more pronounced between the members of one racial group and those of another than among the members of the same group; (3) intellectual development, *i.e.*, progress in philosophy, science and art as well as discovery and invention; (4) moral achievement or the mastery of man over himself and his environment; (5) social attitudes, *e.g.*, special interests in certain cultural traits as indicated by Chinese ethics, Hindu religion, Greek art and Roman law; and (6) social environment affecting different cultures differently owing to diffusion of culture through its traits. Moreover, both in diffusion and transmission, readjustment takes place in evaluation, selection and adaptation varying according to the need and capacity of a culture which comes in contact with another culture.

Cultural traits grow out of more or less blind responses to environment, both physical and social, and gradually form themselves into opinions, beliefs, *mores*, laws, institutions, arts, science and philosophy. By far the major part of cultural traits therefore remain unconscious and unanalysed, although they have begun to become more and more conscious in the process of social evolution. Social progress implies not only the increase in volume of social experiences, but also gradual acquisition by a group or community or people of social consciousness, social evaluation and social control.

Modern civilisations differ from the ancient in several ways, such as, (1) increasing self-consciousness and self-direction; (2) increasing similarity both in social attitudes and social institutions among different cultural groups owing to increasing facilities for communication and cultural contact; and (3) increasing integration of smaller cultures into larger ones and the blending of consanguinous races and neighbouring areas into larger social wholes, giving rise to newer and larger cultural ideals and civilisations.

Decline and Decay

Like rise and growth, a culture may also have its decline and decay. The cause of the decline and the decay of civilisations are both complex and varied and may be classified under three principal groups :—first, physical changes, such as those in climate, topography, earthquake, flood, and the course of a river, as in the case of Babylonia and Chaldea; secondly, demographic changes, such as the extinction of people by diseases, *e.g.*, the "Black Death" killing about one-third of British population, and defeat in war leading to destruction, *e.g.*, annihilation of the Carthagenians by the Romans; and thirdly, cultural changes, such as stagnation and deterioration resulting from the inordinate respect for the old or the lack of new stimulii from other cultural contact and suppression and substitution of cultural traits as in the case of a conquered people.

More cultures or civilisations have disappeared from the face of the earth than those which are existing. This has led some thinkers to believe that like an organism, a civilisation has also its childhood, youth and old age. This conception is based on an organic or biological analogy and can not be applicable to culture or civilisation, which is extra-organic or psychological. A civilsation may decline or fall, yet there is nothing inherent in culture itself which is bound to lead to its decay. Although some of the civilisations have disappeared, cultural traits of most of them have been incorporated and integrated into other civilisations.

II. Principal Factors

Whatever may be the concept, a civilisation involves three factors. namely :—(1) *nature*, or physical environments; (2) *man*, whose experiences in contact with nature and his fellowmen form the sources of cultural development, and who may be conveniently considered from the racial standpoint; and (3) *culture*, or more properly, cultural heritage consisting of all group experiences which are transmitted from the past.

Physical Evironment

Physical environment is a great factor in civilisation. Environmental differences in geology, geography, topography, climate and fauna and flora have undoubted effect upon cultural development. Racial features are affected by climate including temperature and humidity; and desires, beliefs, thoughts, sentiments and activities are liable to be influenced by physical surroundings such as oceans, lakes, rivers, mountains, forests and deserts. Finally, material welfare is largely dependent upon natural resources, such as soils, forests, fisheries and minerals.

There is a school of thought led by Montesquieu, Taine, Buckle, Ratzel, Semple and Huntington, which ascribes the growth of civilisation largely to physical environment. It is

claimed that man has appeared in the world in the process of cosmic evolution and his conduct is determined by physical factors, such as climate, topography and soil. Some of them even deny the possibility of development of any great civilisation in the tropics, where nature is overpowering and where the climate is hot, moist and enervating.

That some aspects of material culture such as housing, furniture, food, dress and conveyance should be closely associated with physical environment is quite comprehensible. But all the materials presented by nature are not utilised by the inhabitants of a region, but only those which have been known or found to be culturally useful. Moreover, the real characteristics of a material culture are not in the materials used, but in the form, shape, pattern and style in which they are utilised and these are anything but physical.

What is more significant is the fact that psychic culture, such as religion, art as well as social, political and industrial institutions are much less affected by physical environment. The test of a culture is not a particular tree, animal, river, lake and mountain, which figure in religion and art, but in the ideology with which they are endowed. Similarly, the social and political institutions of a group, such as the family, clan and tribe, are quite independent of physical environment in all regions and under all climates.

The influence of physical environment upon civilisation cannot be denied, but it cannot in itself create any civilisation. The same culture may be found in different physical environments and different cultures are also noticeable in the same environment. Moreover, nature is static and culture is dynamic. Whatever influence physical environment might have exercised upon culture in the early stage of human history, man has gradually become master over himself and over his physical environment, and cultural development follows more and more man's direction. It is also overlooked that man, with his dynamic and resourceful mind, can discover and invent means of controlling physical forces, and build up civilisation even under unfavourable conditions. There is no country or region where nature is perfect in all respects. All civilisations may not be of the same pattern and one civilisation differing from another may not be inferior or superior simply because of its difference.

ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS

The second important factor in civilisation is the race including both physical energies and mental traits. As in the case of geography, there is a school of thought which denies the possibility of achieving civilisation by all races. That there exist differences in physical features and cultural achievements among various races is too evident to require any discussion. Whether there is any innate inequality in their mental traits is still a debatable question.

There are some thinkers who deny the unity of mankind and believe in the polygenetic origin of man, *i.e.*, the multiple origin of the human species, the permanent ethnic differences, and the course of race evolution independent of geographical surroundings and social institutions. But no evidence has yet been found of the multiple origin of man and the blood test and mating of the human species have shown them to be of one unit; and common origin of mankind has become an accepted truth.

There is still another class of thinkers contending that the primitive human group migrated in various directions and subjected themselves to different geographical conditions, such as climate and food, when the mind was still plastic, and developed different mental traits. The enervating climate in the tropic and the rigorous inclement climate in the arctic retarded the mental growth of some races, while the invigorating climate and congenial surroundings in the temperate zones helped in the mental development of the others. It has however been pointed out that the mental traits were practically fixed before the dispersal of the primitive human group in various directions and the differences had developed in physical features either through the influence of geography or development of internal gland, but the mental traits among various races are potentially the same.

Race itself is a dynamic element and there is no fixed racial trait. Moreover, racial sentiment is of very recent origin and has resulted from the clash of group *mores*, economic interests and political domination. These differences in mental traits have been assumed and evidence has been sought in physical features. Attempts have been made to prove the assumed differences of racial characteristics on the evidence of differences in physical features, mental traits and cultural achievements.

First, it has been claimed that structural peculiatities indicate the closer relationship of some primitive races with the lower animals than the civilised races; such as the prognathic jaw of the Negro, the prominent supra-orbital ridges of the Australian and the dark skin colour of most primitive races. But when all the structural peculiarities of race are taken into consideration together, some of the European

races come as close to the lower animals in certain features as the primitive races show higher development in others. The size, weight and structure of the brain have also been cited in favour of the superiority of the European races. That the evolution of animal life has been followed by the increasing size and weight of the brain and the large body among men has been found to have larger brain are admitted facts. But the size, weight and structure of the brain have never been found to be associated with intelligence and a small number of persons among the primitive races has been found to possess the brain which is larger in size than the majority of the brain among the European people. As a matter of fact, cranium measurements have put the Hottentots and the Portuguese on the same level. Moreover, a greater variation of skull formation, brain weight, mental and physical capacities is to be found among the members of the same ethnic group than among separate ethnic stocks.

Secondly, it has been claimed that in some mental traits the primitive peoples have been shown to be inferior to the civilised peoples. It has been pointed out, for instance, that the sharpness of senses among the primitive races indicates their closeness to the lower animals. But the sharpness or unusual development among the primitive races is due to their close living to nature, and similar sharpness of senses has been, and can be, developed among the civilised races through constant practice. Moreover, the primitive peoples have been shown to lack the capacity for sustained labour or ability to endure pain; but it has been definitely proved that hunting or fishing in the midst of scarcity of the game and some of the initiation ceremonies, such as tatooing among the Maoris and sun-dance among the Indians, involve as much power of sustained labour or enduring pain.

Finally, phenomenal cultural achievement by European races in recent years has also been adduced in favour of the superiority of the European races over those of other continents, such as Asia. There is no doubt that the application of science to industry, agriculture, sanitation and education have been followed by great achievements in Europe and North America. But this cultural development in Europe is only a century and a half old and is also superior to that achieved by the European races for centuries together. Moreover, in the domain of religion and ethics European peoples still lag behind Asiatic peoples. What is more significant is the fact that the Asiatic races have also been taking initiative in the application of science to the practical problem of life and with as much success.

In brief, it may be said that researches into such elements as physical structure, brain capacity and sense organs, have not yet been able to prove the superiority of one race over another. Moreover, there is no such thing as pure race in the world. The present main racial groups, such as the Caucasian, Mongolian Ethiopian, Australian and American, may be divided into from 1800 to 2000 sub-races. It has also become an accepted truth that the amalgamation of different racial group elements, specially of the kindred ethnic stocks, results in the development of stonger and more virile races of peoples.

Cultural Heritage

The third factor in cultural development is culture itself or, more properly, cultural heritage consisting of all group experiences transmitted from past generations. As wealth begets wealth, so culture begets culture; and like capital which is both a product and a means of further production, culture is not only a product of group experiences, but it also is a factor in their further development.

Cultural heritage is a common feature to all human groups. All human communities, whether the Hottentots, who have achieved only rudiments of culture, or the Europeans who have achieved a high degree of culture, have cultural heritage derived from the past. Differences among different cultural groups, whether communities or races, are due to the differences in quantity and quality of this cultural heritage.

Cultural heritage has a three-fold function, namely :—First, it binds all group members into one common whole and gives a group its unity, stability, solidarity and even individuality, thus distinguishing one cultural group from another. Secondly, it initiates all new individuals, into its fold through assimilating them into its beliefs, ideals, aims, values, customs, laws and institutions so that they become its parts and parcels for all practical purposes. In fact, similarities among the individuals of a cultural group are much greater than dissimilarities. Finally, it enables both an individual and a community to adapt itself to physical and social environments and to maintain its unity and identity in the midst of diversity, such as invasion and conquest.

The superiority of one culture over another depends not upon the volume of its heritage, but upon the quality of its traits or component parts. Mythology and superstition, prejudice and notion, obsolete laws and old institutions make a society formal, ceremonial, immobile and

relatively static. In spite of the large volume of its cultural heritage such a society is incapable to adapt itself to the world's changing conditions, to compete with progressive nations and to preserve its political and economical interests and thus falls an easy victim to foreign domination, subjugation and conquest.

A mobile, dynamic and progressive society on the other hand constantly reorganises and re-orients its cultural heritage, acquires new cultural ideals and adapts itself to new conditions in the light of progress in philosophy, science and art, gives its members freedom of speech, thought and association, encourages them to undertake initiative and enterprise, help them to bring forward what is the best and noblest in them, and creates facilities for their fullest and richest self-expression. A living and dynamic cultural heritage is the greatest asset for a community to begin its life processes with.

III. Contemporary Types

Some of the important social phenomena in modern times are the rise of new civilisations and the revival of the old. These changes are taking place through the processes of conflict, competition, integration and colonisation. While increasing communication is bringing together different peoples and facilitating cultural diffusion, there is also going on a process of individualisation or differentiation through growing conflict and competition among different cultures. In spite of growing similarity in cultural ideals, physical environments, ethnical differences and cultural heritages are bound to keep differences in civilisations.

Cultural Differentiation

The existing civilisations may roughly be divided into two broad categories, namely:—(1) the Oriental, and (2) the Occidental. It has been said that the soul of the East is repose and that of the West action. The outlook of life on the former is retrospective and that in the latter prospective; belief in Providence is the characteristic of the former and progress is the guiding principle of the latter; the attitude towards life in the East is subjective, and that in the West objective; the civilisation of the East is spiritual and that of the West material. These differences in attitudes and values between the two groups of civilisations are however only relative. Progress, for instance, which is "the animating and controlling idea" of Western civilisation, is comparatively of recent origin. The Humanists or the Renaissance Movement attempted to establish classical culture, and the Protestants or the Reformation Movement to revive old Christian faith and discipline. Although the conception of progress appeared among the writers and thinkers in the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries it is only since the enunciation of the law of organic evolution by Darwin in the middle of the last century that progress has become the conscious goal of all rational social activities.

The differences between the Oriental and the Occidental civilisations may be explained from both geographical and historical points of view. Eastern civilisations were achieved at a time when man was still a helpless being in his physical environment and looked upon some invisible force or spirit for help and guidance, while Western civilisation took its rise from the ruins of the older civilisations, when man had achieved considerable mastery over himself and his physical environment and was therefore in a better position to take a more objective and rational attitude towards life. This also explains why the East developed religious and ethical aspects of civilisation to a better advantage than the West which is more materialistic.

Among the most important Oriental civilisations, mention must be made of the Chinese, Hindu and Muslim civilisations, while the Occidental civilisations consist mainly of European civilisation and of its various offshoots, which have resulted from colonisation, reorganisation and integration, such as in the case of North America, Latin America and Soviet Russia. Although taking their rise from European civilisation, these new civilisations have been developing under the influence of different physical environments, racial features and cultural ideals.

Occidental Civilisations

The most virile and progressive civilisation in modern times is that of the West or Europe. From the very outset it has been more objective and has made phenomenal progress in science, philosophy and art, as well as in discovery and invention within the past two centuries. The greatest achievement of European civilisation has however been in material culture, with which some of the European nations have built imperialism and industrialism, established political and industrial supremacy in the world, and conquered territories in Africa, America and Australia. But this very material success has also brought about internal rivalry among European nations as indicated by the last war and also by the present war. In recent years, racialism and totalitarianism have brought about confusion from within and the rise of

industrialism in the East has threatened European nations with the loss of the market. Moreover, Japan has challenged European supermacy in the conquest of both territory and market. Europe has still the vitality to reorganise herself, but it has already lost its monopoly in material culture.

Among the world's new civilisations, the most important is that of North America, including both the United States and Canada. A vast territory with immense natural resources has come under the control of a people which is composed of vigorous racial elements and which has the cultural heritage of the world's latest and highest achievements and is not unduly fetterd by old customs and prejudices. America is the land of mechanical invention, mass education and universal suffrage and is most dynamic and dominant force in the world today and has come to play a very important part in the world's history, especially since the last war. But materialism and capitalism which have brought about the decline of European civilisation are still its outstanding features. Unemployment among a considerable proportion of the population has brought about a kind of despair in the country, which was not long ago the land of promise and opportunity. There are however, great moral and spiritual forces, which are also active in the country and may be able to counteract these evil effects and to build a really great civilisation.

Another great civilisation in the state of formation is that of Latin America. Although originating from Spain and speaking Spanish language except Brazil, all the States of Latin America, including Mexico, Central America and Cuba, have become republics and independent of their mother country. Both the new physical environment and the racial mixture, such as of the Indians, the Negroes and various European races, have begun to develop a new civilisation in spite of their original culture from Spain. Moreover, geographic aloofness from the rest of the world and common cultural heritage have given these different republics some kind of unity in the midst of diversity and laid down the foundation of a new civilisation.

Another dynamic civilisation in the process of formation is that of Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia has a vast territory and possesses the grannaries of Ukraine, the minerals of the Ural Mountains, the forest resources of Siberia and the fisheries of the Black and Caspian Seas and the Arctic and North Pacific Oceans. She has a conglomeration of races, such as the Slavs, the Mongols and the Turks, and offers a meeting ground of two distinct civilisations, namely, the Occidental and the Oriental. With her planned economy, industrialism without capitalism, organised and collective farming, one class society, cultural and social equality among all races, and industrial and political equality between men and women, Soviet Russia has begun the upbuilding of a new social order and a new civilisation. But whether this new civilisation will be of any real benefit to the people of Russia as well as to the world in general, remains to be seen in view of the fact that she has already become a dictatorial State, has been rebuilding her old empire, and specially has recently allied herself with the most reactionary States.

Oriental Civilisations

Side by side with the rise of these new civilisations, there is also going on a reorganisation and transformation of older civilisations, specially of those of China, India, and the near East. The very fundamental principle of self-preservation against the territorial expansion and economic aggression of Western nations, as well as the rising spirit of rivalry, the development of industrialism and, above all, the cultural renaissance, in these countries themselves have led the Eastern nations to organise and regenerate themselves in the light of modern philosophy, science and art and with the help of the cultural experiences of Western nations.

A most important event in oriental history is the regeneration of Muslim civilisation and the revival of Islam. Islam once spread from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas and took the intellectual leadership of the world. Although through internal dissension and external rivalry, it has lost its former glory, Islam is still one of the world's leading religions and, what is more important, its message of the universal fatherhood and brotherhood irrespective of race and colour is still the world's great moral force. Under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, Turkey has adapted itself to modern conditions and become a great power among the advanced nations, thus setting an example to her sister nations. such as Egypt, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, forming the principal countries of Muslim civilisation.

Not less significant is the regeneration of the civilisation of China. With her immense territory, world's largest population, and highly ethical ideal, China has lived in peace and harmony with her neighbours for forty centuries or more and proved to the world that civilisation may decline or reintegrate but never dies. Although invaded, China has never been really

conquered inasmuch as she has always absorbed her invaders into her cultural unit except India, which has supplemented, though not supplanted, her ethical and religious ideals. The very height of her cultural ideal in the midst of peoples which were far behind had however created in herself a spirit of adoration for her own past culture, thus retarding her cultural progress. But the invasion and conquest of her territory by Western nations and Japan have brought her to realise the great need of reorganisation and she has begun to adapt herself to modern conditions and it is not long that China will become successful not only in the revival of her old civilisation, but also in rebuilding a greater civilisation.

The most important civilisation rising out of the integration of different cultural ideals is that of modern India. It is the outcome of the fusion of her old Hindu civilisation with Muslim and Western civilisations, which were brought within her boundary by political and economical forces on the one hand, and the rise of new social values, ideals and aims in the light of progressive philosophy, science and art on the other. This new civilisation in India or Indian civilisation, as it may properly be called in contradistinction to her existing civilisatons, is not only a great help to the intellectual, moral and spiritual development of her own people, but also a great stimulus to the cultural progress of the whole mankind.

THE BIRD-MEN

Over earth and waters has he triumphed,
and now the Demon of Machines
has fashioned birds of men
to conquer the heights as well.

The birds—so colourful, so joyous,
companions of multi-coloured clouds—
are fashioned by the artists in Paradise;
to the blue sky and strong winds
are they kin.

They sport to the rhythm of the breeze,
they sing to the tune of unconfined space,
their awakenings harmonize
with the coming of the dawnlight
to the warbling woods.

The flutter of their gay wings
ripples on the vast sea of calm
under the vast sky.
From ages immemorial,
coursing through the pathways of the sky,
have they brought the message of life
to the woods and hills.

Today sheer defiance has spread its wings,
and arrogant in its pride of power
the lifeless machine soars,
—unblest by the gods,
unacknowledged by the sun and the moon;
disowning the very sky, it zooms overhead
desecrating the air with its strident roar.

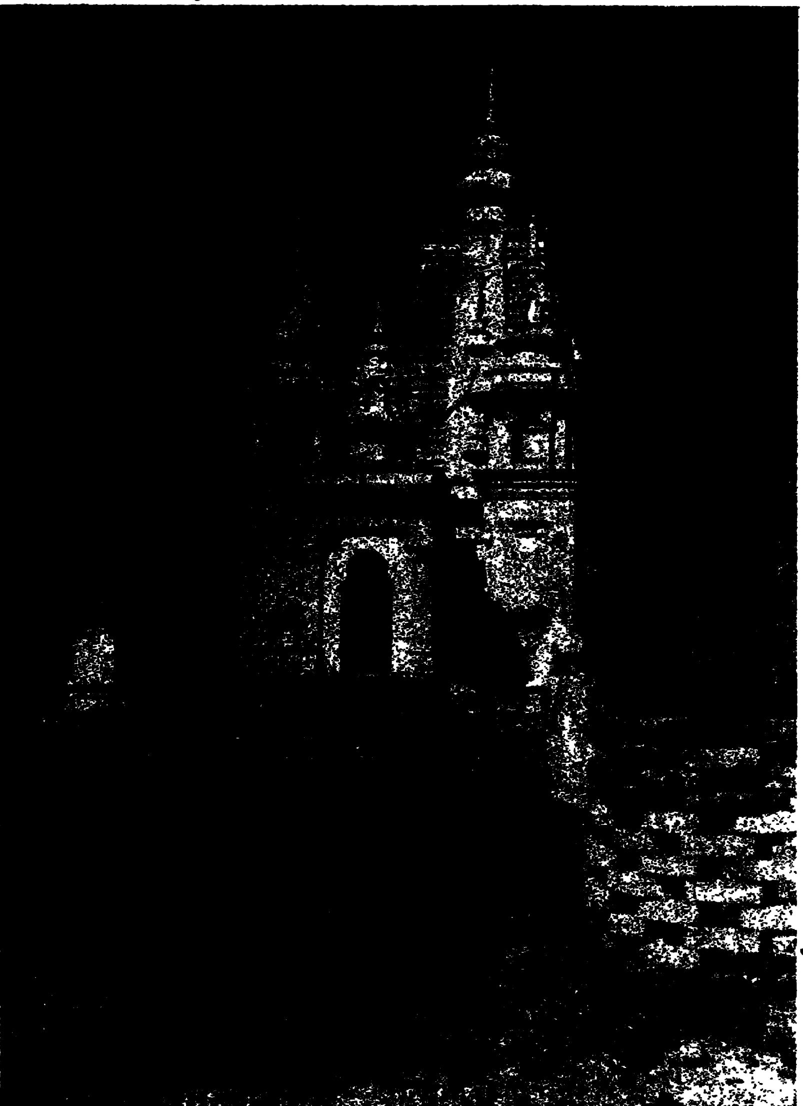
Man's profanity rides the region of clouds,
defiling with unholy glee
the very light of heaven.
The doom has come at last
and discord hurls itself like thunder,
reckless, unchecked and uncontrolled.

Malice feeds the flame of death
and terror spreads from shore to shore.
If in the midst of this flaming ruin
God finds not His own true seat,
then, O Lord of Thunder, my God,—
let the very last chapter of this story
come to its finale
in the fiery wrath of Rudra.

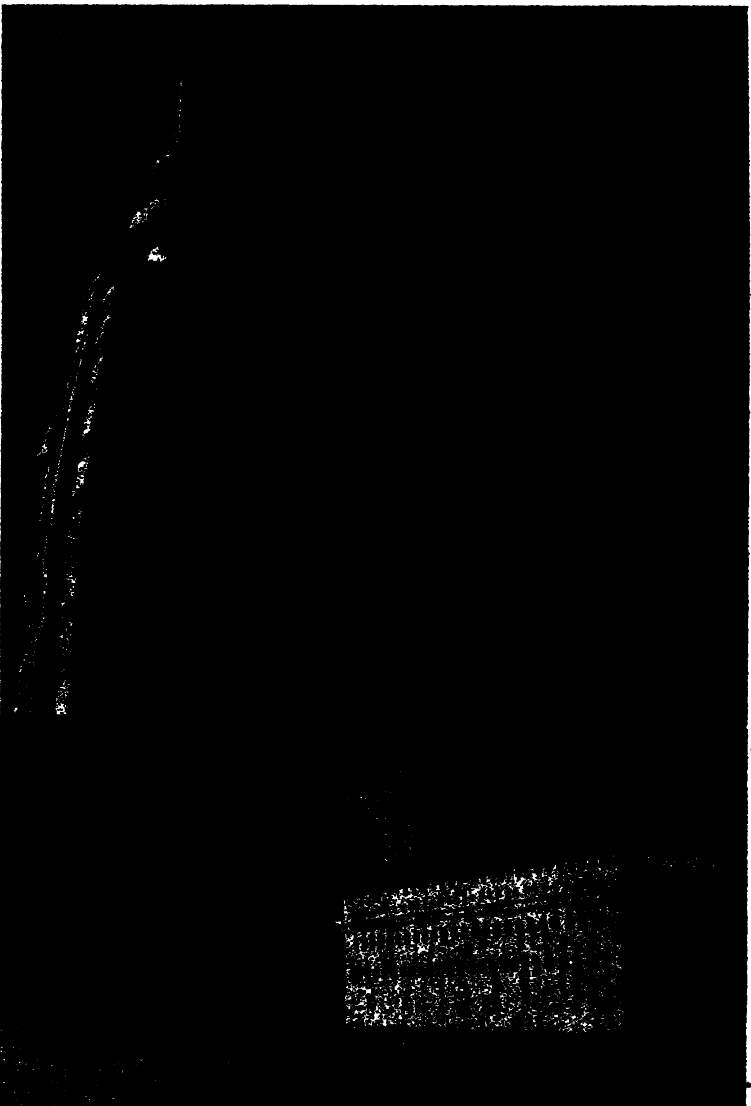
Out of her affliction, the world prays,
"Let green groves resound over again
with the rapture of birdnotes."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in The Visva-Bharati Quarterly.

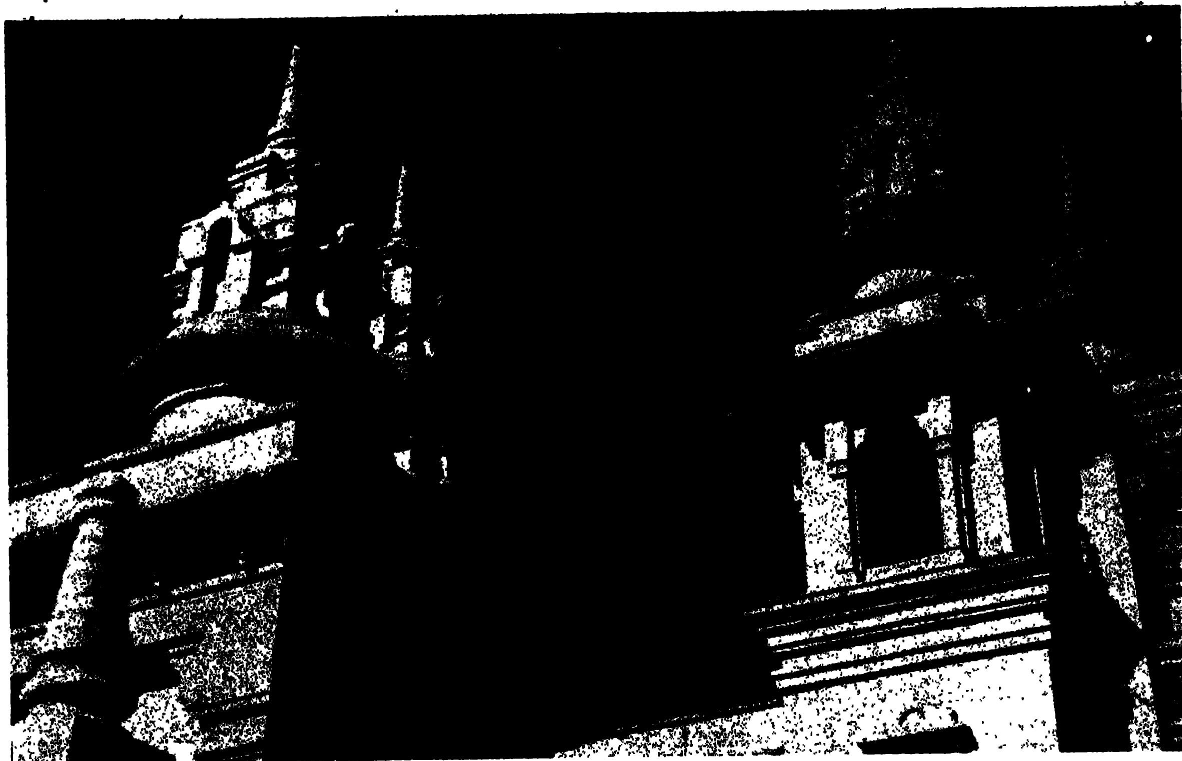
SARNATH



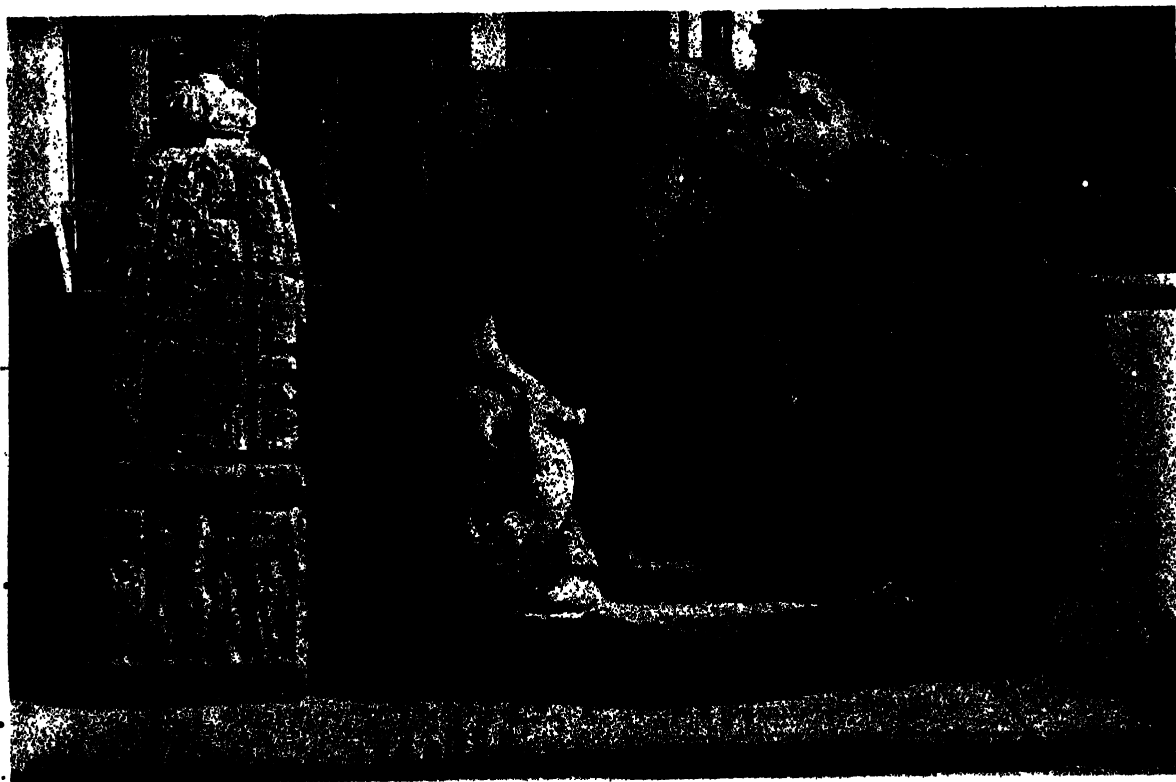
A new temple of creamy-coloured stone. The Mulagandha Kuti Vihara



The Mulagandha Kuti Vihara



India has not forgotten one of her greatest sons



Fine specimens of sculpture and carving in the Museum

"THE HOLY PLACE WHERE THE SALA TREE TURNS WHITE..."

By MARCELLA HARDY, B.A. (Oxon.)

PERHAPS in the pretty legend associated with the Deer Park lies enshrined part, at least, of the reason why the Buddha chose this spot to preach his first sermon on the Doctrine of Gentleness; for, there must have been some reason for the Enlightened One to leave the Bodhi Tree of Gaya and wander towards the Park to speak for the first time.

In Benares ruled a Raja, so runs the tale, who spent his days in the chase; many a deer did he slaughter in his thoughtless love of sport. Down from the lofty Himalays came the King of the Deer; he pleaded with the Raja and promised him one deer a day for his table if he would spare the others. At last the turn fell on a doe big with young, but she refused to be killed because, she said, her baby was yet unborn and it was cruel to end its life before it had seen the day. The King of the Deer freed her and gave himself up in her stead. So moved was the Raja of Benares by the compassion and self-sacrifice of the Deer King that he foreswore the killing of deer from that day and dedicated the Park to their use. This King of the Deer, the tale goes on to say, was reborn amongst men as Prince Gautama who, as the Buddha, addressed the Blessed Band.

So is it written in the Lalita-Vistara :

> "Thus the Wheel of the Law of twelve forms was set in motion and has been understood by Kaundinya, and the three Jewels have sprung up. The Buddha, the Law, and the Community, these are the three Jewels; . . . ."

And as the Blessed Band of five grew into the mighty Buddhist Sangha, the nucleus formed by the Convent of the Wheel of the Good Law—built on the very spot where Gautama first spoke as a Buddha—developed into one of the great universities of ancient India.

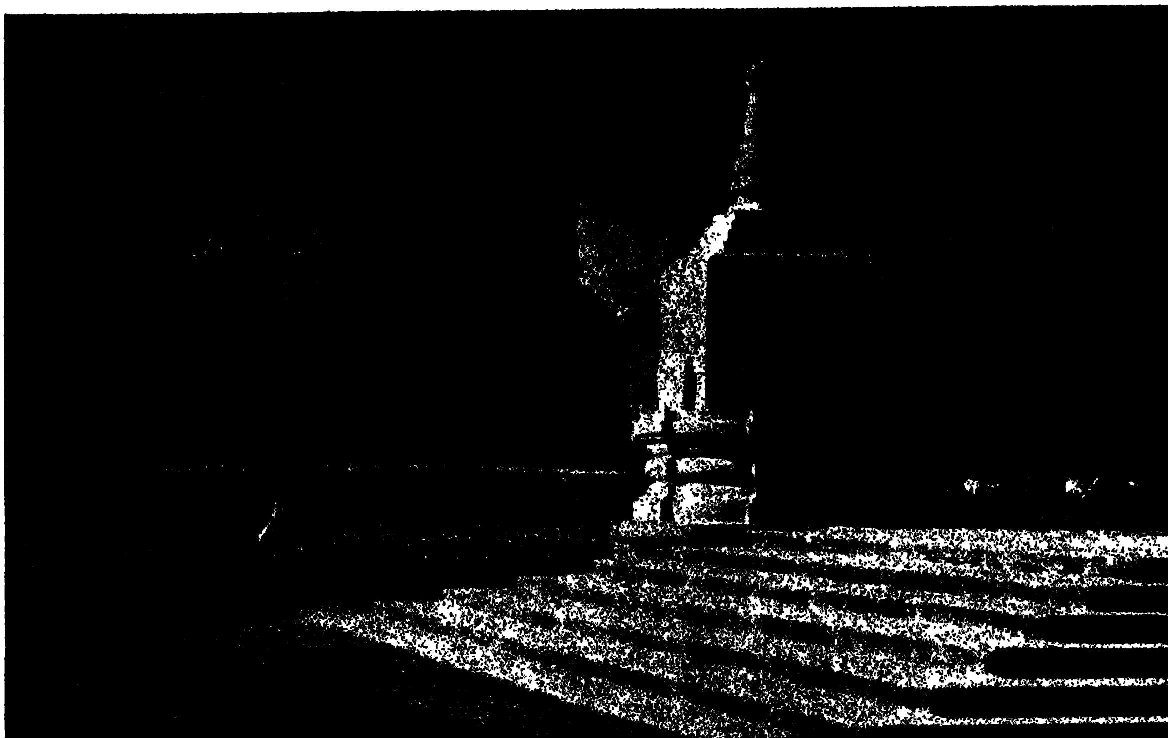
Already, twenty centuries ago India counted among her great cities and universities such names as Taxila, Nalanda, Pataliputra, Vikramaseela, and Sarnath. Some of these are only names today, others offer, in noble melancholy, the ruins of their greatness of long ago; Sarnath alone of all these centres has, throughout the centuries, preserved aglow the embers of its life —although in ruins, it still is the third of the four great centres of Buddhist pilgrimage.

It would seem that the regions of Varanashi —the regions of age-old Kashi, of the Buddha's Deer Park, of the Benares of today—had been consecrated for all time as a centre of culture, religion, and learning; for, today the Hindu University of Benares with its fine modern buildings and extensive residential quarters welcomes countless students to its fold. It rekindles thus the tradition that had lain dormant for some seven centuries. The ruins of Sarnath present, as it were, an archaeological link measuring two hundred decades of time, from the growth of Buddhism to our day.

The growth, prosperity, and decline of Sarnath covered a period of some fifteen centuries; from shortly after 487 B.C., when the Buddha attained Nirvana, down to 1193, when the Muslims overran the Gangetic plain. Right through, the Deer Park of the Buddha possessed a religious significance older than the intellectual, which certainly proved more enduring and tenacious; it is due to this, perhaps, that although the University of Sarnath gradually lost ground before inimical forces and finally died out, the Deer Park as a place of Buddhist pilgrimage has survived—"The Deer Park, the holy place," in the words of the poetic pilgrim I-Tsing, "where the sala tree turns white like the wings of a crane." Even today the pilgrim can hear the doctrine of the Gentle One there where it was first preached.

Placed as it was on the banks of the Ganges, Sarnath was affected by the same course of events that affected the rest of India. It came under the empires that rose; it was conquered by new forces when the old ones fell. It benefited by one rule and was destroyed by another. The emperor who did so much for the spread and power of the Buddhist faith, "Asoka the Righteous," set up one of his seven famous Pillar Edicts here in the Deer Park. A beautiful pillar, seemingly, for Hiuen-Tsang, nine centuries later says it was "as bright as jade; glistening and sparkling in the light." In those days it must still have been crowned by the bell-shaped capital with its fine sculptures of the *dharmachakra* and attending lions; these sculptures about which the archaeologist, Sir John Marshall, writes of as "the finest carvings, indeed, that India has yet produced and unsurpassed, I venture to think, by anything of their kind in the ancient world."

Once again, in the fifth century, Sarnath



One of the stupas of the Deer Park, Sarnath

reached a period of great glory when the Arts found such wonderful expression in carvings, sculptures, and monuments. Buddhist art in all its originality and glorious abundance developed independently of royal religious patronage, for the Gupta emperors did not belong to the Buddhist faith, which is one of the remarkable features of that art. It was supported, if one is to believe the evidence of Chinese pilgrims and scholars who visited India at that time, by the spirit of the vast majority of the population among which the Buddhist faith was still widely spread. Much of Sarnath as a treasure-house of that art was destroyed by the White Huns in the sixth century, at the disruption of the Gupta empire; but sufficient examples remain to tell of the great heights to which it reached. In successive years pious patrons re-endowed fallen monasteries and repaired or built anew buildings on the site of the old, so that earlier descriptions are of little use today.

A full history of Sarnath is difficult to write as it is of so many other important archaeological places; the inscriptions of one monastic sect were, seemingly, erased by its successor and super-inscribed with the activities and purposes of the new, so that only disconnected fragments remain today wherewith to piece together a story covering not less than fifteen centuries of time. Many monuments, viharas, stupas, and chaityas have either been destroyed or slowly fallen to ruin leaving nothing behind. One inscription, however, the latest dated of Buddhist days and written in the early twelfth century, does cast a dim ray of light on contemporary events. It is an eulogy of the Buddhist queen Kumaradevi, wife of the non-Buddhist king Govinda-Chandra of Kanauj. She had built a vihara, so reads the inscription, "as in the days of Asoka the Righteous"; her husband, too, is described as having been sent by Shiva as a heavenly champion against the "wicked Turks" who were then an imminent danger to the ancient civilisation. Less than fifty years after the death in 1154 of the "heavenly champion" the "Turks" did indeed come to Sarnath laying all waste before them in their iconoclastic zeal. The Great Convent was then finally abandoned, and the Deer Park became a Park of silence.

After the incursion of Tughluk's armies in 1193, when there were "no more orange-robed friars to receive palmers from distant lands and show the sacred spots hallowed by the Master," the desolate Deer Park received two august visitors in the sixteenth century—Humayun the Kind and his son Akbar the Great Mughal. The



Monastery in ruins, Sarnath

latter commemorated his father's visit in the following grandiloquent terms which he caused to be inscribed on a tablet:

"As Humayun, King of the Seven Climes, now residing in Paradise, deigned to come and sit here one day, thereby increasing the splendour of the sun, so Akbar, his son and most humble servant, resolved to build in this spot a lofty tower reaching to the blue skies."

It was in the year 996 A.H. that this beautiful building was erected on the top of the Chaukhandi Stupa, that one can still see today.

Some centuries later the scant visitors to Sarnath had less thought for adding and restoring than for removing; houses, bridges, and railway embankments were built with the bricks and carved stones from viharas, stupas, and monasteries—this is the saddest phase of Sarnath's long life. Much has been done, however, of recent years to restore the ravages of man and in the pilgrim centre that has dwindled but not died out, not so very long ago a new temple of creamy-coloured stone, the Mulagandha Kuti Vihara, was erected to the Gentle One—the motherland of the Buddha has not forgotten one of her greatest sons. A son of whom a modern thinker like Bertrand Russell speaks as one of the four greatest men of the world. He writes:

"If I had to select four men who have had more power than any others, I should mention Buddha and Christ, Pythagoras and Galileo. No one of the four would have affected human life as he has done if power had been his *primary* object. No one of the four sought the kind of power that enslaves others, but the kind that sets them free—in the case of the first two, by showing how to master the desires that lead to strife, and thence to defeat slavery and subjection."

The ruins, the partially mutilated sculptures, and the better preserved carvings of a once great university and busy pilgrim centre do not represent so much the last and melancholy emblems of a glory that is gone, as they do landmarks along the winding road that connects past ages with the present day. For some two thousand four hundred seasons the Deer Park has known its sala trees turn white like the wings of a crane.

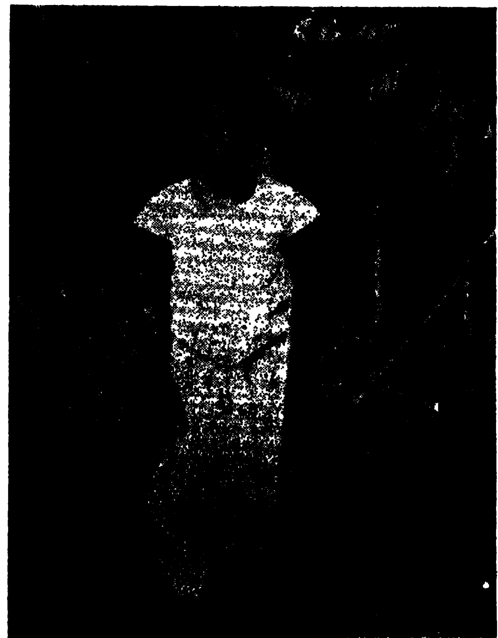
GAROS AND THEIR ABORIGINAL NEIGHBOURS

By M. N. RAY, M.A., B.L.

Many writers, most of whom are Europeans, have written interesting books and some have contributed articles in newspapers and periodicals at different times, on the people inhabiting the Garo, Khasia, and Jaintia hills, lying almost along a line between the north-eastern districts of Bengal and Assam. Studies on the subject by such writers as A. Playfair whose book on the *Garos* is well-known, and by others, had evoked in the past considerable interest in these hill people and about their country. It is to the credit of these writers, that although foreigners, they have been pioneers in this field, and have shown the way to those who are now studying these hill-men from ethnological, social and economic points of view. Christian missionary endeavours were also early directed towards reclaming these aboriginal people and bringing at their doors the amenities of civilised life.

The Government in this country began early to take a lively interest in these hill tribes, and to supplement, through indirect influence, the work of the Christian missionaries, by safe-guarding the rights of these people, specially in regard to their lands, against the encroachments of the money-lenders and of their more intelligent neighbours in the plains. To speak of the Garos alone, they have been deprived of much of their their land by other people dwelling in the plains below by various means, mostly by taking undue advantage of the simplicity of these hill people. The Government started very recently a fresh survey and settlement operation in the Susung and Sherpur pergannas of the Mymensingh district, lying at the foot of the Garo-hills, with a view to the restoration of some of the lost lands to the Garos who dwell in those parts, and also to fix their status as tenants under the landholders of Susung and Sherpur pergannas. The new settlement is being conducted under an I.C.S. official specially deputed for the purpose. In this connection a special conference of the highest Government officials recently met at Susung, to consider the various questions relating to the Garos, Hadis, Hajongs and other hill people of this area. Some are of opinion that the hill people being aboriginal in their origin and fearless and warlike by nature, and the Government feeling that it should have fuller control over these people on political grounds have instituted these enquiries about them, while others believe that the various Christian missionary bodies who are working among these people have induced the Government to give greater protection to these people, many of whom have become converts to Christianity, and many more of whom are likely to be Christians in future.

The Australian Baptist Mission opened a centre at a place called Birisiri—the name itself is apparently of Garo origin—in Susung, many years ago, and one of their missionaries, Rev.



A Garo dressed in Bengali clothes

P. Nall took upon himself the work of educating and converting the Garos of that region. He carried on the work for years with much success, and then retired from the field of service to go back to Australia. He was succeeded by several others in this work, the present incumbent being Rev. White, a very devoted worker in the same cause. During these years—a period of about fifty years—these missionaries have established schools for both boys and girls of the Garo tribe, opened dispensaries for Garo men and women and given them free medicines



Just when the dance begins : A gathering of Garos at Birisiri in Susang

and treatment, and have helped them in various other ways. The result of all these efforts have been the establishment of a Garo colony there composed of about five thousand converts to Christianity. Recently the missionaries have added an agricultural department to their schools. The jubilee of this institution was recently celebrated at Birisiri, and Garos, who are Christian converts, assembled in their thousands, and joined the various functions of prayer-meetings, lectures, social gatherings and other amusements. Missionaries and lay Christians from different parts of Bengal joined the celebration. A few high government officials also attended the functions. The institutions opened at that place receive adequate Government grants and are in a flourishing condition, promising a yet brighter future. The zeal of the missionaries, and the success with which their labours have been crowned, have a lesson for all social, religious and charitable bodies in the country. The Hindu mission with its limited resources is in a disadvantageous position with regard to its work among the hill people. It has made very little headway there, although it has done some work among the Hadis, and Hajongs of Jamalpur and Nalitabari, lying at the foot of the Garo hills. But all that work is not very considerable in comparison with the achievements made by Christian missionaries. The Roman Catholic missionaries have also opened two centres of work among these people for some years now and are also making great progress in their work.

But, who are these Garos ? Whence did they come originally to settle in this region ? Or, are they a class of savage indigenous people inhabiting this part of the country ? Do they possess any religion ? Are they Hindus and do they claim to be so, just as the Hadis do, who style themselves Bhanga-Kshatrias ? These questions have been differently answered by men with different ways of thinking. It is true however that the Garos at one time were the ruling class at different parts of the district of Mymensingh. Besides Garos, other allied hill-tribes such as Koches, Hajongs also ruled at various parts of the district. For instance, the first Muslim conqueror of Mymensingh entered in the 15th century this district by defeating and killing in battle a Koch King, Dalip Samanta, who was the ruler of the Sherpur pergana. Lakshman Hajo, also a Koch King, who ruled the

far eastern part of Mymensingh, was defeated by the famous Isha Khan, who at one time was invested with the Dewani of the 22 pergannas of Mymensingh and Dacca by Akbar the Great. The ancestor of the present Susung Raj family was Someswar Pathak, a Brahmin, who came to the Susung forests as an adventurer from an up-country district of India and after subduing the hill people established his zemindary, later known as mulké-Susung in Moghal times. The *bhāti muluk* or the low lying country, bordering on Sylhet was wrested from the hands of an aboriginal king by another Kshatria chief named Jitári. These instances however prove the warlike character of the Garos in ancient times. The story current in these parts of Bengal, that the boy Raja Raghunath of Susung, who had been taken captive in battle by Isha Khan and confined in his eastern capital at Jangalbari, was rescued overnight in a boat by 5,000 Garos who dug up a canal to join two rivers, even now known as Raghukhali and lying towards the east of Kishoregunje town, prove the truth of the tradition of their being faithful vassals and valiant warriors in times of need. The idea of forming a Garo regiment in times of war would not be either impossible or chimerical, for the Garos are an intelligent, brave and warlike people.

The conquest of the Garo hills lying between the two districts of Mymensingh and Goalpara by an expeditionary force of native sepoys in 1872, in consequence of a series of murderous raids on the people of the plains, and especially the murder of a cooly of the survey party sent by the Government, eventually led to the annexation of the whole tract of the Garo hills. The Garo hills were first taken under British management in 1866, and in 1867 Captain Williamson took up his quarters at Tura,* at present the headquarters of the hills. An Act was passed in 1868 separating the Garo hill tracts from the adjoining districts of Mymensingh and Goalpara and placing it under an officer designated as Deputy Commissioner. The survey of the hills was carried out under Captain Woodthorpe R.E., along with the expedition, and by May 1873, a complete map of the whole hill in the scale of 4 miles to an inch was prepared.

Almost nothing was known about these hills till 1866. Our knowledge of Khasia hills dates about the time when the East India Company obtained the Dewáni in 1765. Along with the adjoining district of Sylhet, the Khasi hill tract was included in the grant of the Dewáni by Emperor Shah Alam. The stone quarries of the hills, from which Bengal obtained its supply of lime, soon attracted European enterprise, and the control of the lime trade was a valuable advantage attaching to the official in charge of the district in these days. In 1832 a rising of the Khasis and the murder of two British military officers resulted in the annexation of the Khasia hills under Col. Lister in 1835, who became its political agent with his headquarters at Nangklao. The other remaining hill of these ranges, the Jaintia hills, came into British possession in 1835.

The Garos are mainly an agricultural people, cotton forming their chief article of industry and trade. The total area of the hill is 3,140 sq. miles. They being densely wooded Government have established forest reserves. The hills abound with wild beasts and the elephant-catching *Khedda*, once the monopoly of the Susung Raj, was a source of profit and income to the Rajas of Susung. The Garo cotton is grown east of the Nitai river in the south-eastern corner of the hills, so that from this river to the Khasi hills no cotton is grown. Cotton is sold at all markets situated along the border and in the nearest hāts in the plains, under the Susung and Sherpur zemindars, not only Garo men but their womenfolk also visit these hāts in large number and come there with various commodities, the product of the hills and their home-made articles of cane and bamboo. The yearly outturn of cotton is estimated to be about 100 thousand maunds. The Garo cotton is said to be very rich in lint, and is exported to foreign countries, especially to Germany, in large quantity. The sale of lac is also a source of considerable wealth to these people—the forest department of the Government levying a royalty on it. Lac is, however, cultivated within the area bounded on the north by Goalpara, on the south by the Someswari river, on the east by the Khasi hills and in the west by the Janai river.

The smelting of iron was once the chief industry in the Khasi hills, the income accruing from smelted iron in 1858 being Rs. 67,500 for 45,000 maunds. But at present the chief industry of the district is the cultivation of potatoes, which are exported in large quantities to all places in Bengal. The income from the export trade in lime which was about five lacs in 1877, has now increased to many more lacs of rupees. Besides, recent excavations near the Garo hills in Assam have brought out a reserve of coal on a seam on the south-western corner of the

* Tura, the present headquarters, is 40 to 42 miles from Singamari. Tora mountain is 4,000 ft. above sea-level. The site was selected as being suitable for defence against the Garos.

Khasi hills. The reserves in the Langrin area in Assam cover twenty square miles. There are lime-stone quarries to the west of these coal seams. As is naturally to be expected iron has also been traced near about this area. As regards horticulture, the orange trade of these hills and of the Sylhet district form no inconsiderable part of the sources of wealth of these districts. Beyond the northern and eastern parts of this area stretches the country of Assam which as far as the borders of Tibet is now under cultivation of tea that forms its principal industry. The Cacharis, the indigenous people of Assam, are a semi-civilised people possessing their peculiar habits and modes of life. They form a considerable portion of the population of Assam.

The other branches of the aboriginal tribes dwelling in these hills, the Koches, the Nagas, and Kukis, appear in comparison with the Garos to be more savage and wild. The Hadis, who are one of these tribes, however, are not much inferior to the Hindus and in some respects superior to the Garos. In respect of the adaptation of the civilised modes of life, the Khasis have led the way to these people. Many Khasis, who have come under Christian influence, have been educated in schools and colleges, and Khasi girls have joined some of the Christian colleges of Calcutta in recent times. The Garos are more conservative than the Khasis in their outlook and have taken more slowly to education. The work of the Brahmo Samaj Mission at the Khasi hills, at Cherapunji town, has been successfully carried on for some years now, but there remains much scope for further work among these hill people, both as regards religious and social welfare, which the Brahmo Samaj would do well to undertake on a more extensive scale.

RADHANATH SIKDAR

A Great Mathematician and Scientist

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

A FEW years back I wrote two papers in *The Modern Review** and one in *Prabasi*† on the life and work of Radhanath Sikdar, a great mathematician and scientist of the nineteenth century. He served in the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India for long thirty years and his activities remained necessarily confined within the four walls of the Survey Department. But here also he commanded respect from his superiors and equals for his unusual scientific attainments. Sir George Everest and Sir Andrew Waugh, the successive Surveyors-General, under whom he served these long years, bore testimony not only to his sterling merit as an officer but also to his talents as a mathematician of a very high order. The letters they wrote to the higher authorities for retaining his services speak eloquently of the achievements of Radhanath Sikdar. In 1864, two years after his retirement from service, he was elected a corresponding member of the Society of Natural History of Bavaria for his rare scientific attainments. This event was noticed in the comtemporary newspapers. *The Hindoo Patriot* wrote in its issue of April 25, 1864 :

> "A few weeks back we stated that Baboo Radhanath Sikdar has been elected a corresponding member of the Society of Natural History of Bavaria for his high scientific attainments. *The Poona Observer* thus notices the event : This is a great distinction, for the Philosophical Society of Germany, where learning flourishes more than in any other country in Europe, have the reputation of being very particular in their choice of members, and never confer their honors but upon solid and substantial grounds. We imagine there are not very many Englishmen who could obtain the title which has been conferred on Baboo Radhanath Sikdar."

We do not know whether Radhanath contributed papers to the scientific journals of the West. The only solid contributions of his, we know of, remain interred in *The Manual of Surveying*, a standard work on Indian Survey, and the first of its kind ever written in India. The most difficult and scientific portions of the book were written by Radhanath Sikdar and handsomely acknowledged in the preface by its compilers, R. Smyth and H. L. V. Thuillier, in its first (1851) and second (1855) editions. The passage in which his debt is acknowledged, reads as follows :

> "In Parts III and V, the compilers have been largely assisted by Baboo Radhanath Sikdar, distinguished

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* *The Modern Review* for April and September, 1933.

† *Prabasi*, Bhadra, 1339 B.S.

head of the Computing Department of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, a gentleman whose intimate acquaintance with the vigorous forms and mode of procedure adopted on the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, and great acquirement and knowledge of scientific subjects generally render his aid particularly valuable. The Chapters 15 and 17 up to 21, inclusive, and 26 of Part III and the whole of Part V are entirely his own, and it would be difficult for the compilers to express with sufficient force, the obligations they thus feel under to him, not only for the portion of the work which they desire thus publicly to acknowledge, but for the advice so generally afforded on all subjects connected with his own department."

It is only this passage that refers to Radhanath's contributions to the book, and as such it should have been retained in the subsequent editions. In the absence of our knowledge of any other material contributions of Radhanath's to science, this reference has become all the more important. But in the third edition of *The Manual of Surveying*, this time published under the authority of the Government of India by Surveyor-General Colonel H. L. Thuillier, one of the two original compilers, Radhanath Sikdar's name was omitted in the preface, though his contributions acknowledged as the most difficult and scientific not only by the compilers but by the scientific world outside, were retained in extenso. This provoked enough indignation in the mind of some of the officers of the department, and Lt.-Colonel John Macdonald, Deputy Surveyor-General, in his article in *The Friend of India* for June 17 and 24, 1876, while exposing the maladministration of the Survey Department, gave vent to his feelings regarding the dishonesty of the publisher in the omission, in the preface, of even the name of Radhanath Sikdar. He passed this severe stricture on the conduct of the publisher :

". . . . . in this third edition the direction of the wind is shown by the omission in the preface of proper respectful acknowledgment to the best of the original authors of the compilation, and the debt due to Radhanath Sikdar is wholly unacknowledged. Penance must be performed for this cowardly sin and robbery of the dead. Already this dishonesty of purpose has been four times noticed in the public journals, and it is certain that castigation will be inflicted at regular intervals as it is on habitual criminals, until the cause is removed, this edition called in, and a proper honest acknowledgment made for the personal appropriation of the best chapters in the book—we mean *those devoted to a description and practical application of the working of 'Ray Trace System' invented by Everest and practically explained by the Hindoo gentleman we have mentioned*. . . . ." (Italics mine).

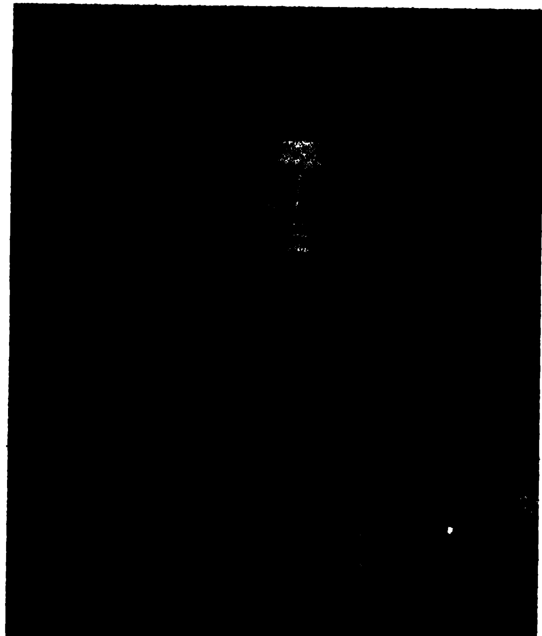
After quoting the passage of acknowledgment in the first and second edition, Mr. Macdonald said :

"Thus wrote 'Smyth and Thuillier,' when Waugh was Surveyor-General and Baboo Radhanath Sikdar was alive. We feel quite certain that we shall command the sympathy of every highly-educated native of India for our determination to rescue the name of *one of the greatest mathematicians* which has adorned the honourable list of those who measured and computed the great Indian Arc, from neglect by those who owe so much to his memory." (Italics mine).

"Facts against Fancies" tried to refute the charges in the article in a letter to *The Friend of India*, (August 19, 1876). Regarding Radhanath's services he, however, wrote :

". . . . there was not the slightest wish to undervalue or to forget the services of one who was such a *shining ornament* to the department." (Italics mine).

The Friend of India was not convinced with the explanations offered by "Facts against



Radhanath Sikdar
(1813-1870)

Fancies" in respect of the glaring omission and observed in the Editorial Notes as follows :

"According to all appearance an attempt has been made to obtain credit for the authorship of the most scientific portion of the work, and nothing urged by 'Facts against Fancies' justifies us in withdrawing a single word of the very severe strictures we passed. Had Radhanath Sikdar been alive we would have left him to fight his own battle."

It should be noted that the name of the author of the article was not published originally and these appeared as one of the main editorial contributions.

The editor summed up his Notes thus :

"To sum up, we noticed changes in the title page, the preface, and the frontispiece; our correspondent says they are accidental. Perhaps! but the accidents are all in favour of one-side. It is said that when Mahomed was dying he called out that anyone he had wronged should speak out at once so that he might not be complained against on the Day of Judgment. The author of the manual has an equal opportunity of refuting any wrong, and if he restores the acknowledgment of his debt to Radhanath Sikdar, he will die as happily as Mahomed and Radhanath Sikdar's manes may be appeased."

Lt. Colonel Walter S. Sherwill, a retired officer of superior rank in the Survey of India, wrote a letter to the editor of *The Friend of India* from Perth, Scotland, dated 15th August, 1876. The letter was published in its issue of September 16, 1876. The portions concerning Radhanath Sikdar are only given here :

"A friend has just sent me a copy of the *Friend of India* of the 24th June, all the way from Germany, in order that I might be made acquainted with the *sad fact* that, when bringing out a third edition of "Smyth and Thuillier's Manual of Surveying of India," the much respected name of the late Baboo Radnanath Sikdar, the able and distinguished head of the Computing Department of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, who did so much to enrich the early editions of the 'Manual,' had been advertently, or inadvertently removed from the preface of the late editions while at the same time all the valuable matter written by the Baboo had been retained, and that without any acknowledgment as to the authorship.

"As an old Revenue Surveyor who used the 'Manual' for a quarter of a century, and as an acquaintance of the late Radhanath Sikdar, I feel quite ashamed for those who have seen fit to exclude his name from the present edition, especially as the former editions so fully acknowledged the deep obligations under which they found themselves for Radhanath's assistance, not only for the particular portion of the work '*which they desire thus publicly to acknowledge*'—so runs the preface of the 1851 edition,—'*but for the advice so generally afforded and all subjects connected with his own department*'."

The Friend of India of September 30, 1876, while noticing Lt.-Colonel Sherwill's letter editorially, wrote :

"As Colonel Sherwill was employed for twenty years in the Revenue Survey Department, his opinion that the publishers of the manual ought to be ashamed of themselves for having appropriated the original contributions of an eminent man who is not alive, deserves most prominent notice; moreover we consider that a work which appears under the authority of the Government of India should not be open to remarks of the nature we have noticed. In publishing by authority, Colonel Thuillier was custodian of the reputation of the Government which permitted him to use its name for his personal benefit in the sale of the book, which is greatly increased thereby. As so much has been said on this subject, we trust a public acknowledgment of the circumstances under which Radhanath Sikdar's contribution to the Manual of Surveying have been appropriated for the work, will appear in the Government Gazette."

The article and the controversy thereon seemed to have given deep offence to Colonel Thuillier, at once the publisher of the book and Head of the Department (he being the Surveyor-General at the time). He, instead of rectifying the wrong, moved the Government of India to take severe measures against its author, Lt.-Colonel John Macdonald, a subordinate officer of his, on charge of the breach of discipline. Macdonald's exposure of the maladministration of the Department strengthened greatly the point of Thuillier and proved an important factor in bringing in no time the wrath of the Government of India upon him. *The Friend of India* (October 28, 1876) lamented the fate of this honest officer, but remarked at the same time that as there was no popular parliament in India, similar to that in England, there was no chance of exposing the maladministration of a department except through the Press by somebody in the know of the state of affairs, that is, by some public servants.

In its issue of November 4, 1876, *The Friend of India* gave a very interesting but very damaging hint as to why Colonel Thuillier would have thought it fit to efface the name of Radhanath Sikdar from the third edition of the *Manual*. It wrote editorially :

"When Colonel Thuillier was first charged in these columns with the omission of Baboo Radhanath Sikdar's name from the title page of the *Manual of Surveying* and of all acknowledgment of the valuable matter due to that distinguished Native Surveyor, one of his defenders replied that the omission was simply an oversight. If so it was a curious and unfortunate one. But a new charge has been brought against the Surveyor-General with reference to this matter, which, if substantiated, cannot be explained as an oversight. If the charge were only a heresay and incapable of proof or disproof, we would not write it, but if false, it can easily be disproved, and if not disproved, it will certainly be believed. It is that when soliciting election as a fellow of the Royal Society of England, he brought forward the *Manual* as his own production. Can it be true? The records of the Royal Society should be appealed to, for such a charge is not to be passed lightly over."

Let us hear also *The Statesman* regarding the importance of Radhanath's contributions to *The Manual of Surveying*. The same issue of *The Friend of India* quoted the following excerpts from *The Statesman* :

"Suppose that Sir George Airy and Mr. Procter wrote a joint book upon astronomy, and that Sir John Herschel had made contributions to it so important, that the authors felt it due to him to acknowledge pointedly the valuable assistance he had given them. Sir John Herschel dies, and Sir George Airy goes to the Antipodes, retiring from Europe altogether. Under these circumstances Mr. Procter brings out a new edition of the book under the title of Procter and Airy's astronomy. On opening the book, those who were familiar with the original are not only surprised to find

that Procter takes precedence of the great astronomer, but that all reference to the important contributions made thereto by Sir John Herschel has been eliminated from the work, although his contributions still appear therein. Great surprise is felt at the change and omission, but as both may have been the result of inadvertence, the attention of the author is called to the matter not once but twice over say in the *Times*. Procter takes not the least notice of the fact, and gives no word of explanation whatever. What we ask would the literary world say of conduct such as this, and what would not the *Reviewers* have to say about it?

"For Airy now read Smyth, for Procter read Thuillier, for Herschel read Radhanath Sikdar, and for the *Times*, read *Pioneer* and *Friend of India*, and the parellel is complete, though in drawing it we have taken a liberty with very distinguished names. We reasonably suspect that it was the exposure of this gross literary meanness, that constituted the sting of Colonel Macdonald's article to the *Friend of India*, and instead of replying handsomely to the criticism with a frank acknowledgment of the wrong and an effort to redress it, Colonel Thuillier is permitted to use the authority of the Government to degrade Colonel Macdonald in the Survey list. Does Lord Lytton think that Government of this order can secure public respect? Strong indignation is felt at Colonel Thuillier's appropriation of Radhanath Sikdar's labours as his own, and this open quarrel upon the subject will but intensify the feeling. Why is not the Manual called in and suppressed, and an honest edition substituted for it."

On the advice of Colonel Thuillier the Governor-General in Council passed the following orders, already referred to by *The Friend of India* and *The Statesman*, regarding Lt.-Colonel Macdonald, on October 16, 1876 and asked the Colonel to get them carried out immediately :

"The decision of the Government of India is that Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald shall be suspended from departmental duty on the receipt of these orders for a period of three months, on the expiration of which he will be placed in 2nd grade of Deputy Superintendent of Revenue Survey immediately below Lieutenant-Colonel Oakes, on a salary of Rs. 1,327-14 per mensem. During the period of this suspension from duty Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald will draw the pay of his rank as an officer of the staff corps. It is further the desire of the Governor-General in Council that Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald shall not again be employed at headquarters without the special sanction of Government."

Lt.-Colonel Macdonald was suspended for three months, and then degarded four steps lower than the post he had already held. But the controversy brought to striking light the honesty of purpose and the love of truth with which he fought the cause, thought at his own peril. Radhanath Sikdar once more came to his own. That he was one of the greatest mathematicians of the age came to be recognised on all hands.

ATMOSPHERE FOR SCIENTIFIC ENDOWMENTS

What Can the Science Congress Do for It ?

By "ONE-SIDED VIEW"

THE silver jubilee session of the Indian Science Congress in 1938 is an indication that an increasing number of our countrymen are pursuing scientific studies and the value of their work is creditable. This work was amply recognised *en masse* by the official delegation of British Association for the Advancement of Science. Public appreciation of the utility of such work however has not yet come forth. If it is solely because the people in general are wholly indifferent to the scientists, what has been done by the latter to break the ice? Science has now permeated into our homes and occupations without our questioning and any ostentation. Individually we are not required to labour for the thousand and one benefits granted by science. We have accepted science in practice but we have not imbibed the spirit. We fail to harness scientists to our own ends. What then stands in the way of bringing scientists closer to the common men like us? Attention of the readers of this note will be restricted only to the part demanded from the scientists.

In India study of science in its present form drew the first inspiration from outside. Its origin and development are due to exotic influence. The research techniques, the different research schools and all that contribute to the healthy growth of science have been now deeply implanted on the native soil. The foreign seedling has now grown into a bulky tree. A little over 25 years of vigorous research has passed by with annual stock-taking of works at the succeeding sessions of the Science Congress. How is it that complaint is now heard that the public are very apathetic towards scientific efforts? For further development, the scientists are feeling the need of money for extra equipment and personnel. It has been however piously hoped by the extra scientists that their

work by virtue of their merit (no matter, if their worth is appraisable by the layman without their explaining in a matter-of-fact way) will go direct to the heart of the people.

Our scientists have been content to tread on the old track. Many are ceaselessly pouring out voluminous research papers, and some glorify by the number of papers irrespective of whether they are analytical data. They seem to have not come to the end of the old track and their vision sees no cross-roads. They feel for money but they do not think out how investments are to be justified. Their thoughts have been following on a narrow groove out of which they are too lethargic to come out.

There has been very little attempt to lead their valuable thoughts and works into different channels. Our countrymen have not found anything worth their interest to come forward to the scientists. The large figures in roubles, dollars and sterlings given away to finance research abroad are very frequently repeated now to impress the man-in-the-street. Universities and institutions could have easily supplied the bases for creating something tangible to induce money. It appears there has not been a thorough utilisation of the things available. Often vain attempts have been made to boom results of doubtful value.

A survey of the papers read before the Science Congress will show that a large run of members present what may be classed as mere compilation of data. To a casual reader it will appear that there is no definite objective underlying their works. To justify their appointments under the government and universities a large number of members communicate these 'papers.' It should be admitted that all lines of thought and research cannot be of immediate value either for further work or for application to practical purposes. Barring these small number of such papers, the authors who could only perform certain routine work should be content with the inclusion of his results in the Proceedings. There cannot be any need for them to press these hard into others' brains by his eloquence and by means of epidiascope. As a matter of fact very few interesting discussions crop up, because each is concerned with his *special* work and in the absence of any knowledge of the other man's work he simply counts the minutes to prepare for his turn. When a particular work, may be incomplete, deserves a thorough discussion in the opinion of the members present at the meeting or at the discretion of the sectional committee, it should be encouraged and carried to a conclusion. A session which lasts for five days (from 9-30 A.M. to 4-30 P.M. generally, with a break for lunch, excluding the opening day and another day devoted to excursions) and commands a very representative gathering ought to devise a more fruitful way of 'doing business.' When there is so much now to know, so much that may overlap each other's works, so much that may correlate works and accelarate the work, joint discussions should be elaborately organised. That not only will help in the proper appraisal of the works and in indicating new lines but will also encourage in pooling the available knowledge together for the country's benefit.

These benefits when they will be widely felt will break the barriers of awe and reverence now isolating the scientists from the common people. Unless people feel that the scientists are capable of doing some good of which they can partake, the scientists should not expect them to join hands to help the scientists in their development. When a stock is taken of the investments made so far for scientific research, unless the returns are convincing, apart from purely educational value, people will be naturally shy to part with their money. There has been very little attempt to bridge the gulf between the scientist and the common man. True that industrialists and capitalists lack enterprise and initiative to take the scientists into confidence. But the persons, who are supposed to be leaders of thought and makers of men, stand more chance of condemnation for their failings. If the persons, who have received a good education, have come in contact with a large variety of men, have seen at firsthand the progress in other countries as students and later not infrequently as professors or distinguished research scientists fail to grasp the situation, fail to rise to the occasion, to probe deep into matters, they cannot escape being doubly condemned. It is on them that the mould and frame of society depend. National welfare being interlocked with them, in the administration of a country we find now more of scientific brains alloted to important tasks. Science Congress is a body devoted to the cause of science and is interested in its votaries. This is the body which can take up this problem. Funds are really scarce and uncertain. Before parting with money people must know the ends to which his money will be spent. There is a great need of public education in this matter to prepare the ground. The annual deliberations of the Congress should point out the works for which investment is worth the cause. They should not be content with the reading of papers ranging in value from zero to hundred with an added grace of a very weak attempt at discus-

sions which are vitiated by too short a time limit, and by the incompetent extempore speakers. These discussions may lay the base for indicating to the country at large what progress has been made and are in store. Science and its social relations loom large before the parent organisations in Great Britain and the United States. But here our scientists are deplorably unappreciative of this feature. Is it due to the fact that the influential members of the Indian Science Congress Association are either comfortably settled over official files in the Government departments and their pet schemes or are safely huddled together in the niches of University and Institute buildings? It is time that realities were faced and dissipation of talents checked. There should be less of free play for 'snobbish' doctors (not infrequently very average men with money to go abroad). The lesser their number the better for the common men to appreciate science. Their random talks and ostentatious pose sometimes frighten away the ordinary men and at other times give a very bad account of science and scientists because of their bungling things.

Whenever a good work is completed or promising investigations are in hand, it is absolutely essential that they should be brought before the public eye. In the United States it is reported that there is a very efficient body of persons who have acquired proficiency in reporting on matters scientific and the large endowments and bequests are in no small measure due to their publicity. They maintain a very efficient liaison between the man-in-the-street and the man in the laboratory. They are taken into confidence by the scientists and their confidence is rightly placed and amply rewarded. Ideas and results filter through them and when they interest the country the purse strings are loosened. Why does not the Science Congress maintain science reporters? The news about scientific matters published nowadays in our press and in some cases which form a special weekly feature require a different outlook for their presentation. It is a common error on their part to brush up now and then the much worn out picture of the scientist in the role of a juggler as has been painted before the laymen during their student days. Their efforts to bring science to the common men unfortunately create a thicker and much thicker wall with occasional deep insight. In the peculiar circumstances of our country it is for the Science Congress to come to their help. The wealth of information is at their disposal. There are members of the Congerss with very clear grasp of the subject who can be quite efficient 'vulgarisators.' Their directions will be immensely helpful in the initial stages to our science reporters. In the United States they have National Association of Science writers, of which the present president is Mr. G. B. Lal, one of our countrymen. The Indian Science News Association in Calcutta through its journal *Science and Culture* has been striving independently to such an end but the support and sympathy has been limited. This may serve as a nucleus of the proposed organisation and the journal as an organ for putting forth the works of our scientists in proper perspective for those outside the orbit of the scientists—to the common men doing their daily rounds in diverse professions. In conclusion it must be said that the above is only one facet of the question, nonetheless it deserves serious consideration.



ROMESCHANDRA DUTT'S LETTER TO BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

By GOKULESWAR BHATTACHARYYA, B.A.

THAT Romeshchandra Dutt, when he was in England, once wanted to see the English translation of *Devi Choudhurani,* a work done by Bankimchandra Chatterjee himself, is a known fact. Correspondence went on between Romeshchandra and Bankimchandra, but the English manuscript of the book was never sent to England, and with the death of Bankimchandra the manuscript was practically lost. It is generally believed that Bankimchandra was of opinion that the English versions of his two novels, *Krishna-Kanter Will* and *Devi Choudhurani* (they were translated by Bankimchandra himself), should not be published. In the absence of letters written by Bankimchandra and Romeshchandra, we also maintained that idea so long. But recently a letter of Romeshchandra has come to our hand, the first part of which has modified our view to a certain extent at least, though it has not thoroughly changed our former view. It will prove that Bankimchandra once negotiated with an English publishing company of England for publishing his novel. The name of the novel is not mentioned but there is every reason to believe that the novel was either *Krishnakanter Will* or *Devi Choudhurani,* for only those two books were rendered into English by Bankimchandra. The case goes strongly in favour of *Devi Choudhurani.* But the novel remained unpublished. The reason is quite unknown.

The letter in our hand is a long one—though the last part of it is lost. Only the first twelve pages have been found, at places worm-eaten. Somehow the letter once came into the possession of my father, the late Navakrishna Bhattacharyya, who passed many years of his life with Bankimchandra. The letter, as it is, is reproduced below :—

Littlehampton
Sussex
16th Sep. 1886

My dear Bankim Babu,

I am sorry Messrs Allen & Co. have not yet given their final reply about publishing your novel,—but I am *takeeding* them today and **. I shall be able to let you know the result by the next week.

We have left London now and I am staying with my wife and children in a quiet sea-side place in the south of England where my children are enjoying the strolling on the sea-beach and the sea-bathing very much. I took them to several excursions to the country all round, Ar...del Castle and Park .. lovely Isle of...ght with its historic Castle of Carisbrooke where Charles I was kept inprisoned before his execution; and to several other pretty places among the wooded hills and sloping "downs" of the South of England. I expect to take them to Brighton the Queen of sea-side places in a day or two, and shortly after I wish to take them to Paris for a week or so, just to let them see the prettiest place in the world! Then * * * to go by myself on my long continental tour, and and in November or December we leave for India.

Some time ago I went to Bristol and to Bath and to Wells in connextion with the Colonial and Indian Reception. With that shrewdness and practical good sense which mark Englishmen among the nations of the Earth, they are taking advantage of the present Colonial and Indian Exhibition in * * the bonds of good feeling between England and her numerous Colonies. With this object all the Colonists and Indians who have come over to England in connexion with the Exhibition have been invited to the principal towns in England, Scotland and Ireland and have been received and fêted with a degree of cordiality and honor which must have been extremely gratifying to them. We * * with the Exhibition,—but the Reception Committee learnt somehow that we were Indian gentlemen of position and were now in England, —and so they sent round invitations to us also. We could not avail ourselves of most of the invitations,—as we preferred to go to Norway to going to Edinburgh, Dublin or Manchester,—but after our return from N(orway) * were * in time to accept the invitations to Bristol, to Bath and to Wells. I cannot describe to you the sort of reception that we Indians and Colonials received. At every town the whole population turned out and lined the streets, and as we passed from the railway stations to the Town halls, they cheered us as never Victors or

Statesmen were cheered ! Carriages were placed at our disposal, the finest works of art ***** and the most curious and interesting sights were thrown open to us,—and we were invited to visit churches and cathedrals and gardens and Roman Baths and other places of interest,— and everywhere there was someone to receive us, and to explain things to us. And then what dinners and luncheons and suppers, and balls and concerts ! We never went through such a succession of **** lines. I send you a copy of Keen's *Bath Journal* by this day which gives a brief account of our doings at Bristol and Bath and Wells. Our papers may make some use of it if they like.

Among all this feasting and féting what struck me most were the splendid manufactories that I visited. I went through a great Soap and ...manufactory, a world-renowned tobacco manufactory, a great manufactory of galvanized iron, another of wire-netting and several others of other kind. It is these industries which have placed European nations and the English specially at head of nations, and which have made competition a hopeless task for us. It is in these shops and * * * * not (then) in the schools and Universities that we must learn our first lessons if we w(ant) to win a place among the nations of the Earth. What beautiful and yet simple machines for wire-netting,—that wire-netting for which there is such a large demand in India, along the railway lines and elsewhere. What beautiful and simple methods of making (corr)ugated iron and then galvanizing them,—producing that galva(nized) * * * * roofing all our manufactories and sheds (all) over India. Have we not intelligence enough and sense enough and patriotism enough to learn some of these methods and introduce these machines in India ? Can we not weave our own cotton, manufacture our own cloth, begin to do our own iron works now ? America and Germany (are) now competing with England and cutting out England (from) many of the markets * * * and there * * a consequent depression (of) trade and distress in England. We don't want to enter (into) such unequal competition, but can we not manufacture ***, etc.

In a corner of the first page, it is written again :—

" P. S. Reply to me *always* to the care of Messrs Grindlay & Co., 55 Parliament Street, London, S. W."

THE TWO SCULPTORS OF ENGLAND

By SUDHIR R. KHASTGIR

The Art Schools are brimming with students, both boys and girls. Bloomsbury, Chelsea and various other places of London are full of long-haired artists and sculptors with funny beards and mustaches. And it is not an easy task to discover the real artists from amongst them.

When I left for Europe and England to visit the famous centres of art and art-galleries, I was given many unwanted advice and introduction letters to many an artist. I had taken a few introduction letters rather reluctantly. I was to sail from Bombay, where I happened to meet an England-returned Indian gentleman who was not an artist himself. He began abusing the Indian artists and told me," Once you have been to the continent, you will realize how very inferior you people are to the Western artists. In a word, you will simply be overwhelmed."

The chief reason of my friend's contempt for our art and culture is that he is not in the least acquainted with the art of our own country. He rhapsodises over the Vatican in Italy, but he has not seen the Elephanta cave close to Bombay proper, although he has not been absolutely ignorant of its existence. He has endless praises for the Louvre, but his knowledge about the Ajanta and Ellora caves is not a first-hand one. Throughout India there are numerous specimens of high-class Indian art. One who is sufficiently acquainted with them, far from being overwhelmed by Western Art as exhibited in the art galleries, will hardly carry a deep impression about it. This has occurred to me time and again during my visit to the European museums and art galleries.

I was fairly acquainted with most of the famous paintings and sculptures of Western Art Galleries through books and reproductions, so when I saw them I enjoyed very much as they were originals; they are far more grand than their reproductions. If the same amount of money had been spent to preserve

and collect the valuable specimens of Indian Art, the whole world would have been astonished—this was the first and foremost thought that came to my mind about our country's art. I may feel unhappy and inferior as an Indian citizen but not as an Indian artist.

I toured in Europe and tried to grasp as much as I could and returned home just a year before the war broke out. I never thought of writing an account of my travel. But, lately I have been thinking of the two great sculptors of England, one of whom I met personally.

When I felt tired of going about in the art galleries in London, I suddenly remembered the introduction letters I had with me. One was addressed to Epstein, C/O. Cooling Art Gallery, Bond Street. I entered the fashionable quarters meant for the aristocrats. When I went into the Cooling Art Gallery, a middle aged man approached me. His dress was a striking one, perhaps meant to make himself conspicuous. I gathered that even some uncommon queer dress was needed to enable him to sell pictures. I showed him my letter and asked him if he could direct me to the required place.

He exclaimed, "Epstein! You want to get to his residence? But he is not in London these days." Afterwards he related to me how whimsical and unsociable Epstein was; thereby he somewhat prejudiced me against the sculptor. I thought that to know the sculptor's art instead of the sculptor himself would be sufficient for me. I had seen some of Epstein's works in the Tate Gallery, and also in the Birmingham and Leicester Art Galleries; again an one-man show of his work was to be shortly held. Thus I gave up my intention of meeting the artist.

I looked up the file of introduction letters once more and found a letter addressed to Eric Gill. He lived in Highwaycomb—far away from London. One day I went in that direction and in spite of being instructed about my destination, all my attempts to reach the required spot were in vain. The next day I dropped a postcard to him. He replied making an appointment with me and along with the letter he sent a plan of the situation of his residence. Once again I set out. This time fortunately Mr. Chakravarty of the Government School of Arts, Calcutta, who was then in England, accompanied me.

We did not have the least idea of what sort of a man Gill was. He lived in an old garden house on a hillock. As we entered his room, we found him waiting for us. He was dressed in a loose fitting garment. His face was covered with beard and mustaches. Due to old age or perhaps physical strain, he looked weak and feeble. As we started conversation, his wife came in and we had tea together. Thereafter he took us to his studio. It was full of various kinds of stone-carved figures, both finished and unfinished. He had begun an impossibly huge bas relief on stone which was to be placed at the League of Nations buildings in Geneva. I looked at the piece of sculpture and then at the old artist and then on the gound where the implements such as hammer, chisel, etc., were strewn about. The studio was full of dust and particles of stone. As we went through his works, we listened as well to his talk.

In many art galleries of England I had seen his works. Now I saw himself with his works in his studio. I had no hesitation in acknowledging him as a true artist.

He has not followed the same way as that of Epstein. Gill has been most decidedly influenced by the Art of the East. For throughout his works the undercurrent of design can be easily traced. They do not excite the mind, but create a peaceful atmosphere. His talk reminded me of the well-known Indian master Nandalal Bose.

Gill asked me, "Why have you come here? To be taught? Have you been admitted into the Royal College or the Academy?" I told him that my visit to England was simply meant for seeing things direct and gather experiences and not to take any regular degree lessons. He was somewhat pleased with my answer. "That's right. What can we Westerners teach you after all? It is you people from whom we have learnt and are still learning."

Presently he made a move towards his office room, looked up his files and then took out an album from among his pile of books. Holding it out he said, "Look here, can you recognise this?" To my surprise it was a crude but magnificent hand-painted *pat* of Kalighat of Calcutta, thousands and thousands of miles away from England. With great care he had preserved it in his collection. He said, "This is the sort of art that the artists of your country have produced. Ours is nothing compared with this. What can we teach you Indians! You artists will be killed in England. This is no place for true artists." He began laughing, and then said "Is it true that a contact with Europe and European influence are causing an improvement in Indian art and culture. To my mind it will be very harmful for India in the long run."

Then Esptein became the topic of our conversation. "Have you seen his works? Have you met him?" I told him that I had had no

opportunity to see the sculptor but had seen his works. Gill laughed and remarked, "There he is with his great disciples. Epstein *does* portrait in bronze, but the product is not a bronze one, but is an *Epstein*." He led me to another room and showed a South Indian 'Nataraja' figure. "This is called bronze and a real bronze figure. Here the bronze has been moulded into a figure and the product is not an artist's personality."

There was some truth in what he said but I felt that not even he could get rid of a sort of professional jealousy.

* * * *

In the Leicester Art Gallery I saw an Exhibition of Epstein's works. The entrance fee was one and a half shilling and the catalogue cost one shilling. The show was largely attended, specially by women. There were twenty-two figures in all. Most of them were portrait busts.

Ever since sculpture was started in Santiniketan, we had occasion to meet several good Western sculptors. They were not much well-known, two of them were Bourdelle's and Rodin's students. Some of them used to say that a clay figure ought to be built with a small amount of clay at first. Slowly and gradually more and more clay should be added to give shape, just as a small seedling grows and blooms and is bent with profuse fruits.

According to others that is not the ideal. The most facile and the best way of giving shape to a lump of clay is to add or cut down according to one's own needs and for that one must have an absolutely clear idea as to what one is going to do with the clay. To them, giving some shape and form is the chief goal of a sculptor.

The first thing one notices in Epstein's bust portraits is neither his style nor his peculiar mannerism. Most people think, whatever he produces are definitely ugly and crude. The cause is obvious. His angle of vision is different from that of the majority of people and his conception of beauty and art is also different. That is why the usual comment on his works is not anything remarkable. The public very often cannot stand his rough and unlevelled-surfaced statues. On the other hand, his busts are immensely lifelike and realistic in spite of the crude manner in which they are executed. The art-lover can see through them the keen eagle eyes of Epstein. Not a single small characteristic feature of his subject does escape his notice. The rough uneven surface is only a means by which his deft hands bring out a strong resemblance between the subject and the portrait.

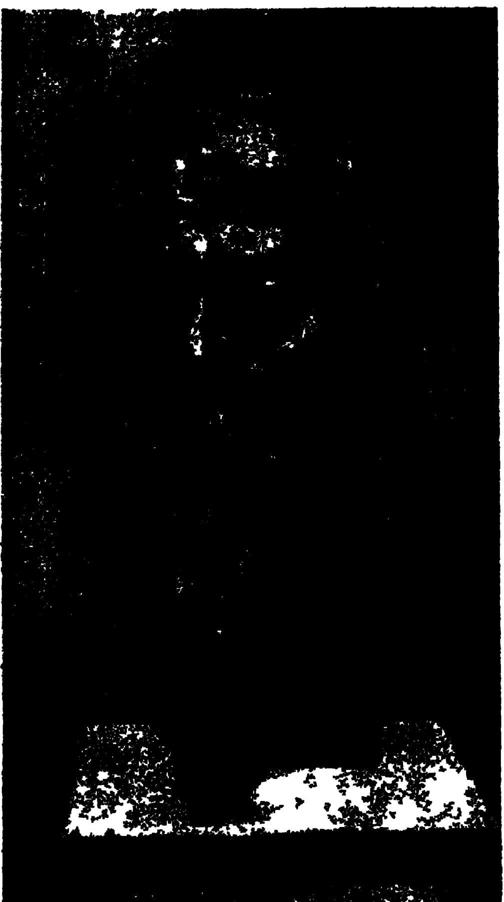
This reminds me of a small incident. I had seen the photographs of Rabindranath Tagore's head by Epstein long ago. I was not impressed by it. Perhaps we do not see the poet from the same point of view as the sculptor did. In fact, what I judged from the photographs was not complementary. In 1937 I had the occasion to do the poet's bust myself. The poet was not keeping well and he had agreed to give sittings to me only on condition that I would not trouble him unnecessarily. "I shall sit in my room and paint pictures, while you will have to do your own work in that corner. You must not punish me by ordering me to face this way and that way," said he. Subject to these conditions, while I was doing his bust, he talked to me now and then. I listened to him attentively while he related his impression about many foreign sculptors who had portrayed him. He specially stressed on Epstein and another handsome young artist whose name I forget.

As regards Epstein, he said, that the sculptor becomes almost an "ape" while bringing out the portrait. By his looks he seems to devour his subject, then utters strange groaning sound and then treats the clay. Once he takes up a lump of clay he forgets himself until he gets what he wishes to execute.

I have little to say about Epstein's stone statue and designs. Only my firm belief is that he is not half as successful as a designer. Throughout his compositions or in design, there is influence of negro sculpture. Some Indian and Egyptian influence also cannot be overlooked. Added to all these influences is his crude realism, and the design is something which I personally do not consider aesthetically artistic enough. It is in these designs and compositions that Gill has surpassed Epstein.

In composition one cannot give stress to one's personality and peculiar mannerism to one's own advantage. Only he can succeed, in composition and design, who takes in with all his sincerity the endless forms in the creation, and who has reverence for the creator as well.

THE TWO SCULPTORS OF ENGLAND



Rabindranath Tagore
By Jacob Epstein



Self Portrait (Wood Engraving)
By Eric Gill



Self Portrait
By Jacob Epstein



St. Francis
By Eric Gill



Genesis
By Jacob Epstein

CATTLE IN ORISSA

By KRISHAK-BANDHU

Orissa is wholly an agricultural country. Therefore cattle ought to be her principal concern in any scheme of development. The word 'cattle' here is being used in the more restricted sense to mean the bovine type, that is cows and buffaloes, and principally the former. Buffaloes have a restricted use. They are great milk producers and are therefore good for production of ghee. But they are by their habits partial to certain conditions of living which are not found in all parts of Orissa. In this matter the cow scores. And it is principally with the cows that this article deals.

Apart from the essential connection of cattle with agriculture, milk is an article of food indispensable to man at some stage or other of his life. Thus the cattle problem touches mankind at two vital points. On cattle depends life everywhere in India and more especially in a country like Orissa.

Our requirements from cattle thus are, first, good bullocks for tilling the land, and secondly, a fair amount of milk yield. Our need of good bullocks has been placed first and advisedly. Agriculture produces our food and through a greater portion of a man's life such food is more essential than milk. So we must see that our principal means of producing food is an efficient instrument. Milk-production naturally comes next.

There is no particular breed of cattle known in Orissa with specific characteristics typical in them. About a dozen recognised breeds exist in India distributed mostly to parts in northern India with a couple found down in the south in the province of Madras, Mysore, and the neighbourhood. The prevailing type in Orissa, if it can be called a type, is a small nondescript animal with a good deal of admixture of blood of again other non-descript cattle but of a better kind usually found in the towns and imported from Calcutta and the Central Provinces. In the higher regions the cattle is the same kind, only stunted. The exception is the Sambalpur district where they are slightly larger in size, an influence, obviously, of cattle of the Central Provinces and the neighbouring parts of northern India. In South Orissa the large Nellore breed is often seen, but it is not common. There is not much trade in cattle in the province. Consumption of cattle within the province as beef is very insignificant. A small export trade for use as beef exists, but is confined to old decrepit animals past use. Late winter and early summer bring in herds into the province from mostly the Central Provinces. These can be seen slowly passing through the country grazing their way along forest roads gradually dwindling in strength with wayside sales. A number of cattle fairs are also held in early summer to which agriculturists go to make their purchases. Withal, it is a fact that it is difficult to obtain good cattle in Orissa. There have been occasions, by no means rare, when the countryside has been scoured in vain for even a pair of really good bullocks. Buffaloes are semi-aquatic animals. They love wet land where they can wallow in shallow water with plenty of soft mud in it. They are coarse feeders. Grass that a cow would not touch would keep a buffalo in fine mettle. The Kujang area with its innumerable creeks, mud, and plenty of coarse grass maintain large herds of buffaloes. There is good buffalo country in certain less accessible parts of the district of Koraput. Wild buffaloes are found in the jungles of Khariar in the new Nawapara Subdivision of the Sambalpur district. There is a buffalo area also at the foot of the higher regions of the Balliguda agency in the Ganjam district. The use of buffalo in tilling the land is not unknown though it is not common. But in the hilly regions the buffalo is mainly used for draught purposes in carts up and down the roads, for he has more pulling power than the average bullock. In Orissa, where the buffalo is not used for the ghee industry its usefulness lies in being a draught animal of good value. The milk of the cow is hardly ever used for making ghee. One curious feature that must be mentioned here is that the use of milk amongst the aborigine is unknown. To the Khond the idea of taking milk of any animal is revolting. He also makes no discrimination between the sexes in using his cattle on the plough.

That in short is the position of cattle in Orissa. The cattle is undoubtedly of very poor quality. This affects agriculture and the people adversely. The bullocks are so feeble that no improved implements can be used. It is well known how the plough in general use only

cratches the surface of the field making a furrow barely 2 inches in depth, how it leaves intact and unbroken the portion of the ground between the furrows. It has been a marvel how the soil produces what it does with such poor tilling. Yet, an improved plough cannot be used because the bullocks are not strong enough to pull it. And these improved ploughs are not outlandish implements unknown in India but such as are in use in other parts of India of improved agriculture. This has been the fate of a number of implements of proved utility in respect of sugarcane cultivation. Any attempt at improvement in the yield of a crop receives the first and a very serious checkmate here. When the season for crushing sugarcane comes the story is the same. The machine puts far too much strain on the animals, every cultivator tells you that. Again, the average cow yields scarcely half a seer of milk. The Binjharpur area is noted for good cattle in Orissa and yet the best yield is no more than 3 seers a day. Compare this to 10 or 12 seers a day of the Hariana by no means a breed noted for its milk strain. If the population in Orissa were to suddenly turn milk-minded all the cows of the province put together would fail to meet even a tithe of the requirement. Such a position certainly calls for remedy. And the remedy should take a long view of the problem basing the future on solid foundation, refusing to be allured into expediencies on the score of financial limitations.

Thus, the cattle must be improved. We must have bigger and stronger bullocks, and cows with a reasonably large yield of milk. Sometime ago there was a cry for what was called the 'dual' purpose animal. By this was meant an animal the male of which would be an excellent bullock and the female a heavy milker. But enlightened opinion has discarded the idea. You cannot breed in the same animal characters of a good strong bullock with those which go with the heavy milk strain. If it is a dairy animal that is sought to be bred attention should be directed to that line to the neglect of properties making for a good bullock, and breed in milk if you want a dairy animal. Primarily, as I have already stated, our requirement in Orissa is of good bullocks, the milk requirement takes a second place. Therefore, our purposes will be admirably served if we can evolve a breed which will principally give us good plough animals and secondarily a reasonable milk yield. Such an animal will suit the average cultivator. He wants a good steady pair of bullocks, not too large, not too heavy, light in body and yet strong in limbs, and a couple of cows which each in turn will yield 4 to 8 seers of milk per day. The matter was examined at length by competent men familiar with the various breeds of cattle in India and with the conditions prevailing in Orissa. A small type of the Hariana was pronounced to answer the need of Orissa in all respects. It was accordingly agreed to introduce this new blood into Orissa to improve the local cattle. If there were a particular type of animal in Orissa with marked characteristics answering to our requirements the best course of action undoubtedly would have been to breed up this type. But as there is none, the obvious course is to infuse new blood.

The question is how is this to be achieved. Our object being improvement of the local cattle the essential requisite is a large number of first class Hariana bulls of the smaller size. There are two ways of obtaining our requirement. We can import all the bulls we need from the Hariana tract in northern India, or breed our own bulls in Orissa. There is much to be said for the alternative, that is breeding our own bulls of the pure Hariana strain. The advantage is that we shall know our animals, they will not be unknown quantities as they are and will be if we make our purchases in the open market, we shall be able to build up a pedigree herd answering exactly to the descriptions we need. Further, they will be animals acclimatised to the country and therefore less prone to deterioration due to sudden change of environment by transportation to another country. Pedigree cattle is practically unknown in India. Yet it is the one essential to development of cattle in any country. Regard being had to the importance of cattle to national life in Orissa the State must undertake to build up a pedigree herd of cattle to meet the requirement of the province. The work cannot be left to private enterprise, for it is not available in the province, and it is an enterprise which must needs be highly scientific in execution and therefore ought to be in first class hands under efficient and scientific control. Mistakes are costly and eradication of errors easily cover quite a decade if not more. Therefore no risks can be taken in the matter. To build up our herd the very best of the Hariana should be carefully selected and brought over from the Hariana country, for a pure strain must be maintained at this farm which will be the source for the province. It may be of interest to the reader to know that the great cattle farm at Hissar in the Punjab is run by the Government of the province and it is committed to supply every year over a thousand mature bulls for stud purposes. Is it any wonder that the cattle in the Punjab and the crops are a delight to watch?

The male progeny of such a farm in Orissa will be entirely used as stud animals. The surplus female stock should be sold to selected private persons amongst the cultivators keen on owning and raising good stock on a small scale. Such stockists should be registered for adequate control of their enterprise. The stud centres should be run by the State, for stud animals cannot be neglected with impunity if the maximum service is to be taken out of them. Any neglect, any fall from the highest standard will be bad economy for the country. Legislation should prohibit private studs and so all male progeny must be castrated. The only exceptions will be in the case of the private registered stockists where such of the male progeny as are pronounced suitable should be taken over by the State to supplement its stock of stud bulls. Similarly rules of stud centres must prohibit mating of unsuitable cows. It is only by such an active measure that the weak, the deformed and those unsuitable in other ways can be eliminated. Each stud centre should be the centre of all animal husbandry activities in the area commanding it. The attendant should have sufficient training in veterinary sciences and in the matter of cultivation of fodder, its preservation in silos and other matters appertaining generally to animal husbandry to be able to take charge of the welfare of cattle in his area. He should be most useful in conducting prophylactic activities against the dreaded cattle epidemics and in castrating the male calves. If these measures are undertaken in right earnest a perceptible improvement can be achieved within a decade.

But I am convinced that these activities must be undertaken in Orissa by the State if any progress is desired. For the apathy of the people, whatever be the reasons, is colossal. The demand for good cattle in the Punjab is evident from the fact that the Hissar Farm supplies every year over a thousand bulls as studs. In the United Provinces, Government sell bulls to cultivators at Rs. 20 an animal and they are much sought after. In Orissa it is difficult to find a cultivator to take a bull free of all cost. It is not due to poverty, for there are both rich and poor amongst cultivators in Orissa. Even the comparatively richer class has so far not evinced any eagerness in this direction. The Utkal Go-mangal Samiti which has now been working for 3 years for the welfare of cattle in Orissa finds it almost impossible to increase the number of stud centres for want of hosts willing to maintain bulls offered free of cost.

This is one-half of the picture, there is another half. The policy adumbrated above will bring in a strain of new blood, bones, size and milk into the cattle of Orissa. But it will not necessarily make the bones strong, add strength to the size, build sinews and muscles, introduce the spring of vigour in its life, or large volumes of milk in the udders. What is necessary is adequate food and of the right type. This is the other half of the picture. No amount of infusion of good blood will have the slightest effect unless supplemented by good wholesome food, and the cultivator of Orissa has to learn this lesson. Not that he does not know it, he has to learn it, act up to it. If he feeds his cattle, the cattle in turn will feed him. This is the truth.

It may be safely asserted that feeding of cattle is unknown in Orissa. They forage for themselves. During the rainy season the crops are on and therefore cattle are tied up for fear of destruction of crops. Where there is grazing land or waste lands, cattle are taken there in great herds and left to gather whatever grass is available. When paddy, the principal crop of the year, is harvested in January the cattle is let loose. The fields are still damp, grass sprouts and also new leaves from the stumps of paddy left in the fields. These give the cattle some food for about a month or two at the most. Thereafter cattle no doubt graze, but it is more exercise they get than food, for summer dries up every blade of anything green. So it goes on till the welcome rains appear with the monsoon. A handful of straw is all the cattle get. During the season when bullocks have to work in the field they get a handful of 'unda' (broken rice), or perhaps a little of 'biri' or 'kulthi,' or the rice-water when it is not needed by the family for consumption mixed with a little 'dal.' Thus there is hardly any stall-feeding. It is the same with the cows except when a cow has calved and the family needs a little milk. "Why do you keep so many cows?"—you ask a cultivator. "It does not cost to feed them and one gets so much cow-dung." When he says "it does not cost to feed them" what he means is that they are not fed. Undoubtedly they give the much needed dung an essential necessity in village economy. The housewife needs fuel and likes to keep the floor of her little house and the yard clean; her husband needs it to manure his field. It is however not realised that a well-fed pair of cows will give as much, if not more, of dung than half a dozen starved animals; and they would, if they were good milkers, not only supply milk for the family but fetch an income from the surplus.

There is good deal of uninformed opinion

going the round of the country in the matter of provision of grazing lands ever since certain amount of cattle consciousness has taken hold of the educated classes with the drive initiated by the Viceroy. "Provide grazing" is the cry with the age-old appeal of India to government; the wicked zemindar has ruined the cattle by otherwise disposing of the land reserved for grazing. This line of thought is being actively encouraged amongst the cultivators. The fact is disregarded that good grazing means an area of 2 acres per head of cattle, not merely of fallow land but of well husbanded grass land. Does anybody seriously think that grazing land on even half, or quarter or a tenth of that scale can be today provided in the great majority of the villages in Orissa? Again, why did the zemindar settle out grazing or fallow land of his village? Because there is a demand for extending cultivation, for producing more food for human consumption. Surely that is not reprehensible? Who took the land? The cultivators of the village, the owners of cattle who now make a grievance of it against his landlord. And is it now the intention that land under cultivation should be reconverted to grazing land? But even if such a wild measure were to be adopted, it never can be for the cultivators themselves will be the strongest opponent of such a step, is it seriously contended that such conversion will solve the problem of feeding cattle? It is time that intelligent, enlightened opinion faced facts and recognised the need of growing fodder to feed cattle. No zemindar, no village community, no system of administration can provide 2 acres of grazing per head of cattle in each village, for then cattle will take the pride of place in this world of ours and men forage for food as best they can! In other words, the present position will be reversed.

Fortunately such a calamity can be avoided. There is land and enough to grow food both for man and his cattle. The point to realise is that just as man grows food for himself and his family so must he grow food for his cattle. True nature supplies a certain amount of what may be called natural food for cattle. So she does for human beings though not perhaps on the same scale; people have been known to live on nature's bounties of uncooked food. Nevertheless just as a man needs grown food to supplement what nature gives, so with the cattle. Cattle needs grass, oil cakes, salt, along with plenty of green grass. One cannot get plenty of green grass in every part of the country and in all seasons. In such place and for such times a green fodder must be grown. I know of a case of four calves, well built and of goodly proportions but born blind. Experts explained that the mothers did not get enough green fodder during the period of gestation. In India good cattle are found not in areas with extensive grazing grounds of luscious greenery, but where every inch of land is under cultivation. It is stall-feeding that prevails, that counts. Does not man take special care of a expectant mother? You need do the same for the cow in calf. Is not a child's feed a matter of additional care and consideration? You must pay equal attention to a calf's feed. At every stage of growth a human being receives special care for building up his body. Then, after he has attained maturity attention is devoted to maintaining his body in fine trim. Life is life, whether human or cattle, and development and efficient maintenance of a healthy, efficient body needs as much care in both. It is futile to expect good cattle without an adequate provision for food and of the right type.

The practical problem is how to raise the required food. The authoritative reply that has been vouchsafed to us by those who has studied the problem is mixed farming. The cultivator, they say, does not make adequate use of his cattle, he does not make his cattle yield their full quota of contribution to the central pool of his resources as the soil does. Their advice is to earn an adequate income from the cattle. Cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, poultry all are potential sources of income to a farmer and these should be scientifically exploited. In them there is excellent food for the farmer, milk and its products, meat and eggs, and the surplus as well as hides, skins, and bones produce wealth. Instead of keeping half a dozen cows, each giving a quarter seer of milk, let the farmer keep 2 cows of the approved character. Having two cows will ensure a regular supply of milk throughout the year. Each cow should give 4 to 8 seers of milk a day. The cows to yield this quantity of milk must be well-fed. Each must have enough roughage and concentrates and in the correct proportion. Adequate fodder, therefore, must be grown by the farmer and worked into the scheme of rotation of crops over his holding. The surplus milk will be the cow's contribution to the family budget. The experts claim that the additional expenditure on cattle will prove an undoubted profit-bearing investment.

Now the point that arises is, has the average cultivator a large enough holding to grow food for himself and his family, his cattle and also raise money crops to earn the cash he needs to pay his rents and taxes and make such purchases as are necessary. One calculation worked out

to a minimum of 8 acres for an adequate holding for the purpose. But the average holding in Orissa is certainly much below this figure. What is the remedy ? The answer is that no agricultural holding should be allowed to fall below this acreage under any circumstance not excluding the exigencies of inheritance. Cultivation should also be inetnsive. To it should be applied the results of the latest researches in agriculture. Full irrigational facilities must be assured. A compact holding will be ideal. If this is not feasible a collective effort on co-operative principle will answer the purpose, and perhaps better, if it can be achieved.

The mistake should not, however, be made that grazing has no place in cattle welfare. It has an important place and of great value. Green fodder is an essential element in a balanced diet. I have already stated how for want of it certain calves were born blind due to particular vitamin deficiency. Greens are essential throughout the year to healthy condition. The agriculturist knows this. The Bihar 'gowala' raises a catch crop of 'khesari' on his paddy fields principally as green fodder for his baffaloes. To him the buffalo is a valuable animal—the source of production of ghee. The owner of the cow in calf often takes a good deal of trouble in gathering a few handful of tender green grass for her. All cattle must have green fodder, be it the grasses, lucerne, khesari or other pulses, or maize, jowar or other similar crops in the green stage. Where, good grazing is available or can be arranged it is all the better. But apart from their inadequacy, I doubt to what extent common grazing grounds will answer the purpose. Where proprietorship is common, sense of responsibility disappears. Neglect naturally follows. The appeal of common weal does not fall on fertile soil in Orissa. Perhaps the appalling poverty of the masses is the cause and individual cupidity the effect. However, every grassland has to be maintained, care has to be taken of it and full attention has to be devoted to it to obtain the maximum benefit. Mere setting apart of an area for grazing will provide but an exercising ground for the cattle. Untimely and indiscriminate grazing is the ruin of a good pasturage. Grass has natural regeneration with the rains. With the first showers it starts throwing down new roots and throwing up new shoots. It must have time to consolidate itself in the ground and branch out fully into a healthy plant before grazing should commence. But what actually happens is that with the first hint of the green on the ground the cattle starved through the hot weather rush and fall on the area trampling out the new plants, dislodging the as yet unconsolidated root system, eating up the first 2 or 3 shoots thrown up before they could branch out. The result is that half the plants are killed out and the growth of the other half is severely stunted. The pruning effect of grazing on a full grown plant is entirely lost. In addition there is decided overgrazing, no closures are exercised, no breathing time is allowed to the plants for the natural process of regeneration. Under these conditions the best of grazing will be reduced to a barren surface in a couple of years effectively aided by erosion as a result of the loss of the protective armour of grass over the soil. It is not realised that properly husbanded an area will yield ten times the quantity of grass that is normally available under the present day grazing conditions. Therefore, what is necessary is that the State should control and develop all grazing. Facilities of grazing should be provided wherever it can be done without encroaching on man's own needs. Such grazing areas should be adequately developed and controlled by the State to obtain the maximum yield therefrom which should be available to the cattle owners of the village on payment in either cash or labour. There is a great deal of available space along the railway lines, public roads, and the canals including the embankments thereof. These areas form ideal grounds for raising grass for cattle. These spaces, again under strict control, should be utilised. There are large areas under the forest department, particularly in the demarcated and undemarcated protected forests. Here too development of grass should be undertaken. Not that such fodder can be of much use in the areas where fodder is scarce due to density of cultivation. These areas are usually far from the forests and difficulties due to transport over long distances are insurmountable. All the same these forest areas can provide all the grazing that cattle in the vicinity can need, and migration of cattle from the intensive areas to the forests for green fodder in summer which even now exists on a small scale can develop into a regular feature of life in the cattle world. What is more, cattle breeding can be zoned, restricting the industry to these areas of plenty of natural fodder and grazing.

Introduction of good blood and adequate feeding are the two bases on which regeneration of the cattle of Orissa must stand. On cattle rests the welfare of the people, of the country.

A GOVERNMENT SERVANT OUT-JINNAHS JINNAH

BY X. Y. Z.

A MUSLIM Lecturer at the Government Islamia College, Calcutta, sent us sometime ago a brochure entitled "The Indian Constitutional Tangle and the Way Out," which is claimed by its publisher as "by far the best of all the suggestions ever made to solve the constitutional tangle of India."* We are constrained to take prominent notice of this publication for more than one reason.

The writer, in the course of his dissertation, pleads for the trisection of India into Pakistan, Hindustan and Greater Bengal by the British. Yet, this is expected to ensure, according to this writer, "to the fullest extent the Congress demand of Indian nationality and national self-determination". Some gems from the extraordinary logic of the high-sounding chapters of this brochure might interest our readers :—

"In Pakistan and Greater Bengal, where the Muslims are in the majority, they want to organise Muslim states and in Hindustan where the Muslims are in a hopeless minority they want to be treated as a minority nationality and not as a community. . . . In Bengal, Assam, the Punjab and Sind, there are League Coalition Governments, and in Bengal and the Punjab the Governments, though based on coalitions, are, to all intents and purposes, League Governments The League theory of a Muslim nationality has, therefore, been *accepted and ratified* by *the bulk* of the Muslims of these provinces.

"If the principle of population exchange be applied to India, most of the Muslims in Hindustan will forsake their nationality and will try to join the Azad Muslim group rather than the League, while most of the inhabitants of Greater Bengal and Pakistan will *probably adopt Muslim names to avoid deportation*. . . . . We have already seen that most of the believers in the minority theory will forsake their belief rather than residence." (Yet, he would have this trisection on religious grounds !)

And, again, in the very next page,

"The Muslim minority problem of Hindustan will, probably, be a bit more difficult and baffling. The Muslims of this area represent a high percentage of migration from outside. . . . The Muslims of Northern India should migrate either to Pakistan or Bengal. . . .

". . . an area should be carved out in the Deccan proper to provide a national home for the Muslims of Deccan . . . . *under a Muslim Prince* and given an autonomous provincial status in the Hindustan Federation."

The learned writer's suggestions are as original as his excursions in Indian history.

"Even in this twentieth century, oppositions (sic) against the Central Government rule cropped up in Bengal in the form of Swadeshi Movement . . . . when, from the time of inauguration of Provincial autonomy, the All-India Congress began to share the Governmental authorities with the British, Bengal started its opposition to the Congress as well."

He would annex the whole of Assam and Arakan to Greater Bengal to secure 51% Muslim composition of the territory. Further the population exchange principle will have to be modified in the case of Bengal.

"The non-Bengali Muslims should be exchanged with the non-Bengali Hindus residing in Greater Bengal. The non-Bengali Muslims will *be treated as aliens till they have been Bengalised fully with Bengali as their mother-tongue*. The maximum number of exchanged population should be limited to the number of non-Bengali Hindus residing in Bengal"

This chapter ends with the caption "Blood is thicker than water."

The writer is at his profound ease in treating the problem of Indian States, their history, present status and future. Regarding the past: "In the *bulk* India's princes were defeated and dethroned and the English established a system of direct rule. . . . The rest of the princes were brought under control by a peaceful method of subsidiary alliance. Paramountcy was assumed by the Governor-General or Governor in the name of the British King and this meant that in all important matters the princes began to be controlled by the Home department of the Viceroy or by the Governors." This sentence is enough to qualify him for a Doctorate in History. He pleads for a transfer of the powers enjoyed by the paramount power to the people of the States. "By such transfer the princes will not be affected in the least because those powers are not exercised by the India Government and not by the princes." Such profound penetration in the relation between the princes, the paramount power and the people of the States is followed by his 'startling' suggestions :—

(1) "The Moslem Princes of Hyderabad, Bhopal, Junagadh, etc., ruling mainly over Hindu subjects should be transferred to Moslem areas and the Hindu Princes of Kashmir, the Punjab and Northern Rajputana should be transferred to Hindu areas.

(2) "The stipulation by the British Government of the Hindu-Muslim unity as a condition precedent to the formation of an All-India Federation is eminently justified but the Hindus and Muslims of the Native States also should be included in that unity and must

* By A. Sadeque. Published by W. Zaman, Joint-Secretary, Bengal Co-operative Alliance. Pp. 62. 1941. Price : "Royal" Edition Re. 1-4.

not be neglected as in the Government of India Act of 1935."

(A Communal Award for the States, presumably, is wanted !)

(3) "The first step to be taken by Britain to introduce responsibility, therefore, is to trisect India, without any further reference to Indian leaders, who have already recorded their opinions, times without number, in the form of disagreement. . . . As regards the actual fixation of the boundary lines between the States, Britain will give her awards as a judicial arbitrator—Britain should at once appoint a special convoy (sic), a commissioner (?) of His Majesty, with plenipotentiary powers delegated by Parliament, to effect this division."

Until a trisection is declared to be the goal of Indian political evolution, militarisation itself should be postponed and the author uses specious arguments, using such phrases as "war-effectiveness" and "war-potentialities," "Military considerations," he concludes, "in place of standing on the way of dividing India on nationalistic lines, demand such a division very urgently." Read with this a corollary statement :

"A civil war between Hindus and Muslims spread all over India, will be infinitely more deadly than ever waged in India in the past and should be avoided by all concerned at all costs. There is, therefore, no way out but to trisect India as suggested by nationalistic (sic) considerations."

So much about the thesis of the brochure, in elaborating which the writer has "most ruthlessly sacrificed his personal inclinations in the search for truth for the sake of truth" and which we are assured, does not advocate the "so-called Pakistan scheme under the garb of scientific discussions." But we have some pertinent queries and suggestions.

The writer, Mr. Sadeque, is a Government servant and presumably secured the permission of Government in issuing the book. Will some of our public men seek an explanation from the Government as to whether the Service Rules have been so modified as to condone such propagandist publications by officers in Government service ?

This over-qualified teacher of "economics and politics" may in the fitness of things be employed as special adviser in propaganda by Noakhali Maulavis and to the Chief Minister in developing "historical themes" like the imaginary lungi-wearing Hindu youths who caused the communal arson in the interior of Dacca District. Academic work requires a little more knowledge of the English language, under the existing system, and innocence of all reference to texts, source-books and statistics is no qualification for teaching economics and politics.

Since when, again, has the fundamental rule regarding co-operative societies and their non-participation in political and communal matters been so far abrogated that the Bengal Co-operative Alliance has become the sponsor of this brochure? It is possibly another indication of the apprehensions which the press in Bengal had so loudly been giving expression to regarding the maladministration and communalisation of the co-operative movement in Bengal under the previous Registrar. The gentleman, we are told, is a lecturer under the Co-operative Department also and that the Education Department cannot absolve themselves of their connection with this publication.

The preface to the brochure by Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar is another piece of that gentleman's recent attempts at popularising anti-democratic, pro-British and Central European cults; and is altogether out of place, as he scarcely agrees with the writer's thesis. The following from an enthusiast of the "glorious Bengali revolution of 1905" is amazing :

"Situated as the international world is at the present moment, the freedom of Indian Hindus and Muslims can then mean only the development of democratic and socialistic institutions within the British Empire."

Why does he contribute a preface to a book in which, in Mr. Sarkar's opinion, the "author's analysis affects only the fringe" and in which the writer "ignored in his picture the ideas and ideals of the farmers, the industrial workers, the illiterates, and the poor and the pariah of all grades and shades" ?

Acknowledgment

The portrait of Rabindranath Tagore published in the June number of *The Modern Review* was a night snap by Mr. Satyendranath Bisi.

BONAPARTE *VS.* HITLER

By P. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA,
Editor, India & U. S. A.

While the armies of Adolf Hitler veer uncertainly across the map of 1941, it is sobering to turn to the inspection of other armies moving across the map of other years. For we know now precisely where they started from and who led them and how far they got. The causes of their ebb and flow are neatly tabulated in textbooks. Yet while they were in motion, their impetus and impact were just as incalculable to their contemporaries, as unsolved a riddle, as this morning's news.

The spectacular success of Hitler's armies during the summer of 1940, have made people compare him with Napoleon Bonaparte,—Napoleon Bonaparte, whose interruption of the course of history ended for himself in tropical exile at St. Helena and for his countrymen in defeat and impaired man power, leading them a generation later to Sedan and, a generation after that, to Vichy. Let us compare and contrast the two.

Is there any parallel with today's phenomenon, the mono-maniac who is Europe's lord of misrule from the Russian frontier to the Bay of Biscay ? The two men are immeasurably different. Hitler, if his own professions are to be believed, is nothing if not German. This is the authentic war-whoop with which Arminius's braves came yelling through the trees of the Teutoburgerwald at Varus's huddled legionaires. But on which side would you have found Napoleon that day ? His place was surely in the Roman ranks. For if ever there was a Latin it was Napoleon Bonaparte.

His clear-cut intelligence, his wine, his women—could anything stand in more vivid contrast with " those solitary reveries on misty mountain tops, that fanaticism about Blood and Breed, that vegetarian celibacy " of the hazy German, intoxicated with false erudition and Wagnerian memories ? There is little enough to be learned from a comparison of the two men, since as human beings they are scarcely comparable. But it is not unprofitable to juxtapose their two careers, to confront this morning's newspaper with Napoleon's achievement.

What forces sent Napoleon forward to ephemeral success ? Which factors checked him permanently ? And how many of them are present in or absent from the challenge of today's German aggression ?

His own military genius (and the inaptitude of his adversaries) apart, Napoleon was carried forward to his triumphs on the surge of the French armies. Now the French armies in the first decade of the nineteenth century were moved by a distinctive driving power, which they owed to the French Revolution. It was barely a dozen years since the young republic had faced the world in arms. The challenge of the European monarchies was heard in Paris, where men had dared to execute a king and drown privilege in blood. For the Revolution was not gentle. But to the people who had made it the Revolution stood for their whole future; and when it was challenged France stood to arms, unfurled the Tricolor and marched to war with beating drums. That was the temper of the French armies after they had made the little general from Corsica First Consul of the Republic and the First Consul crowned himself Emperor of the French.

For the older men in any unit of the Imperial Army had served in the revolutionary ranks. First called to the colors in the defense of the Revolution, they had marched with Bonaparte into Italy or with Moreau on the Rhine; and the endless wars of the empire were for them a mere continuation of their republican campaigning. They charged at Austerlitz with the same dash, the same contempt for unemancipated enemies as they had experienced in the bright dawn of the republic. The Revolution was a driving power of incomparable force; and the last wash of that tremendous wave still had strength twenty years away to send the Emperor's cuirassiers up the trampled slope toward the British squares at Waterloo.

The motive power of the Revolution was the force by which Napoleon was enabled to drive his imperial juggernaut across Europe. Behind him revolutionary France was a powerhouse. Can we discover any parallel in contemporary Germany ? Those eccentrics who can still detect any traces of genuine revolutionary impulse in the sordid alternation of trickery and violence by which Nazi showmanship imposed itself upon the German Republic may proclaim that here once more a revolution faces the world in arms.

Was it a revolution? Are we really sure that the same human impulses which stormed the Bastille burned the Reichstag? Is the Horst Wessel song a "Marseillaise"? And were the Nazi nominees of Rhenish heavy industry the young Dantons of a new republic? The French of '93 were fighting to be free. The Germany of today are fighting to be conquerors. They announce it once a week to conquer Poles and Dutchmen. Tribal impulse or a nation's lust for international revenge may be a formidable thing. But it bears no possible resemblance to the swinging step that carries men forward to their freedom. That was the pace at which the French armies hurried across Europe. That force sustained them; and it was eventually canalized to turn the grinding mills of the Napoleonic Empire.

But there is nothing of the kind discernible in Germany today. Pride wounded by military failure to snatch world victory in 1918; a craving for revenge; unpleasant outcrops of old tribal savagery; pride of race—these are the dark ingredients of the Nazi brew. Skilful distillery may render them intoxicating for a time to limited sections of a dosed population. But that drugged onset of a hypnotized community has nothing in common with the charging step that sent the Tricolor and the "Marseillaise" half way round the world a century ago.

There is no analogy between the revolutionary era and our own. If there is any parallel with ours it lies in the Elizabethan age—that "dangerous world of ideologies, despots, persecutions, treacherous propaganda and broken treaties, of war under the pretense of peace." That was a time when England once again was the last fortress of the world's freedom and English eyes were strained into the Channel mists for the first sight of the Armada. But the French Empire breathed another air—the atmosphere of easy growth that follows the great rains of the revolution.

There is another difference besides. A French invasion under Napoleon was a formidable thing. But it carried with it certain advantages for those classes of society which were the beneficiaries of the French Revolution. Old privileges vanished in a revolutionary blaze of tricolors. Dynasties seemed to evaporate; law was largely simplified; philosophy appeared to gain what organized religion sometimes lost. For, strangely enough, a European was sometimes freer under French administration than he had been in the shadow of his native feudalism. The foreign conqueror positively threatened to deprive Spain of the Inquisition.

But what man is freer where the German treads today? Ask them in Amsterdam and Oslo and Paris. The Nazi brings his own inquisition in the shuttered automobiles of the Gestapo. No foreign population can delude itself with hopes of enlarged freedom as the swastika flutters up to its masthead. There are no foreign units in the German Army; yet Napoleon's forces were full of foreign elements. Polish lancers, Italian troopers rode with his veterans. But Norwegian infantry is rarely seen in German columns. No Poles, no Dutchmen and no Czechs march with their conquerors. Each conquest has only served to add another weight to the growing burden of world dominion, to stretch the straining cord of power a little tighter.

Is there any parallel between the Napoleonic age and ours? Then as now, a growing circle of threatened peoples faced the challenge of a conqueror. But then he was sustained by the forces inherent in revolution and denied to servile Germany today. Those forces drove the engine of his power and prolonged his term of conquest.

There have been other efforts by other individuals at singlehanded domination of the world. From time to time a Roman Emperor achieved it by reason of the simple fact that he had gained control of the Roman administrative and military machine and of the vast area already subject to it. Other barbarian raiders from the East—Attila, Tamerlane, Genghis Khan—leaped into the saddle of world dominion with a running start, barbarism impinging suddenly on the settled civilizations.

Is that the true analogy with all we are facing now? It may be. Hitler's epiphany has far more in common with the racing hordes of high-cheeked savages that broke in spray across the world than with the steady tramp of the Old Guard, the pounding charge of his cuirassiers rising in their stirrups with a roar of "Vive l'Empereur!" as they swept past the small, great-coated figure on the gray barb. For he was an eagle among conquerors. But now we face a vulture.

New York City, U. S. A.
March 3, 1941

SYRIA

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI, B.SC. (London)

THE Arab army of Emir Feisal, with Lawrence leading as its "friend, philosopher and guide" entered Damascus at the beginning of October, 1918. They, who were its leaders, had great hopes, hopes that had been fostered by promises made on behalf of Britain by Lawrence and had been nourished by the unstinted help towards their efforts at Arab independence and autarchy rendered by Allenby. The liberators, Emir Feisal, Nuri Shaalan, Nuri-es-Said, Shukri, Lawrence and their hosts were greeted with delirious joy by the populace that thronged the streets of the "oldest city in the world." Lawrence records that on the first evening he heard a Muezzin's



Admiral Darlan

call for prayer ended with "And He is very good to us this day, O people of Damascus," after the testimony had been pronounced. Lawrence further records that the joyous clamour of the citizens hushed as every one seemed to obey the call to prayer "on this their first night of perfect freedom." Only to Lawrence "was the event sorrowful and the phrase meaningless."

In November, 1918, the British and the French issued a joint declaration expressing their intention of establishing in Syria and Mesopotamia national governments "drawing their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native populations." In September, 1919, a convention was signed by which the Syrian Seaboard was handed over to the "direct and exclusive control" of the French, the interior being left under the administration of Emir Feisal, but under the influence of France. This caused great resentment as the Syrians wanted complete independence with Feisal as their King. The discontent and unrest went on increasing until in July, 1920, the French first delivered an ultimatum and then marched an army of occupation into the interior. Feisal was driven out of Syria and Damascus was occupied by the French. Meanwhile the American delegates of the League of Nations, Messrs. King and Crane, had submitted a report after investigating matters on the spot, in which they held that a French mandate would be wholly unacceptable. The League of Nations in its wisdom agreed that that the mandate should be given to France!

The French proceeded to bring the whole of Syria under their direct control. The administration was altered to suit French convenience, Lebanon was separated from "Syria proper." which was subdivided into three divisions under a Federal Council. This Federal Council was dissolved, at will of the French, later on and a State of Syria and a State of the Alawiyin formed. Desperate revolts followed these arbitrary arrangements, which culminated with the Druse revolt in July, 1925. General Sarrail started a ruthless stamping out of the revolt and in the course of his actions bombarded the city of Damascus for 48 hours from the 18th to the 20th of October, 1925. The rebellion was stamped out, although France made belated attempt at conciliation by recalling General Sarrail and adopting a half-hearted measure of reconciliation. The League of Nations, strongly condemned the action of General Sarrail, but France continued to be the sole arbiter of Syria's destiny.

France was required by the League of Nations to provide Syria with a permanent constitution in the shape of an organic law. Needless to say

nothing of the kind was ever done excepting the pronouncement of vague and hazy promises that at some distant future date something would be done, if the Syrians made full submission to France and behaved with exemplary docility in the meanwhile As if to test the populace a drastic modification of the Lebanon Constitution of 1926 was forced on to the Lebanese Parliament in 1927, and finally the Constitution was totally suspended in 1932 and only restored in 1937 when clouds rose over the rosy skies of Europe In Syria "proper" a sort of "limited" amnesty was given to political offenders and elections were held for a constituent assembly in February, 1928 The assembly met in June 1928 and declared that Syria was an



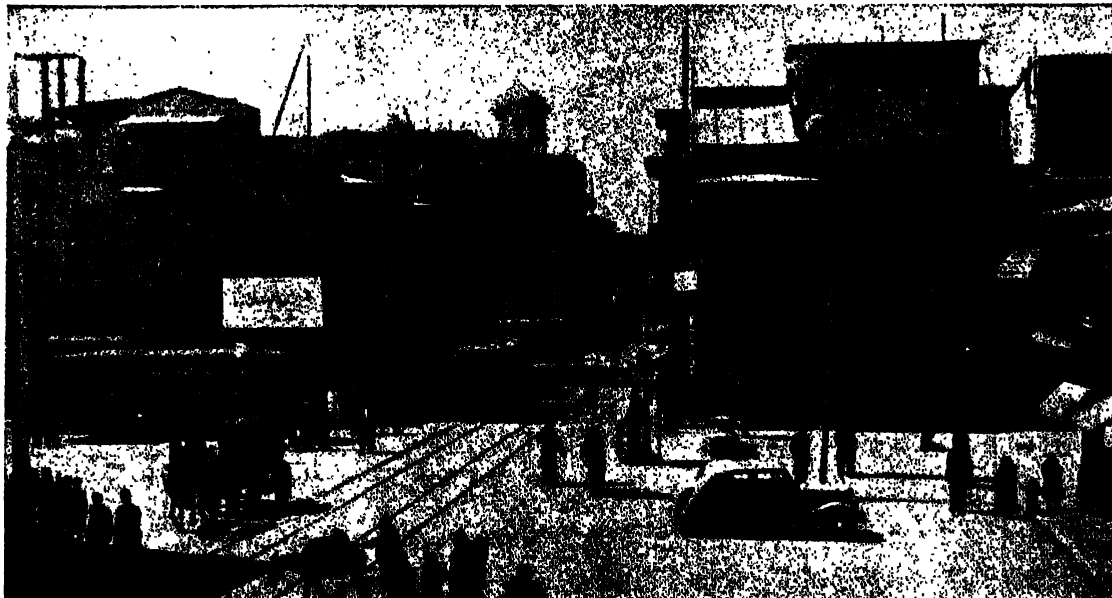
The Hedjaz line passing through Syria

that the assembly was suspended In June, 1930, a new Republican Constitution for the State of Syria was promulgated by the French High Commissioner and a Parliament was elected in



The Pipe-line from Iraq to Tripoli in Syria

independent republic and further that it was one and indivisible thereby upsetting the French arrangements about the separation after enlargement of the Lebanon. The nett result was 1932 In 1933, this Parliament was also suspended and the suspension made indefinite French rule followed with arbitrary measures such as the ceding of Alexandretta to the Turks



Place de la Poste, Aleppo

against the vehement protests of the populace, almost uptil the outbreak of the present war. Now again the destiny of Syria is in the melting pot.

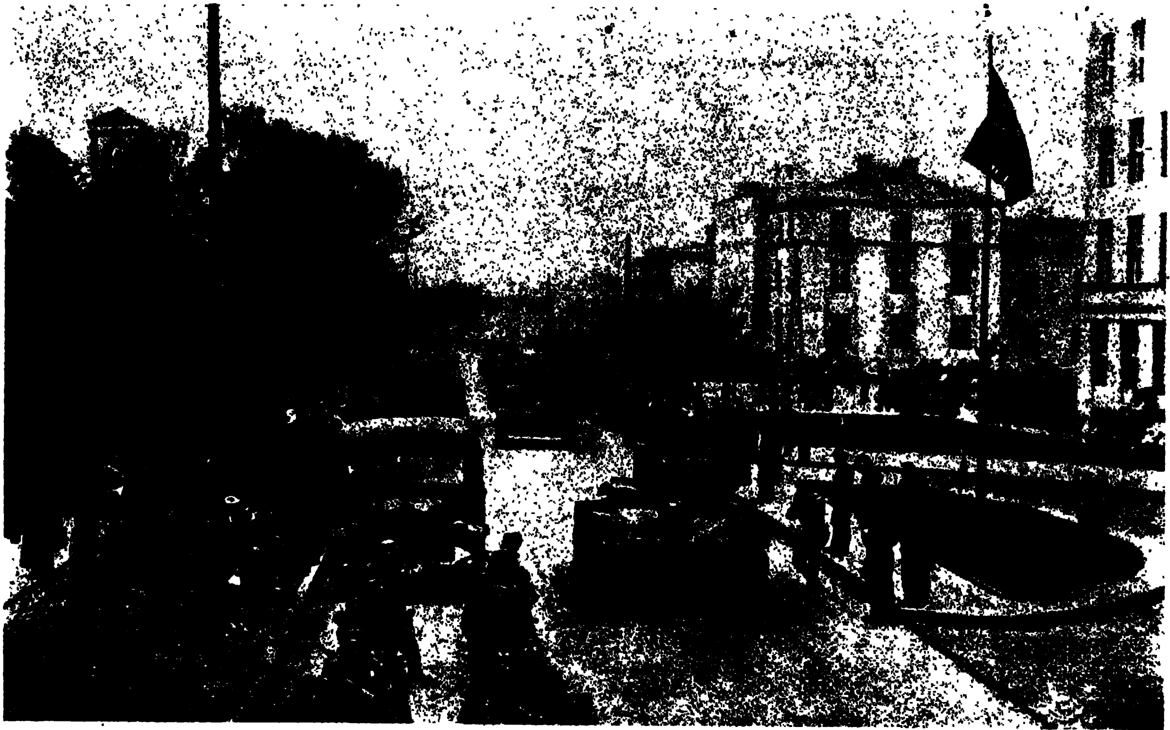


The port of Chekka in Lebanon, a cement factory in the foreground

* * *

In the past Syria has been the gateway to and from Asia, and through this gateway flowed the streams that civilized Europe. Through this gateway the Egyptians, Phœnicians and the Persians gave the Greeks all the elements that formed the Greek and Ionian civilisation, after being grafted on to the cultural remnants of Crete and Minoa which the barbarian Greeks had ravaged and destroyed. The Saracens re-civilized Europe through this route. The Caliphate waxed so long it held Syria firmly and it fell into a rapid wane as soon as the Turks had assumed control over this area by force of arms.

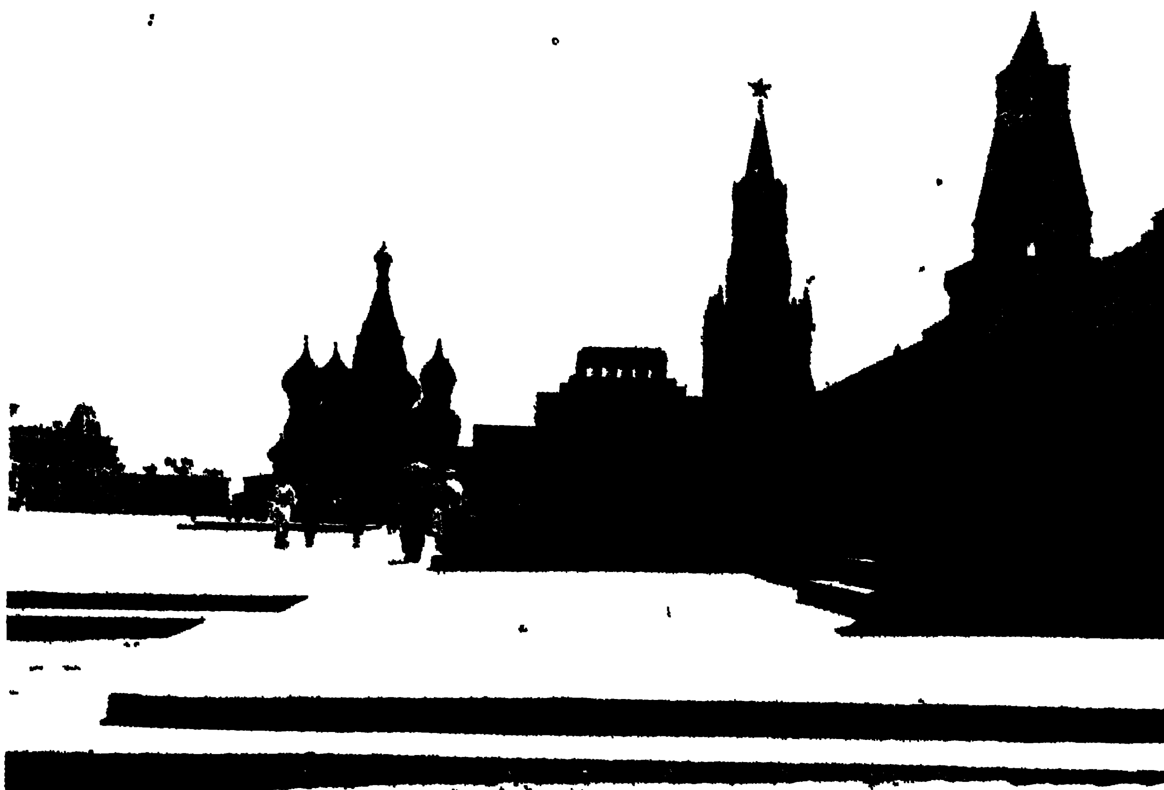
With the development of maritime trade and



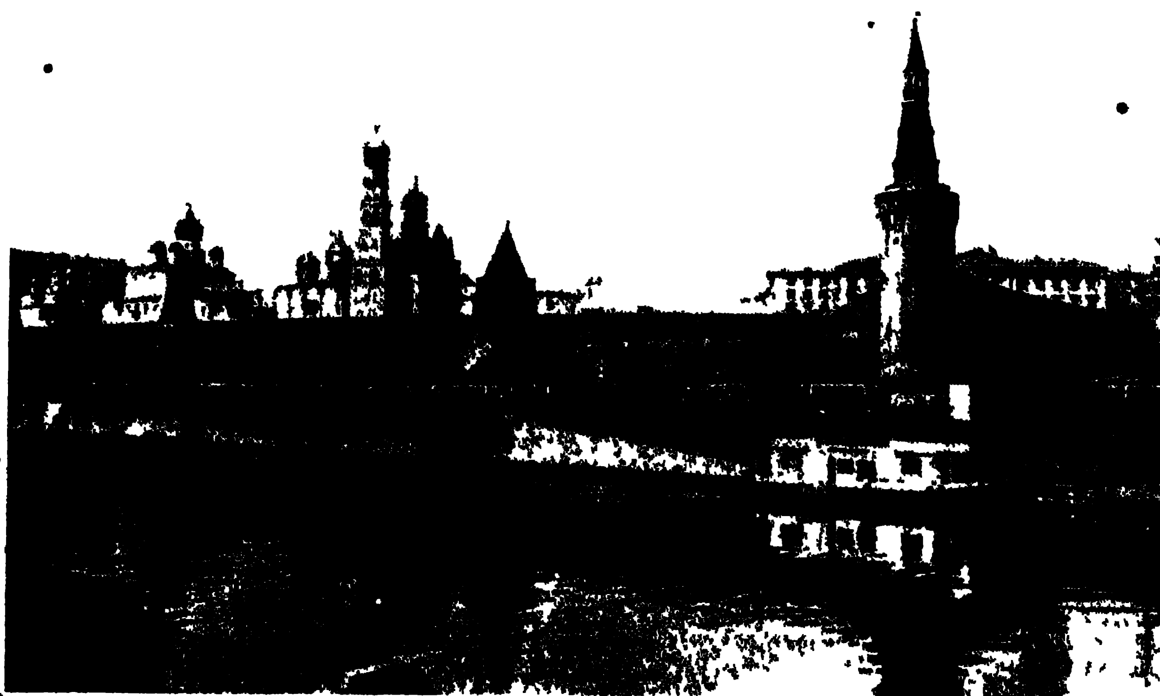
Passage of Soviet and German mechanized forces at Brest Litovsk



Brigadier-General Kriwoschen of the Soviet army and a Commander of a German Army Corps witnessing a march-past at Brest Litovsk



The Red Square where in a red and black mausoleum lies the body of Lenin



The famous Kremlin in the city of Moscow, by the Moskva river



An air view of Palmyra. In the foreground is the great Temple of Bel

warfare the importance of Syria declined almost to the lowest limits. The cutting of the Suez Canal gave it an indirect importance. This was set off by the creation of "Palestine" a State that never existed before in this world excepting in the mind of biblical theologians. Strangely enough a new factor, now become vital to the civilizations of the West has restored the importance of Syria as the life channel between the East and West. For this is the Oil-Age and Syria provides the land routes to the greatest reservoirs of oil-fuel in the old world.

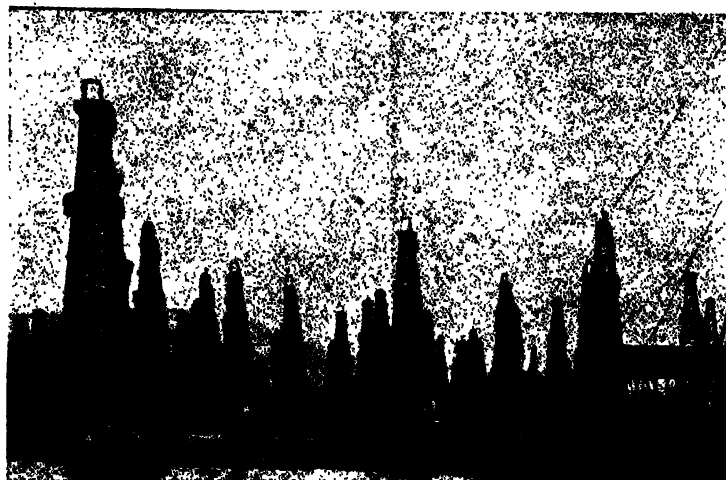
RUSSIA IN THE TOILS

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI, B.Sc. (London)

Clausewitz, whose dissertation on war is the "Biblia Sacra" of modern strategists, is said to have declared that Russia could not be conquered by invading armies but rather by political crises and revolution. If that be true then in this latest blitzkrieg, which has taken by surprise even so close a partisan of the axis as Japan—to say nothing of the rest of the dumbfounded world—Hitler is bound to come to the end of his tether. For diverse as may be the opinion of "experts" on the matter of Soviet military strength and air-mastery, there can hardly be any doubt about the solidarity of the nearly 175,000,000 of Soviet peoples, inhabiting a compact, though vast, area of 8,100,000 sq. miles, behind their leaders. There are diverse ethnic groups inhabiting dissimilar areas and there are eleven separate socialist Soviet republics within this great union, yet there does not seem to be any tangible evidence that there is any "minority" problem or any class warfare within the domains of Stalin's government. Politics as a profession hardly exists and therefore rivalry in that sphere is not evident—at least on the surface.

In a "Socialist State of Workers and Peasants" discontent in the individual may certainly exist but in the mass there can hardly be any scope for grievances against the State. Organised attempts at the overthrow of the supreme authorities are also impossible, since the several "liquidations" have disposed of all the possible nuclei round which such reactions might have crystallised and the highly organised United State Political Department (O. G. P. U.) relentlessly works its political mandate "to suppress political and economic counter-revolution, espionage and banditism." Party systems—which even in democratic countries may become totally obnoxious if the electorate be ignorant, apathetic or corrupt—ceased to exist some twenty years back, the only political group remaining being the Communist party. Inside this party there exists a rigid discipline and it claims from its adherents the exercise of the austere virtues of an almost monastic degree. Poverty, absolute obedience and a devotion to the cause which must override all considerations of family, business or other personal affairs, is sternly imposed on all members and the least evincing of lack of zeal means expulsion or purge.

Of the Soviets successes or otherwise in the vast plans for the amelioration of the general condition of the livelihood of the masses much



Oil Wells, Baku

has been written either way. But mass literacy, cultural uplift, education in the sphere of public administration, and other campaigns aiming at the " broadening of the base of the dictatorship " are admitted to have progressed far beyond the limits that the cynical and blase western civilized nations imagined to be impassable within the period. In the economic sphere the position is not so clear, but still there are imposing figures indicating very substantial progress towards the goal of complete self-sufficiency aimed at by Stalin and his associates. Fishery, dairy and meat production all show substantial gains from 1930 to 1939, that in butter and cheese recording a gain of 300 to 400% in 10 years. Wheat production has nearly doubled itself in the 10 years between 1928-1930, and there is a general gain in all food crops.

Turning to industry, the advance has been still more impressive. Russia is now the possessor of major industries, ranking third amongst the world's producers of steel, fifth in cement and a major producer of many chemical and artificial products. In the raising and winning of minerals, Russia's position is now only second to that of the U. S. A.

To sum up, in the field of future developments and progress the Soviets may be said to possess unlimited resources in almost every item that leads to national progress, power and wealth.

* * * *

If Clausewitz was right, then defeat of the U. S. S. R. in this new and bewildering phase of the World War is impossible. Even if the parallel of Japan and China be brought forward, the U. S. S. R. possesses an immensely greater depth of area of withdrawal. But China is dependent for almost every single item of war material on outside supplies and she possessed hardly any army. Russia produces over 18 million tons of steel, her petroleum output is nearly 30 million tons. Of all the essential materials needed for modern warfare Russia possesses all that Germany does, and further she has a sufficiency of many that Germany has either none at all—excepting stocks accumulated prior to the British blockade—or at the best has very inadequate supplies. The question therefore resolves itself into proper organisation of the army's and the air-force's supplies and in the supreme direction of the armed forces—provided the latter have the equipment and the efficiency vital in modern mechanised warfare.

About the armed forces of the U. S. S. R., nothing definite is known in this country. No books are available—excepting those carrying definite propaganda against the U. S. S. R.—that give any really up-to-date information regarding the armed might of the Soviets. The Soviet is credited to have the largest standing army in the world, numbering nearly a million and a half and a trained reserve of eight to ten millions more. The standing army was believed to be (before World War II) the highest mechanised of all armies. In aviation too the Soviets were credited with an air-force of nearly 20,000 machines. In artillery and technical equipment modernisation is believed to have been effected to a very great extent between 1934-1939. Certainly the smashing up of the Maginot type Mannerheim lines of Finland by sheer weight of metal indicated the formidable strength of Soviet artillery and technical forces.

The U. S. S. R. has not been standing idle all these months since the Soviet-Finnish war. That war and the subsequent German campaigns in Norway, the Low Countries and France must have indicated to the Soviet high-command all the vital points in its defence that need addition or rectification, and it is to be hoped that adequate and efficient action has been taken.

Enormous reserves in man-power, unlimited resources in most vital necessities, active work towards preparedness lasting over a period exceeding that even of the Axis powers, all go to indicate the immense strength, both in the offensive and in the defensive, of the Soviet



The New Moscow-Volga Canal

armed forces. And to this should be added the traditional strength, courage and toughness of the Russian soldier, the unlimited field for defence in depth and the solidarity of the worker and the peasant behind their armed brethren.

One must not forget however that in this war many strange things have happened. Mechanisation and aviation have really and truly annihilated distances, warfare has now become a matter of exactitude not even dreamt of a score of months back and the war of to-day needs organisation and efficiency, both in the field and in the workshop, of a type that is drastically and radically different from that of peace-time projects. We have the spectacle of the U. S. A., with its immense wealth and gargantuan workshops, straining and groaning in the attempt at mass production of war-materials to show us the difficulties of attaining war-parity in industry. And we have the military critics to tell us how precise and minutely synchronized must be the twin modern weapons of air-craft and mechanised land-craft in order to meet the onslaught of Hitler's hordes.

Further, in this newest phase of machine warfare, the quality of the machines and the training and initiative of those who guide and use them count a great deal more than mere numbers. Speed, fire-power and manœuvrability, armour-protection and armour-piercing capacity, all these complicated elements count towards the superiority of equipment. To this should be added the question of organisation at the supreme staff headquarters, that would enable vast numbers to be moved smoothly even at the terrific tempo of modern warfare. Therefore it should be realised that if Germany is attempting the impossible, the task of the Soviets is little less formidable.

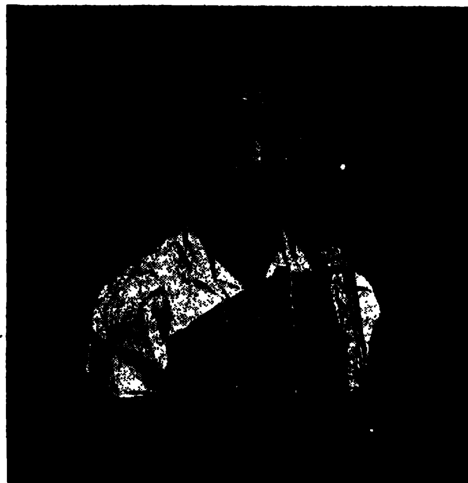


INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS KRISHNA KAMINI ROHATGI, daughter of Mr. B. K. Rohatgi, Managing Director, India Electric Co., Calcutta, has topped the list of successful girl candidates in the last I. Sc. Examination of the University of Calcutta.



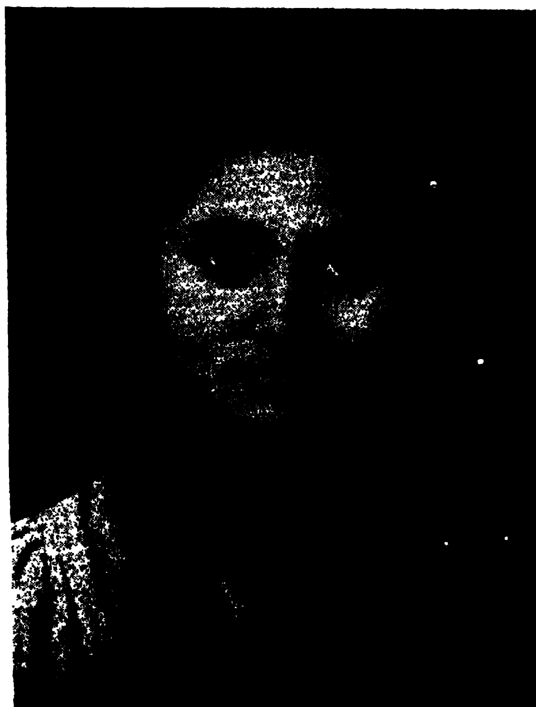
Miss Krishna Kamini Rohatgi



Miss Bani Ghosh

MISS BANI GHOSH, who passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University in 1939, at the age of 10 years 7 months, has passed the I.A. Examination this year at the age of 12 years 7 months, thus setting up a record in the I.A. Examination as the youngest successful candidate. She is the daughter of Capt. J. M. Ghosh, M.B., D.P.H. (London), D.T.M. & H. (Cantab), of Nepal Government Medical Service.

MISS DEEPTI SEN GUPTA stood first in the last B.A. Examination of the Delhi University. She is the daughter of Mr. Birendra Nath Sen-Gupta, Deputy Accountant General, Central Revenues, New Delhi.



Miss Deepti Sen-Gupta



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE FEDERAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA : *By Prof. N. C. Roy, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta. 1940.*

Though for the moment federation as envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935 has been put on the shelf and Mr. M. A. Jinnah has pronounced it dead, many publicists advocate some kind of federation as the only desirable goal of India. In India however federalism does not mean integration, as in the U.S.A., but disintegration; not centralization though partial, but decentralisation. Some publicists advocate maximising the powers of the units and minimising those of the Centre. Others would take decentralisation so far as to extinguish the Centre altogether and create separate Sovereign States! All such people will do well to study carefully the relations between the Federal Government and the unit-States in the United States of America as portrayed in Dr. N. C. Roy's most instructive book. No federation or centralisation started with greater sense of the independence of the units or greater reluctance to the surrender of any part of their powers to a central organ. No constitution more severely minimised the powers of the Federal Government and provided more safeguards against the growth of centralism. So great was the attachment to local sovereignty and for long was it cherished that a civil war was fought in defence of it. Nevertheless, centralism gained over localism as time passed, until today Dr. Roy says that "federalism has definitely become out of date in the United States." Federalism has become more a handicap than a help in modern times not only in the U. S. A. but also in other Federal States, like Canada.

Dr. Roy has described in sufficient detail the evolution of the growth of the Federal Government in power and prestige over an increasing range of governmental functions, including some of those which were the prerogatives of the States. He evaluated the various centripetal and centrifugal forces, sentiments and interests that operated during the last hundred and fifty years and which ultimately led to tre exaltation of centralism as against localism. While some of the elements were special to the United States, others are universal and operate in India as well.

The only constitutional factor in favour of localism is the theory that for a democracy to be efficient the Government should be near enough and close enough to the citizens to be controlled by them. A distant Government tended to become a bureaucracy or a dictatorship. To the extent to which this is true, the tiny State of Rhode Island must be more efficient than the larger State of New York. At any rate, this principle did not determine the sizes of the various states. Perhaps this principle would apply equally to many of the functions now vested in the Federal Government: they could be more democratically managed if locally operated.

The factors which operated in favour of centralism were industrial development, increased facilities for inter-State communications, the growing complexity of modern governments, the increased movement of people and goods across State boundaries, and the consequent clash of laws, commercial and social, and the compelling necessity to find solutions for these conflicts and the rise of new problems which were not susceptible of local treatment. The very existence of a Central Government tended increasingly to overcome localism and strengthen Centralism.

These centralising factors are of universal application and cover a wider field. The future of the world is with integration, not disintegration; greater centralisation, not less. The process is inevitable if only in the interest of enlightened selfishness. Those who in India advocate localism, and more so, the decentralisation of a unitary system already achieved, and even more so, the elimination of centralism altogether, are swimming against the current, and not doing a wise thing either. There is no need for us in India to break up the unitary system already achieved through much suffering and in doing so go against the current of world evolution with much travail and then again to move towards centralism through pain, suffering and sacrifice and perhaps a civil war! It is political madness. The present world war is the penalty which the peoples of the world are paying for resisting the centralism advocated by President Woodrow Wilson and embodied in the League of Nations.

P. Kodanda Rao

THE MONGOL EMPIRE—ITS RISE AND LEGACY : *By Michael Prawdin (Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul). Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 1940. Pp. 581.*

The author has described in a fascinating style the rise and fall of the Mongol power in Asia. He has given a vivid picture of the time when the Mongols were but a conglomeration of nomadic clans, scattered over wide inhospitable areas, and traced the stages through which, mainly by the genius of one person, they were transformed into the most powerful nation that Asia had yet seen. The history of Jenghis Khan, who worked this great miracle, reads almost like a romance in

the pages of this interesting volume, and even the interminable stories of war, accompanied by rapine, massacre and wholesale destruction, do not tire the reader or distract his attention from the underlying unity of the theme. The author has boldly sketched the outstanding personality of the great conqueror and the manifold qualities of his head and heart. To the modern age Jenghiz Khan's name is a mere symbol of wanton cruelty and 'oriental despotism' of the worst type, and few realise that he was a great genius and one of the greatest nation-builders that the world has seen. The system of laws promulgated by him, and the traditions and conventions set up during his reign, infused a new life and culture into the Mongols and gave a definite shape to their national life which long survived their political fortunes.

The subsequent history of the Mongols has been traced with equal skill and ability and the outstanding personality of Tamerlane has been sketched in bold outline.

The author has done a great service by writing an appreciative and sympathetic account of a great race to which history has not done full justice. The military skill and organisation displayed by the Mongols is of special interest to an age which has come to regard these qualities as the highest virtue of a nation and the hall-mark of its greatness.

In his eagerness to make the book readable and popular the author has not always kept himself strictly within the limits of historical evidence and has not cared to cite sources of information and weigh conflicting authorities in a critical manner. This undoubtedly takes away from the merit of the book as a historical work. But he has tried to give a correct and faithful account and there is no doubt that he is well read in the literature on the subject. We commend the book to all lovers of history.

R. C. Mazumdar

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN STUDIES ON THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE (1500-1600) : *By Samuel Will. Published by the University of Illinois Press. 1940. Pp. 151. Price $1.50.*

MOB VIOLENCE IN THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC (133-49 B.C.) : *By J. W. Heaton. Published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana Illinois. 1939. Pp. 107. Price $1.50.*

The first of these two studies belong to Vol. XXVI of the Illinois Studies in Language and Literature and the second to Vol. XXIII of the Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, two well-known series of research tracts. The bibliography of American studies includes besides the contributions of American and Canadian scholars articles published in American periodicals and also of foreigners employed in American Universities. This enhances its value as a source-book. The dozen sections are entitled : Authors, Anthologies, Bibliographies, Histories of Literature, Language, Theatre, Influence of Sixteenth-century French Literature on other Literatures, Influence of other Literatures on French in the Sixteenth Century, History and Civilization, Sixteenth-century French Navigations and Discoveries in the New World; Religious History; General.

Mr. Heaton's survey is of interest not only to the student of history but also of psychology, politics and sociology. The declining days of the Roman Republic were marked by "the rise of a class of gangsters and the increasing frequency of mob violence" and offer obviously parallel situations in modern times. The transition from a republic to an empire had its repercussions on the various phases of human life and conduct, beginning from the time of the Gracchi until mob violence was controlled by the emergence of military dictatorship. The story is told and the underlying causes analysed with a minute reference to the sources, with admirable balance and signal erudition.

Benoyendra Nath Banerjea

MY BOYHOOD DAYS : *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 2, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2 only.*

This is the second and better (because of more thorough revision and several charming photographs of the Poet) edition of the book. The fact that within four months of the publication of the first edition, another edition had to be brought out bespeaks its popularity among the reading public, particularly, among the young who are curious to know what particular elements and influences fashioned the boy Rabindranath into a world-famous poet. And even though they may be disappointed in finding a practical clue or key to the Poet's greatness in the book, yet they cannot but be captivated by the beauty of the cameos which the Poet has painted of the background to his boyhood. The Poet, like the mighty oak, grew up in an atmosphere of aloneness. Therefore, the miracle of his majestic verse baffles all analysis. But inasmuch as his impressions of what went on inside the home and of the people who lived there,—more of the former than of the latter because those were days when there was no bridge of intimacy between the adults and the young in the family, —are marked by keen observation, humour and satire, *My Boyhood Days* is a very vivid picture of an aristocratic household in Calcutta in the seventies of the last century. The Poet's romantic imagination, which enabled him to have a bo-peep view of the "passing show" from the discarded palanquin, relegated to a corner of the counting-house, also occasionally lifted the veil in which the inner apartments lay enveloped. His reluctance to go to the "Andamans" as he called the school which he attended, his leaving his exercise-books as white as the "widow's white cloth," his adeptship in the art of betel-cutting, his "manufacturing" headache to avoid the private tutor, his unusual interest in the exploits of the dacoits, and in gruesome ghost stories, his description of the varied activities in the servants' quarters,—who can ever forget these intriguing touches and traits of the book ! Nothing would delight the high-school-going students more than to have *My Boyhood Days* as one of their texts in English.

G. M.

THE STRUCTURAL BASIS OF INDIAN ECONOMY : *By H. Venkatasubbiah. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1940. Pp. 156. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

With a brief survey of the nature of India's economic development as well as description of occupational distribution as a background, the author attempts at the interpretation of the economic structure of India with special reference to agricultural and industrial economy as patterned by foreign economic imperialism and in the light of imperial theory. Land tenure, agricultural production and large scale industry are discussed and illustrated with statistical data.

DOCK LABOURERS IN BOMBAY : *By Rasiklal P. Cholia, M.A., LL.B. Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1941. Pp. xvi+166. Price Rs. 4-8.*

In this treatise, the author makes, on the basis of 10 per cent sample study of 10,000 dock labourers in

Bombay with special reference to their types, nature of work, employment and unemployment, decasualisation and registration, industrial conflict and trade unionism, wages and income and standard of living including housing and welfare.

LABOUR IN THE INDIAN COAL INDUSTRY: *By Bal Raj Seth, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Tarporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. 1940. Pp. xv+306. Price Rs. 8 net.*

Mining labour has been comprehensively dealt with in the Report and the Evidence of the Royal Commission on Labour in India (1929-31) and *Industrial Labour in India* published by the International Labour Office (1938). The present volume is nevertheless a welcome addition to the subject, specially as it is more up-to-date and contains some additional personal observations of the author in different coal-fields on such questions as the hardship caused by the final exclusion of women from underground employment during the period of depression in the Coal Mining Industry and of the falling wages, as well as the "horrible indignities which these women suffer at the hands of the sirdars, contractors and companies officials." With a brief description of the rise of the coal mining industry and its problems, the author discusses, with suggestions for remedies, such questions as labour supply, methods of recruitment, wages and earnings, woman labour, health and safety, industrial efficiency, standard of living including housing conditions, indebtedness and drink habits, and welfare work.

R. K. Das

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF GUJARAT (including Kathiawar): *By Hashmukh D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (London). Publishers Natwarlal & Co., 361, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. 1941. 7½" × 10". Pp. xvi+268+109. 7 maps and 41 plates bearing 76 illustrations in halftone.*

The author has brought together in one volume most of the published materials connected with the history of Gujarat. The book is divided into twelve chapters entitled Geography, History, Architecture, Sculpture, Cults, Iconography, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Administration, Society, Religion and Gujarat and Indian Culture. There are copious appendices covering the following subjects: List of Inscriptions, Genealogical Tables, Mularaja's ancestory, Place-names from Inscriptions, Brahmanas, The Spurious Gurjjara Grants, Temples, Building Materials, Gujrat Temples and the Traditional Styles of Architecture, Images from Kavi, Images from Vala and Bibliography.

An enormous amount of labour must have been devoted to the task before the material could have been presented in such a handy volume. In his discussions on architecture, sculpture and social conditions, Dr. Sankalia has not only depended upon the data available in Gujarat, but also laid under contribution materials from neighbouring provinces. Some of his suggestions are original, particularly with regard to architecture; and they have now to be tested by a close analytical study of the objects in the field. We hope Dr. Sankalia will give us, in future, the result of his labours in this direction.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

INDIAN COOKERY AND CONFECTIONERY: *By Mrs. I. R. Dey. Sole Agent—The Royal Book Store, New Market, Calcutta. Pp. 195. Price Rs. 2-8.*

BENGAL SWEETS: *By Mrs. J. Haldar. Industry Publishers, Ltd., Keshub Bhavan, 22, R. G. Kar Road, Calcutta. Third Edition. Pp. 152. Illustrated. Price not mentioned.*

Indian cooking has a reputation of its own outside India. Especially Bengal cooking and sweets have drawn the admiration of not only of other provinces but also of foreigners. But in towns we find that in many a household food is prepared by professional and stupid cooks in a stereotyped and defective way, an amalgam of ingredients and spices producing all sorts of digestive troubles and the housewife is reluctant to bother her head over the matter. But in villages, where cooks and shops are rare, the womenfolk have kept up the tradition. These two books, written by Bengali ladies, which give in detail the formulæ of different dishes, pastries and sweets, jams and jellies, etc., as prepared especially in Bengal, will be found useful by non-Bengalis.

S. D.

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

KALA-MADHAVA-LAKSMI, Part I: *By Laksmidevi Payagunda. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Indexes and Bibliography by Dr. J. B. Choudhuri, Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. Pp. 159. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This is an edition of a woman's commentary on a famous book on Smriti. It is one of the many volumes in an ambitious scheme of publication undertaken by Dr. J. B. Choudhuri, about contribution of women to Sanskrit literature, of which several volumes have already appeared and have been very well received by the world of learning.

The original work is by Madhava and is a dissertation on the nature and divisions of time. A correct understanding of the various divisions of time, such as a solar day, lunar day (or *tithi*), month, year, etc., is necessary for the proper performance of the different rituals connected with Hindu religion. Incidentally, the philosophical question about the reality, nature and the origin of time also must arise and has to be faced. Madhava discusses all these questions. There are no two opinions about Madhava's erudition and dialectic ability and his standing as a writer. Laksmi Devi wrote a commentary on this great author.

The present volume is Part I of the whole book and contains only the *Karikas* and the *upodghata* of Madhava and the corresponding portion of Laksmi Devi's commentary. Two other commentaries have been printed along with it for comparison.

So far as the editing is concerned, we must say that it leaves nothing undone. Dr. Choudhuri has already edited so many unpublished manuscripts that he may well be looked upon as an expert in this line of work. He has thoroughly mastered the technique of dealing with manuscript materials.

In the present edition we have a full description of the manuscripts used—and it goes without saying that Dr. Choudhuri has used all available manuscripts. The different readings have been carefully considered and noted. Mistakes made by others have been corrected, *e.g.*, no less a person than Dr. Haraprasad Sastri made a mistake about one of these manuscripts and this has been corrected by Dr. Choudhuri (p. xxxii).

Index, Bibliography and verification of quotations, etc., are all there. And there is an elaborate introduction in which the time, and the importance and other relevant questions about the authoress (Laksmi Devi) are discussed. In these discussions, earlier workers in the field have been considered and differences from them, where there are any, have been boldly stated. There was an earlier opinion held by Kane that Laksmi had a maiden name Uma. Dr. Choudhuri controverts this view with an array of arguments which leaves little doubt in the mind that he is in the right.

Dr. Choudhuri's edition is so helpful to the reader that even if one does not care to read the original Sanskrit, one can easily be acquainted with the subject-matter of the book by glancing at a full summary of it given in the beginning of the book.

The printing and get-up of the book are also as they should be. Different types and other devices have been employed to mark off the original from the commentary and the quotations from other books in either of them.

Dr. Choudhuri is steadily winning a place in the world of research and scholarship and we congratulate him on his rapid rise.

U. C. Bhattacharjee

SANSKRIT

MAHABHARATA—SOUTHERN RECENSION : *Critically edited by P. P. S. Shastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras. V. Ramaswami Sastrulu and Sons, 292, Esplanade, Madras.*

Congratulations are due both to Prof. Shastri and the enthusiastic publishers for the promptitude with which they have succeeded in bringing out within the space of about five years a handsome edition of the South Indian recension of the Mahabharata in 18 volumes. The first two volumes were reviewed soon after their publication in the pages of this journal in January and May, 1932. The plan followed in the subsequent volumes is the same as that in the earlier ones, *e.g.*, the text is printed in every case on the basis of one manuscript while several other manuscripts are consulted for variants some of which are noted, a concordance is given in every volume showing the position of its contents in relation to other recensions, every book contains an alphabetical list of topics in it. There may be honest difference of opinion among scholars with regard to the soundness of the method adopted in the selection of old manuscripts and in the reconstruction of the text on the basis thereof. In fact, it has actually come in for adverse criticism in the scholarly world. But there is no denying the fact that we have here a fine edition of the Great Epic of India, presented in a very handy and attractive set of volumes—rather a striking and unusual feature in the case of an old classical work.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

BENGALI

MANISHI BHOLANATH CHANDRA : *By Manmatha Nath Ghose. Published by Gurudas Chatterji and Sons, 203/1/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 283. Second edition. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2.*

Mr. Manmatha Nath Ghose has popularised the life-stories and activities of some of the celebrities of the nineteenth century by the publication of a number of handy volumes. The present one is a treatise on the life and activities of Bholanath Chandra, a merchant and litterateur of considerable merit. His writings were mainly in English. But the matter that is important to us, is that he was a great thinker and had envisaged some of the things that materialised afterwards and that very much to our cost. He controverted with facts and figures the idea that India was becoming prosperous, and saw with the eyes of a seer that if the prevalent state of things continued, India would be impoverished in no time. He asked his countrymen not to expect much from their foreign rulers, and advocated the method of self-help in their national economy. It was he who for the first time advocated moral hostility to things foreign and asked people to use country-made goods, organise banks and insurance companies and start commercial bodies for the protection of their commerce and industries. Bholanath wrote in this vein some seventy years back, and it required a few decades for his countrymen to understand the import of his mission. Mr. Ghose has given us the life-story of such a personality. He has done a public service.

Bholanath was one of the alumni of the Hindu College and a class-mate of Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Rajnarayan Bose, Bhudeb Mukherjee and Gourdas Bysack. He lived up to a ripe old age, and witnessed most of the progressive movements of the century. All the same, he lived the life a literary recluse for long years. His *Travels of a Hindoo, Life of Rajah Digambar Mitra,* and contributions to various journals and periodicals bear testimony to the time, energy and devotion he bestowed on his literary endeavours. Mr. Ghose has drawn largely upon them to write the life-story of this great, as he has also given detailed accounts of some of them. The chapter on Hindu College, Mr. Ghose says, he has based mainly on Mr. Chandra's writings on the subject. Be that as it may, it should be noted here that several inaccuries have crept into this chapter, such as, the year and date on which the Hindu College was shifted to the new buildings of the Sanskrit College at Pataldanga. The author has however much improved and enlarged the treatise in its present edition. Students of the social and cultural history of the nineteenth century will find enough clues and materials for study in this book.

Jogesh Chandra Bagal

CHHELEDER RABINDRANATH : *By Sj. Jamini Kanta Som. Published by the Indian Publishing House, 22-1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

It is a nice volume for young boys dealing with the life and work of Sj. Rabindranath Tagore. The story of his life has been carefully narrated in a fascinating style. Simple, interesting and instructive the book is expected to be widely appreciated. The manner in which the writer introduces Rabindranath's writings to his juvenile readers is really admirable. The book is now running through the second edition and it is a clear evidence of its popularity.

PREM O PRITHIBI : *By Sri Ramapada Mukhopadhyay. Published by Katyayani Book Stall, 203, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The presentation of the state of affairs prevailing in Tapan's family with which the real story begins, bespeaks the writer's keen insight into and thorough experience of our social life. The vanity, hypocrisy and heartlessness that often underlie the pomp and luxury of a class of people in our society have been clearly exposed. The miserable lives of Charu and Sulata crushed under the tyranny of their rich parents-in-law are unforgettable.

The reader proceeds with increasing interest through scenes and events till at the end he is rudely disappointed. The love that conquered all obstacles stands humiliated at last. A sense of futility possesses the mind, when Tapan's wedding ceremony appears most unwelcome. The characters are well-drawn, but Kaliksh and Chhaya remain rather hazy. The author shows remarkable skill in the art of story-telling, particularly in the earlier portion of this novel.

D. N. Mookerjea

HINDI

BIHAR DARPAN: *By Sri Gadadhar Prashad Ambastha Vidyalangkar. Published by Granthamala Karyalaya, Bankipore. 1940. Pp. 2+960. Price Rs. 5.*

In the first 192 pages, the author has tried to present us with a brief account of the geographical features, climate, ethnology, history, languages, agriculture and industries, educational and administrative systems of the province of Bihar. The rest of the book is devoted to separate descriptions of sixteen districts and of the two States of Kharsawan and Seraikella.

The general account does not reach a very high standard of excellence; but the book successfully gives us a brief and useful account of what is knowable about each separate district. It is illustrated with a small scale map and several plates.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

KANNADA

HINDUSTANADA HOSGHATANE: *By Prof. V. B. Naik, M.A., LL.B., Editor, Karnatak Vaibhav, Bijapur. With a Foreward by Principal Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao of L. D. Arts College, Ahmedabad. Pp. 250. Price Re. 1-8.*

Politics in India have not only the vivid appeal of the present as in other countries but the heroic interest attaching to a nation struggling for liberty. A knowledge of the constitution under the circumstances is not merely of academic but practical value. The main instruments of education in this direction are the newspapers and periodicals. But they can only suggest points of view and provoke enquiry and cannot take the place of books. To be really useful, books on constitution and political themes in general should be written in the different provincial languages making the complex issues intelligible to the majority.

Prof. V. B. Naik, Editor of the well-known weekly, has indeed rendered valuable service to the Kannada-reading public by bringing out this handy book on the Constitution of India. In his brief foreword Principal V. K. R. V. Rao says "Mr. Naik is a good student of politics as well as of law and his book displays ample evidence of his profound scholarship." It serves admirably as a text-book for Matric and Intermediate classes and at the same time sustains the interest of the general reader, by its grip of the essentials and clarity of exposition. It is no translation but an original work based on a study of the best authorities available in English. Prof. Naik gives not mere the frame-work of the constitution but suggestive comment enabling the reader to draw his own deductions from the survey. It is an able analysis bringing home to the average citizen his rights and duties as interpreted in the new constitution. One difficulty Prof. Naik has had to face, the lack of an accepted vocabulary on the subject in Kannada. The author has bravely coined Kannada equivalents for technical terms and has listed them at the outset to facilitate ready reference. While most of the equivalents are apt and happy a few like the ones for "Commercial discrimination, order-in-council, power of veto," seem, if not far fetched, not quite simple and convincing. But till the phraseology of the subject is standardised by want and usage, authors like Prof. Naik have to fall back on their own resources and do pioneering duty. The addition of a chapter on Local Self-Government will make the book self-contained and add to its utility.

Prof. Naik is to be congratulated on having supplied a desideratum in Kannada by bringing out this eminently readable book on the new constitution.

A. VENKAPPA SASTRI

TELUGU

VINODA NATIKALU: *By Mr. Viswandha Kaviraju. Published by Mr. Malladi Avadhani, Natyabharati, Vizianagram. Pp. 106. Price annas eight.*

The book under review is a collection of five one-act plays of uncommon interest. The author has already earned a reputation as a pioneer in the realm of one-act plays in Telugu Literature. His creations are not mere laughing gas, nor is he just one of the ubiquitous pen-pushers. Behind the facade of rattling humour and crisp dialogue stands a purposeful individual who is brave enough to laugh at the men, maids and manners of Andhra Desa. Of the five plays the fourth is the best; the first is a close second.

PADAKATINTLO VIJNANA CHARCHA: *By Mr. V. Venkatarao. Published by Ramanujacharya Vidya Samithi, Vizianagram. Pp. 97. Price not mentioned.*

The author has done a signal service by essaying the modern scientific developments. The dialogue method adopted by the author makes it an interesting reading. The way he explains the scientific implications in every-day occurrences is commendable. This handy volume should prove popular with educational institutions.

The title of the book is too much of a mouthful; and, again, a bedroom is not a propitious place to launch discussions on modern scientific developments.

A. K. ROW

TAMIL

ADVICE TO YOUTHS: *By M. Chinnaiah Chettiar, Mahipalanpatti. Pp. 250. Price Re. 1.*

The author exposes in this work all superstitious beliefs and customs, and extravagant habits obtaining among his castemen, in their true colours and appeals to youths for an all round rational change. He presents his views throughout in a humorous vein, calling in to his aid, whenever possible, suitable anecdotes.

Most of the evils he complains of, are prevalent among other Tamils also, though in a less degree. Every Tamilian will therefore do well to read the book and adopt at least his lay suggestions for the good of his family and community as well as that of the country.

ELIZABETH FRY, THE PRISON REFORMER: *By T. Neelambigai, Perumal North Car Street, Palamcottah. Illustrated. Pp. 94. Price annas fourteen.*

This is an interesting life of a great humanitarian made more interesting by its pure diction. The linguists who think that the admixture of Sanskrit into Tamil has advanced so far as to make its purge undesirable, will be surprised to find in this book that its purge makes the diction all the more beautiful. The authoress deserves our congratulations on her persistent and successful attempts in this direction.

HITLER AND THE GREAT WAR—1914-39: *By A. G. Venkatachari with an introduction by Hon. Dr. P. Subbarayan, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D. and a foreword from M. Ruthnaswamy, M.A., C.I.E. Published by Brindavan Prachuralayam, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 14+401. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is a nice summary of events from almost the close of the last Great War to the beginning of the present one. The march of events are well portrayed by the author, though in a very ordinary style. The reader will find the book very interesting.

The moral and tactical blunders of the democracies and their effect on the growing power of Germany are

fairly discussed. Hitler's breach of promises is condemned outright and it is said that Mr. Chamberlain was a fool to believe his words.

The author concludes that Germany when defeated will become a communistic state more friendly to Russia and that there will be revolutionary changes in the Governments of European countries—all of them becoming socialistic states, with repercussions for the better in China, India and the colonies, mandated territories and power zones of European and American powers.

The book is, in short, worth having and reading by all interested in history and politics and should find as an interesting piece of work of Modern History a place in every library of the Tamilnad.

MADHAVAN

GUJARATI

(1) BHARAT NO TANKAR : *By Ardeshir Framji Khabardar. Printed at the Jagdishwar Printing Press, Bombay. 1939. Cloth bound. Pp. 74. Price Re. 1.*

(2) KALYANIKA : *By Ardeshir Framji. Printed at the Jagdishwar Printing Press, Bombay. 1940. Cloth bound. Pp. 169. Price Rs. 2.*

The first book which has now run into a second edition was noticed when it had first appeared in 1919. The patriotic verses have not lost their fervour even though the political situation has changed entirely during the last twenty years. The second book is poet Khabardar's latest publication and embodies verses which though extremely simple and therefore easy to follow and understand conceal deep, eternal spiritual truths. He calls them Bhajans (Devotional songs) and they are really so. The devotee who is assumed to be pursuing the Kalyan (Beatific) path in the life he lives is assured that it will ultimately lead to Prabhudham (Seat of God). His path is full of light and the traveller is attracted by his light which is eternally being emitted from that exalted seat. He is a true poet whose vision does not fail to reach that Atom of Light. The ultimate aim of all of us should be to reach that Godhead. A Parsi by birth and upbringing Mr. Khabardar has risen beyond his environments and produced a work which would do credit to any student of Indian philosophy. It stamps him as a thinker of a high order.

LAHARI 3—DESHNETA : *By Shendoprasad Varma. Published by the Yugantar Karyalaya, Surat. 1939. Paper cover. Pp. 36. Price annas two and six pies.*

This is the 4th Edition of this brochure. It contains chatty descriptions of the life-incidents of well-known National Leaders of India like C. R. Dass, Ranade, Lajpat Rai and many others. It is very readable.

VATO NAN VADAN : *By Baldev Prahlad Molia. Printed at the Pratap Printing Press, Surat. 1939. Paper Cover. Pp. 188. Price annas eight.*

This is a collection of stories, mostly humorous by a rising young writer. It is divided into four sections : (1) Samsar : A problem, (2) College : The Seventh Heaven, (3) Churning, (4) A questionnaire and consists of thirty-three stories. The last section asks various humorous questions one of them being as to why ladies bring up the rear in our marriage processions in Gujarat. We are sure that the writer would do much better in future.

PAKISTAN : *By Mandavia. Printed at the Kohinoor Printing Press, Bantwa (Kathiawar). 1941. Paper Cover. Pp. 119. Price annas six.*

Articles appeared on this much discussed proposal of the Muslim League in the Delhi Monthly, *Tuloo-e-Islam* in its issue called *New World.* This book is a translation of what appeared in that periodical. As these notices are not the proper place for discussing the pros and cons of this controversial political question, we can only refer to the way in which it has been treated and handled and we are of opinion that the work has been well-done. The language is simple.

K. M. J.

MARATHI

HINDUSTHANA TUN KUTHE ? *By Dr. Bhaskar Mahadeo Tembe. Published by the author at Yeotmal (Berar, C. P.). Pp. 154. Price Re. 1-8.*

The religious frenzy and fanaticism of the old has given place to a change in the temper and outlook of the nation and a new spirit of enquiry has come into being. The upheavals in the west, the conception of Independence and assertion of the right of self-determination has given rise to so many problems and we are today faced with a grim question : "Where are ye, Indian ?"

The author of the book under review, who is not only a medical practitioner but an ardent nationalist and a public-spirited social worker and author of some half-a-dozen useful books, has sought to answer this important and searching question. We are living in the age of arms and military-power. An able-bodied and well-equipped force has undisputably become an unalienable necessity of the hour for self-defence. We can no longer shut our eyes to this rigid reality of the time.

But our alien rulers seem to have taken little notice of the growing need of the country. They even hesitate to Indianise the army. Will they, therefore, go to the length of allowing us to have "rifle-clubs in every town," as has been very aptly suggested by Mr. M. S. Aney in the course of his foreword to the book. Yet, the matter cannot be put off any longer now and harnessing the man-power of the country for defence-purposes deserves more attention. The author has thrown a flood of light over the military position of the country before the advent of British rule, Indian Army under the British Government and future possibilities. The author's suggestions regarding the national-militia deserve fair consideration. We congratulate the author for this useful work. Need we say that the book must be read by every Marathi-knowing Indian, till it is made available in other vernaculars of the country ?

M. S. SENGAR



RECENT BENGALI BOOKS

VI

The Bengal Library, Calcutta, publishes, as Appendix to the *Calcutta Gazette*, a catalouge of books registered in the Presidency of Bengal. We have already published in four instalments the list of Bengali books culled from the catalogues for the quarter ending 30th June, 1939, and for that ending 30th September, 1939.

In the June number (fifth instalment) we published the first part of the list of books selected from the catalouge for the quarter ending 31st December, 1939. A further list of Bengali books registered during the quarter ending 31st December, 1939, is published below. We have excluded from it the names of text books as also the number of issues of different periodicals.

DRAMA

Krishna-Kali. Krishna (assuming the guise of) the goddess Kali. By Aghor Chandra Kavyatirtha. Pp. 1+45. 25th October, 1939.

Kapalkundala. The well-known Bengali novel of that name by Bankim Chandra Chatterji recast in the form of a drama. By Atul Krishna Mitra. Pp. 1+112. 14th October, 1939.

Sitaram. A dramatised version of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's well-known novel entitled "Sitaram." By Atul Krishna Mitra. Pp. 1+141. 27th October, 1939.

Matir Ghar. Earthen house. A tragic drama. By Bidhayak Bhattacharjya. Pp. 144. 7th October, 1939.

Meghamukti. Release from the Cloud. By Bidhayak Bhattacharjya. Pp. 4+108+4. 22nd September, 1939. 2nd ed.

Navaratra. Nine lunar days from the first to the ninth of the bright Asvin. By Binay Krishna Mukherji. Pp. 2+198. 15th September, 1939.

Rakta-Mukut. Bloody Crown. By Binay Krishna Mukherji. Based on a story of the Vishnupuran. Pp. 194. 20th October, 1939.

Rakta-Puja. Worship by Blood. By Binay Krishna Mukherji. A mythological drama. Pp. 190. 1st October, 1939.

Bangavir. The hero of Bengal. By Brajendra Kumar De, M.A. A historical play relating to the conquest of Ceylon by the heroic Prince Vijay Sinha, King of Bengal. Pp. 2+1+2+193. 20th September, 1939.

Miss Sulekha Sen O Onyanya. Miss Sulekha Sen and others. By Dhirendra Nath Mallik. Contains four dramatic sketches. Pp. 32. 10th October, 1939.

Sen. A story of adventure. Pp. 100. 2nd November, 1939.

Mewar-patan. Fall of Mewar. By Dwijendra Lal Ray. A historical drama relating to the subjugation of Mewar by the Mughals during the rule of Rana Amar Singh. Pp. 154. 16th October, 1939. 13th ed.

Saktir Mantra. Instruction to (mystic formula as received by) Sakti. By Jaladhar Chatterjee. Pp. 2+114. 12th December, 1939. 4th ed.

Vaka-dharmik. Hypocrite. By Jaminimohan Kar, M.A. Pp. 84. 19th July, 1939.

Nara-Narayan. God in human form. By Kshirodprasad Vidyavinod. A drama based on the Mahabharat story. Pp. 2+208. 16th October, 1939. 5th ed.

Abhinay. Expedition. By Mahendra Nath Gupta, M.A. A historical drama based on the story of the reign of Muhammad Tughlak. Pp. 5+120. 16th October, 1939.

Adhuniki. Pertaining to the modern Times. By Narendra Nath Mukherji. A farce. Pp. 1+70. 1st December, 1939.

Nimai Sannyas va Nader Nimai. The renunciation of the world by Nimai (Chaitanya) or Nimai (Chaitanya) of Navadwip. By Panchkari Chatterji. Pp. 1+1+178. 24th October, 1939.

Siva-sakti. Power of Siva. By Panchkari Chatterji. A drama based on the Puranic story. Pp. 190.

Achalayatan. The institution that does not move. By Rabindranath Tagore. A symbolic drama condemning a rigid and unintelligent adherence to the forms to neglect of the spirit of religion. Pp. 131. 12th August, 1939. Reprint.

Grihapraves. Installation in a new house. By Rabindranath Tagore. A tragic drama. Pp. 102. 10th November, 1939. Reprint.

Hasya-Kautuk. Laughter and Fun. By Rabindranath Tagore. A collection of short funny plays. Pp. 2+87. 12th November, 1939. Reprint.

Syama (name of the heroine). By Rabindranath Tagore. A short opera in four acts with musical notations. Pp. 92. 10th November, 1939.

FICTION

Gulper Ramdhanu. The rainbow of stories. By Akhil Niyogi. Eight short stories for children. Pp. 1+1+62. 30th October, 1939.

Kakshachyuta Ulka. Meteor strayed from its Path. By Asit Kumar Chatterji. A detective story. Pp. 104. 14th October, 1939.

Svami Nei Bari. Husband is not at home. By Asu Chatterji. Contains a number of short stories. Pp. 1+150. 15th October, 1939.

He Kisor Chitta. O Young Heart. By Bimalansuprakas Ray. Pp. 135. 18th October, 1939.

Maru-Yatri. Traveller in the desert. By Bimal Sen. A story of adventure. Pp. 100. 2nd November, 1939.

Old Curiosity Shop. An abridged Bengali version of Charles Dickens' work of that name. Intended for juvenile readers. By Bisu Mukherji. Pp. 1+2+129. Illustrated. 2nd October, 1939.

Dasyur Dale Bhomra. Bhomra (the name of the hero) in the gang of robbers. By Buddhadev Basu. A story of adventure for children. Pp. 165. 28th September, 1939.

Golak Chandrer Atma-Katha. The autobiography of Golak Chandra. By Kazi Din Muhammad, B.A., B.T. Short humorous sketches on social, political, educational and allied topics. Pp. 1+5+256. Illustrated. 1st July, 1939.

Kalpaloker Katha. Topics of the imaginary world. By Gajendra Kumar Mitra. Intended for children. Pp. 78. Illustrated. 9th October, 1939.

Sahaser Nesa. Lure of adventure. By Gajendra Kumar Mitra. A story of adventure, intended for boys. Pp. 101. Illustrated. 23rd October, 1939.

Duryoger Majhe. Amidst troublous times. By Gaurgopal Vidyavinod. Pp. 65. 20th September, 1939.

Ekada. Once. By Gopal Haldar. Pp. 268. 16th October, 1939.

Amavasyar Rat. The new-moon night. By Hemendra Kumar Ray. A detective story. Pp. 98. 1st November, 1939.

Draganer Duhsvapna. The Dragon's nightmare. By Hemendra Kumar Ray. A detective story. Pp. 1+100. 12th September, 1939.

Marar Mrityu. Death of a Corpse (destruction of a mummy). By Hemendra Kumar Ray. A short ghost story intended for children. Pp. 61. Illustrated. 9th October, 1939.

Manusher Pratham Ayadvenchar. The First Adventure of Man. By Hemendra Kumar Ray. Intended for children. Pp. 152. 10th November, 1939.

Rakshdse Dwip. The monstrous (Infernal) Island By Himansu Prakas Ray. Intended for children. Pp. 180. 7th October, 1939.

Arab-Beduin. The Badouin of Arabia. By Jogendra Nath Gupta. Intended for children. Pp. 1+4+151. 10th November, 1939.

Vidrohi Balak. The Rebellious Boy. By Jogendra Nath Gupta. Pp. 1+144. 6th December, 1939. 2nd ed.

Upasanhar. Conclusion. By Kamalakanta Kavyatirtha. Contains nine short stories. Pp. 136. 7th October, 1939.

Bhaduri Masai. Mr. Bhaduri. By Kedar Nath Banerji. A humorous social sketch. Pp. 321. 16th October, 1939. 2nd ed.

Last Days of Pompeii. By Khagendra Nath Mitra. A Bengali adaptation from Lord Lytton's well-known novel of that name, intended for juvenile readers. Pp. 1+187. Illustrated. 6th December, 1939.

Panker Kamar. Bite of mire. By Krishnagopal Bhattacharyya, M.A. Pp. 159. 3rd October, 1939.

Milan. Union. By Manik Bhattacharyya. Contains twelve short stories. Pp. 154. 16th October, 1939.

Bhuler Masul. Penalty of mistake. By Manilal Banerji. Contains a number of short stories. Pp. 1+188. 4th December, 1939.

Jivaner Chalasrot. Life's changing current. By Matilal Das. Pp. 201. 11th October, 1939.

Manisha (name of the heroine). By Matilal Das, Pp. 123. 3rd October, 1939.

Sisu-Maner Chalachchitra. Film of the Child's mind. By Matilal Das. 20th November, 1939.

Duranta Devata. The Turbulent God. By Mrityunjay Chatterjee, Subodh Sengupta and Prithis Bhattacharyya. Pp. 112. 5th October, 1939. 2nd ed.

Muchiram Gurer Jivancharit. Biography of Muchiram Gur. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's well-known satirical novel of the name reprinted from the first edition issued during the lifetime of the author. Bankim Centenary edition. Ed. By. Brajendranath Banerjee and Sajanikanta Das. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. Pp. 2+1+28. 15th September, 1939.

Michhe Katha. A lie. By Nandagopal Sengupta. Contains a number of short stories. Pp. 103. 24th October, 1939.

Hasir Des. The Land of Smiles. By Nalinibhushan Dasgupta, M.A. Contains a number of stories in prose and verse. Intended for children. Pp. 1+1+94. 26th September, 1939.

Har Jit. Defeat and Victory. By Nareschandra Sen Gupta. Pp. 176. 5th December, 1939.

Kalo Bhramar. Dvitiya Bhag. The Black Bumble Bee. Part II. By Nihar Ranjan Gupta. Pp. 1+175. 20th November, 1939.

Lamader Dese. In the land of Lamas. By Panchugopal Mukherji. Story of adventure. Intended for juvenile readers. Pp. 146. 31st October, 1939.

Milan-Lagna. The hour of Union. By Panchu Gopal Mukherji. Pp. 150. 10th September, 1939.

Kajjali. Lampblack used as collyrium. By Parasuram. Contains humorous and satirical sketches on current social and political topics. Pp. 211. Illustrated. 2nd October, 1939. 4th ed.

Jagapisi. By Prabhat Kiran Bose. Short humorous stories. Intended for children. Pp. 2+50. 20th September, 1939.

Age O Pare. Before and after. By Prabhavati Devi Saraswati. Contains seven short stories. Pp. 162. 12th November, 1939.

Maydanaver Dvip. The island of the demon called "Maya." By Premendra Mitra. Pp. 151. Illustrated. 2nd September, 1939.

Prithivi Chhariye. Beyond the earth. By Premendra Mitra. Pp. 189. 15th September, 1939.

Kartun. Cartoon. By Prithvis Chandra Bhattacharyya, M.A. Pp. 165. 16th October, 1939.

Bali Ta Hasba Na. I say that I shall not laugh. By Rabindralal Ray. Contains short humorous stories for children. Pp. 90. 2nd October, 1939.

Halka-Hasir Khata. Book of light laughter. By Rabindralal Ray. Intended for children. Pp. 1+1+89. 28th October, 1939.

Galpaguchha. Pratham Khanda. Bunch of stories. Part I. By Rabindranath Tagore. Pp. 2+1+331. 15th August, 1939.

Ratan Dighir Jamidar Badhu. The Daughter-in-law of the Zamindar of Ratan Dighi. By Rampada Mukherji. Pp. 212. 2nd October, 1939.

Romancha. Ashtam Varsha. No. 37. Hatyar Itihas—4. The Romancha (Horripilation) series. 8th year. 37. History of murder—4. 16th September, 1939.

——— No. 38. Hatyar Itihas—5. 23rd September, 1939.

——— No. 39. Hatyar Itihas—6. 30th September, 1939.

——— No. 40. Hatyar Itihas—7. 7th October, 1939.

——— No. 42. Kurukshetra—1. (The famous battlefield of the story of Mahabharata)—1. Ed. by Manindra Nath Varma. 4th November, 1939.

——— No. 43. Kurukshetra—2. Ed. by Mrityunjay Chatterji. 11th November, 1939.

——— No. 44. Kurukshetra—3. 18th November, 1939.

——— No. 45. Kurukshetra—4. 25th November, 1939.

——— No. 46. Kurukshetra—5. 2nd December, 1939.

——— No. 47. Kurukshetra—6. 9th December, 1939.

Sagarparer-Kathaguchha. Bunch of stories from across the ocean. Trans. by Pushparani Ghosh. Contains Bengali version of a number of selected stories by authors of different countries of the West. Pp. 2+291. 17th October, 1939.

Binita-Di. (Elder) Sister Binita. By Sailabala Ghoshajaya. Pp. 121. 12th September, 1939.

Jivan-Nadir Tire. On the bank of the river of life. By Sailajananda Mukherji. Contains four stories. Pp. 168. 15th September, 1939.

Adi Manush. The Primitive Man. By Sailendranath Sinha, B.A. Intended for children. Pp. 84. Illustrated. 6th October, 1939.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS IN INDIA

By R. SATAKOPAN, M.A., B.L.

The History of The Commissions

So long as India was under an alien bureaucracy, there was felt no necessity for a Public Service Commission. The number of English-educated young men had been a handful. The district officials appointed young men of their choice with the formal consent of the local Government. The good books of the district officer sufficed in those days to secure an appointment. It was not also in the nature of the bureaucracies, in the history of the world, to surrender any of their powers to any outside agency, and such an important power as patronage by which they could conciliate enemies and make friends could never have been surrendered by them.

With the rapid increase in the quantity and quality of educated young men, a board of selection had to be set up; a sort of competitive examination had to be started. But this board was never intended to be an independent agency. It was a branch of the official world, dispensing official favours. High officials sat part time and selected candidates. If selection was through a competitive examination, the marks were not made public. No rankings were published. The selections alone were announced by the government. The public opinion was not aroused and the bureaucrat had his way.

But with the Montford Reforms, politics crept into the government. The elective element began to wield power. Public opinion woke up from the slumbers. The dangers of indiscriminate patronage dawned on the public. The tale had been the same in every country. Responsible government became irresponsible in the distribution of patronage. It became imperative, in the interests of the administration that the public services should be shielded from political influences. This could be effected only by the establishment on a permanent basis of a semi-judicial, independent, impartial organisation, particularly charged with the regulation of service matters.

The idea of a Public Service Commission in India originated with the First Despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms, dated the 5th March 1919. Five days later, the Functions Committee in its report to the Governor-General expressed itself likewise. The Government of India Act, 1919 enacted in Sec. 96 C. that

> "There shall be established in India a Public Services Commission of not more than five members of which one shall be chairman."

Much discussion followed this enactment but nothing was done for a long time. It was thought that there were few useful duties for a personnel agency in India. The Lee Commission, in its report of March, 1924 put up a strong plea for an early establishment of a personnel agency in India. A Public Service Commission was finally set up at Delhi on October, 1926. The Government of India Act, 1935 also enacted that "there shall be a Public Service Commission for the Federation."

The necessity for an impersonal method of selection was greater in the dyarchic provinces than in the bureaucratic centre. The Madras Government passed a G.O. No. 658 dated the 15th August, 1922 reserving for the different communities in the province certain proportions of the vacancies in the public services to redress communal inequalities. The need for an agency to carry out this G.O. came to be very much felt here. The Government therefore set up a Staff Selection Board in 1924. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras was the chairman. The other members were two officials[1] and two government pensioners.[2] The experiment was tried for the city of Madras only and before it could be extended to the mofussil, the Madras Government initiated a discussion for the setting up of a provincial commission on a statutory basis.

After the Lee Commission had reported, the Government of India addressed all the local Governments in 1924 on the necessity for a Public Service Commission. The Governments of Madras and Burma formulated proposals for the establishment on a statutory basis of provincial commissions. The Governor-General in Council telegraphed to the Secretary of State for necessary permission to allow the provinces to try the experiment. It was granted in 1925 on

1. The Surgeon-General and the Director of Public Instruction.
2. From the Judicial and the Excise Departments.

the understanding that the necessary statutory provision should be made by he provincial legislatures. Accordingly the Government of Madras forwarded to the Government of India in 1927 a Madras Service Commission Bill for the necessary sanction of the Governor-General under Section 80 (A) of the 1919 Act. The Central Government forwarded a copy of this bill to the Delhi Services Commission for its views. The Government of India also invited the Secretary of State to empower the local Governments to constitute their own personnel agencies. The Madras legislature enacted in 1929 the Madras Services Commission Act. It was amended on two occasions in 1931 and 1932.

The Government of India Act, 1935 necessitated the passing of a new Act in Madras to serve the interim period. A new Bill (No. 19 of 1935) was published in the Fort St. George Gazette on October, 1935 and passed into law on February, 1936. After the requisite assent of the Governor-General and the Governor had been granted, it became law from the 5th of May, 1936. On the 1st of April, 1937 when the Provincial Autonomy mas introduced, sufficient provisions for Public Service Commissions had been inserted in the main body of the 1935 Act and therefore a separate enactment became unnecessary. The Commissions came thenceforth to be governed by the provisions of Chapter III of Part X of the new Act and the Governors of the respective provinces had only to issue Regulations under the Act to suit their peculiar conditions.

The Composition of the Commissions

The first Chairman of the Delhi Public Service Commission, Sir W. E. Barker, prescribed a good many qualifications as essential if the commissioners are to discharge their duties satisfactorily. They must have an intimate knowledge of the Civil Service administration and the principles on which it is conducted. The Lee Commission Report also was of opinion that a Civil Service Commissioner must

> "appreciate the vital and intimate relationship which should exist between the State and its servants."

He must have high Judicial or other legal qualifications and an intimate acquaintance with the educational systems and conditions in India. He should possess a capicity to conduct and organise examinations and a knowledge, not necessarily profound of most subjects taught in the Indian Universities. There must have been, in his life, a complete detachment from all political and communal affiliations. In India, he must be a representative of a particular community and should be fairly representative of certain interests. He must be a man of seniority and standing and must have nothing to nope or fear from the government. Sir Ernest Barker felt that it would be difficult to secure sufficient men with the above qualifications for the provinces, more than for the centre.

> "It would be difficult in a Commission of five members. It would be still more difficult in a Commission of three."

Under the 1919 Act, the Delhi Commissioners were appointed by the Secretary of State for India. Not being the nominees of the Government of India, the commissioners were expected to put on an independent and impartial and non-partisan attitude. The Madras Commissionrs were first appointed by the Governor-in-Council but later it was vested in the Governor alone, the idea being to eliminate political influence in the appointments to this semi-judicial body. Under the 1935 Act,

> "The chairman and the members of a Public Service Commission shall be appointed, in the case of the Federal Commission, by the Governor-General in his discretion, and in the case of a Provincial Commission, by the Governor of the Province in his discretion."

Likewise, they can by Regulations determine the number of members, their tenure of office, their conditions of service and also make provision for the other members of the staff and their conditions of service.

Besides the Federal Service Commission, there is one commission each for Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces and Assam. Bombay and Sind, the Punjab, the N.-W. F. P., Bihar and Orissa have one Joint Commission for each. The chairman of almost all the commissions and also most of the commissioners are drawn from the ranks of the civil services of the crown in India, mostly the I.C.S. The 1935 Act expressly provided that

> "At least one half of the members of every Public Service Commission shall be persons who, at the dates of the respective appointments, have held office for at least ten years under the crown in India."

The term "at least half" has received a very liberal interpretation at the hands of the government. Half of three, which is the usual number of members in the commissions in India, is two and occasionally three also. Half of five is three, sometimes four and not rarely five itself.

There are many inherent defects in the appointment of officials in the commission. As Sir Barker pointed out:

> "The official world of a province is a very small world and anyone of sufficient prominence to be appointed to such a post is probably affected by many affiliations to causes, creeds and even to persons, which would shake public confidence in his impartiality. I am much

afraid that these appointments would fall into the hands of persons for whom it was impossible to find other employment, pensioners who desired to increase their pensions, persons who had been useful to Government and persons whose activities it was desirable to neutralise. In short I fear that the appointment of the very persons whose duty it was to secure the freedom of the public service from political influence would become an occasion for the most undesirable exercises of that influence."

It is equally unwise to appoint party men to the Commission. In U. S. A. the party-system poison is said to be avoided by over-emphasising it and giving it representation. Thus they have in America bi-partisan commissions. There are three members in each commission there and not more than a bare majority should be members of the same political party. The commissioners serve six years each and one is to be named every two years. The law insists that men, known for their devotion to the merit principle, should be appointed but this is rarely observed. In Canada too, party men are openly appointed. Though many did, and might, manage to rise above party and politics, it is very difficult to revive public confidence once shaken by the inclusion in the commission of party men with party careers behind them. The appointment of raw, inexperienced men is also open to objections. In U. S. A. out of 52 commissioners in 17 jurisdictions, 18 were lawyers and 8 professional politicians—these together monopolised 50% of the posts—and the rest 26 were drawn from 16 different professions. But of the entire lot, only one was found to have had any extended experience in personnel management.

Added to the amateur character is the short term periods which prevent them from learning anything at all. In India it is three years, in Australia five and in U. S. A. six years. In England and Canada, they remain in office during good behaviour, which conduces more to the independence of their semi-judicial body than periodical patronage at the hands of the government. Removal is, in India, by the Governor-General or the Governor in their discretion, while in Canada removal could be effected, before his attaining the age limit, only on an address by both Houses of Legislature. But even with all the safeguards, the executive in Canada contrives to remove the unwanted commissioner in one of the two ways: it either puts unnecessary and irritating obstacle in his work, compelling him thus to resign in disgust, or offers him a more lucrative post when he resigns with pleasure. In India, a commissioner is statutorily forbidden from accepting any other service under the crown in India except in some other commission; the commissioners being mostly government servants, little discord arises between them and the government.

The commissioners are paid very attractive salaries. The chairman of the Federal Commission receives Rs. 4,000 per month which is the pay of the Secretaries to the Government of India, the Governor's Advisers at present, first class Residents and Judges of H. M's High Court of Judicature in India. The other Federal Commissioners are paid Rs. 3,500. The chairman of the Madras Commission receives Rs. 3,000 while to the other members is paid a sum of Rs. 2,000 each per month.

The Work of the Commission

The Public Service Commissions have been started as "politics-eliminators," as a mechanical contrivance "to keep the rascals out." It can be made to develop as an expert body on many service questions. Its functions may be quasi-legislative, such as the issue of rules and regulations; it may perform quasi-judicial duties like the hearing of appeals; and its work is also administrative like recruitment, research, statistics, the issue of annual reports; and finally it may do advisory functions also like the giving of suggestions and recommendations on working conditions, health, welfare, recreation, etc. One school of thought recommends the vesting of all powers and duties regarding service matters in the hands of the commission while another school preaches caution in the extension of the commission's powers. Sir Samuel Hoare said in Parliament that the Service Commissions in India

"are likely to have more influence if they are advisory than if they have mandatory powers. The danger is that if you give them mandatory powers you then set up two Governments in a Province and two Governments at Centre."

Both schools of thought are united in maintaining that in matters in which the commission is functioning, its recommendations must be made binding on the government morally at least if not legally. Or else the presence of a commission becomes worse than useless and the money spent on it worse than waste.

Originally the idea was to invest the commission with wide powers. The Functions Committee laid down eight functions ranging from the holding of examinations to the hearing of appeals. The Government of India Act, 1935 lays down in Section 266 three things in which the commissions need not be consulted: the Government may lay down certain matters as outside the purview of the commission; the allocation of posts between the various communities is beyond the commission's jurisdiction,

as also matters of recruitment and discipline to the subordinate ranks of the various police forces. The extension of the commission's functions by any legislative enactment requires the previous sanction of the Governor-General or the Governor in their discretion. Besides the main functions, the commissions in India are performing many miscellaneous duties also. Of all the commissions, the Madras Commission alone publishes an annual report which is a valuable compendium of the annual work of that body. No endeavour has been made by the personnel agencies in India to reach the general public, to enlist their sympathy and support in its fight against the government. The people also have not begun to think of the commission as anything beyond another limb of the omnipotent government.

The Services Commission and Responsible Government

It is often urged that the creation and maintenance of a civil service commission independent of the control of the ministers tampers with the theory of ministerial responsibility. If it is the minister's duty to run his department, is it not equally his work to man the department with the servants of his choice? If he is responsible for the smooth working of his offices, should he not be the final appellate authority in cases of discipline and control? If he chooses a wrong person let him be punished for his irresponsibility by a vote of censure in the legislature. The ministers are elected by the people, they live among the people, they will be in the best position to know how and whom to select for responsible positions. The legislators are at his disposal to tone the surroundings for the best men available for the services. Let him be asked to submit to Parliament, and even publish in the gazette each of his appointments with the names of those who recommended it and the reasons for the selection. These are the arguments advanced by responsible persons, in Canada especially.

Experience has proved beyond any reasonable doubt that ministers, whatever their responsibility in other spheres are the least to be trusted with patronage. The theory of the legislators helping the ministers in the choice of men would be to let loose the demon of nepotism. The vote of censure is a weak weapon and the legislator will never risk a re-election, simply because the minister made a bad choice for a vacancy. The minister cannot be credited with any experience in service matters, and his highly mortal existence in the Cabinet precludes his learning anything worth the name. He cannot undertake any long range policies on service problems. He has neither the necessary time nor the necessary knowledge to deal with them offhand. He depends on the caprice of a popular vote and has many sides to please. A theoretically irresponsible Civil Service Commissioner is any day better to be entrusted with service problems than a theoretically responsible minister.

The public have not yet begun to take the Service Commissions at their real value. Even a Canadian Deputy Minister, in his evidence before a Parliamentary Special Committee in 1923, said:

> "One reads nowadays the most appalling trash in the newspapers about the 'evils of patronage' as though patronage was necessarily an evil to be shunned. I wonder if these sapient journalists ever reflect for a moment who is best fitted to exercise the patronage of the Government—the Ministers, for the most part men trained in public affairs responsible to Crown and to Parliament for their every action, or an inexperienced, unrepresentative, or irresponsible body such as the Civil Service Commission."

Mr. Raymond Fosdick of U. S. A. considered the personnel agency as "an external body" which "robs the ..... executive of initiative and leadership" and thus "undermines the whole principle of responsible leadership." Mr. Paul Eliel, also of the U. S. A. considered it as

> "an unmitigated evil, something to be tolerated but evaded and avoided whenever the opportunity offers."

To whom are the Service Commissioners responsible? They are responsible to the removing authority for their good behaviour. But, for their recruitment duties and for the exercise of the disciplinary functions, they are as little responsible to any one politically, as the judges are for their individual judgments. But

> "They have a moral responsibility to their conscience, to their sense of duty, to their reputations, to their pride in the office or to any other influence which may dominate them. They may be free politically but their actions are influenced and guided by forces, which, if more tangible, are nevertheless, very strong and very real. Independent of Parliament, they are made dependent on other things. Again the analogy may be seen between the Commissioner and a Judge. The Government takes no mere responsibility for an appointment made by the Commission than for a decision rendered by the Supreme Court; and in both instances the same reliance for the integrity of the work is placed on the character of officials."

The Government and the legislatures can be considered responsible for the acts of the Public Service Commission but in one and only sense. It is not a direct responsibility but an indirect one. It is they that pass the Service Commission Acts, frame Regulations under them, appoint the staff and continue them during

their good behaviour. This responsibility is similar to their responsibility for an independent judiciary. Beyond this the responsibility ceases. The Parliament and the Government may be said to be in another way responsible, and in another sense. They must respect the independence of the agencies they have brought into being, and encourage both passively and actively the spirit and the letter of the purpose lying behind the creation of the personnel agencies.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF PAINT AND VARNISH INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By M. A. AZAM,
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THE art of painting and varnishing is of a very great antiquity. It is said, that Noah coated the seams of his 'ark' with a kind of pitch—an approved system of protective varnishing continued upto the present day.

Curiously enough, man first learned to paint himself. An ointment made with earth pigments with grease or fat used to decorate the human body may, according to some writers 'fairly claim to be the oldest kind of paint.' This is borne out by the practice of the savage tribes who, particularly on festive occasions like to take, even now, some other hues than their own.

A fascination for colour persists inherent in human nature. So, the savage practice has only been refined in civilized hands. It is interesting to note that the human body still continues to be a consumer of 'paints'—in a rather wide sense of the term. Excluding the various items of painted 'make up' indispensable for the stage or screen artists the cosmetics of today include a costly toll of lip sticks, nail polishes, rouges, etc. The vermilion, kumkum and āltā are auspiciously graceful to our Indian ladies. While the white pigment french chalk forms the basis of a large nubmer of modern toilet powders—the carbon black, the antimony oxide are also in demand for pigmenting the eyes—the latter particularly in vogue amongst the Muslims.

It is highly amusing to think of the striking contrast of choice regarding the method of protecting the body prevalent even now amongst the Indians and the Europeans. While we prefer and even advocate besmearing of oil on the body as highly conducive to health—the Europeans take to powders for soothing and comfort. In the language of a paint technologist the fact is reducible to the simple statement that we use the vehicle while the Europeans use the pigment and the savages to their great wisdom and foresight, use both, thus calling to their aid and enjoyment the service of a full-fledged paint incorporating the benefit of either. Indian hermits who rub their bodies with ashes—a practice faithfully continued through centuries—might perhaps inspire the west to the use of dusting powders.

The earliest colours were collected both from mineral and vegetable sources. As we have already mentioned, man was first mindful of his person which he decorated. His clothing and his abode were next tried on with protective and decorative coatings. The savages used oil on dressed skins of animals to make them pliable, while by the use of fatty and resinous bodies temporary or permanent dwellings, boats, etc., were made water proof.

According to A. H. Sabin, author of the famous publication *The Industrial and Artistic Technology of Paint and Varnish*, the oldest varnish in existence is that on the wooden mummy case estimated by experts to be not less than 2,500 years old. Prof. J. F. John of Berlin published in 1822 a report on his chemical examination of the varnish which he found to be insoluble in water, soluble in alcohol, and thrown down as a gummy precipitate by diluting the alcoholic solution with water. Prof. John was irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that the varnish was a compound of resin with oil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City has preserved for display the mummy case. The varnish coating is of a pale yellow colour, surprisingly free from cracks, very hastily and roughly applied as though smeared on with a flat blade.

The Egyptians also knew the use of turpentine—at present an essential raw material for paint and varnish industry—originally used for embalming only. Herodotus who visited Egypt about 500 years before Christ gives us an interest-

ing description of an early method of distilling crude turpentine. The turpentine was contained in a pot over the top of which lay some sticks which supported a fleece of wool. When the contents of the pot were heated, the oil condensed in the wool and was squeezed out. Many of the ancient arts and crafts have been traced back to the banks of the Nile, and it is no wonder that the Paint and Varnish Industry too has this rich and common abode of origin. The Egyptians were expert glue makers—some of their glued wood joints are known to have lasted three thousand years. They also knew painting in glue size or distempering.

The earliest important treatise on paint and varnish is from Theophilus—a German or Swiss monk. Several manuscript copies of this work exist and and one Dr. Albert Ilg of Vienna (1874) carefully studied various authorities and commentators of the treatise. According to Ilg, Theophilus wrote in the 11th Century, while Lessing who also studied Theophilus considers him identical with Tutilo—a monk of the monastry of St. Gall, Switzerland. It is noteworthy that monasteries of the middle ages as our temples in India were celebrated for skill of their artists—the monks of the St. Gall, Tutilo and Notker, being the most celebrated painters and sculptors of their time. Theophilus has left an account of varnish making—we have inherited such formulae also from

Alcherins	1350 A.D.
Jacobus de Tholeto	1440
MS of the Library of San Marco in Venice	1520
Mathioli	1549
Rossello Venice	1575
Libravius	1599
Caneparius	1619
Alberti	1750

From a careful study of their processes a fair idea of the technique of varnish making in the middle ages can be formed. It can be further gathered that the best varnish was prepared from amber, a general term which included certain hard varnish resins from the East. It is held by most authors that knowledge of the art of preparation and application of paints and varnishes has been continuous from at least as early as 500 B.C. when those varnishes were made which still exist on the Egyptian mummy cases down to the present time and it seems likely that the formulae of Theophilus may have been handed down from those early Egyptian workmen.

The early Romans were familiar with glue size and wax painting. Much of the painting done at Pompeii appears to have been with glue solu as the vehicle—and for painting ships they mixed colours with molten wax. Clarified bees wax was used for the purpose and the paint was held to resist "the action of the sun or of the brine or wind".

Some early Greek poems particularly from Leonidus flourishing 300 years before Christ abound in words like resin, amber, incense, wax, etc.

But as we have mentioned before, Egypt has been the pioneer of this industry so much so that the name Varnish even has a Greco-Egyptian origin.

Berenice, a beautiful golden-haired woman, lived in the middle of the third century B.C. Her grandfather was a half brother of Alexander the Great and one of her descendants was the famous Egyptian queen Cleopatra. Berenice was the queen of Cyrene and wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, King of Egypt. It is narrated that shortly after her marriage her husband engaged himself in a long campaign in Asia. During his absence the queen offered prayers for his successful return and vowed to sacrifice her beautiful hair at the Altar of Venus if the king should safely arrive home. She acted upto her vow, but the shining and jewelled tresses disappeared during the night from the altar and it was declared by the astronomer Canon that gods had carried them to heaven where they now form, in the milky way, the constellation known as Coma Beremices or Berenies Hair. The Greeks called the yellow translucent mineral which we know as amber by the name of the beautiful Berenic. The word Berenice, a synonym for amber was often written Verenice in Latin. The German name for amber is Bornstein or Berenice's Stone and the Spanish word for Varnish is Berniz. Berenice, Verenice, Berniz—each of the words was originally equivalent to amber and amber it may be noted is a type of the highest class of resins in the art.

According to Salmasius the word Vermix was misappropriated to mean also Sandarac, because of the resemblance of that resin to amber. From the 17th century the term "Vernix" began to be applied to mean the liquid compound. It is strange that the beginning of systematic manufacture and industrial application of Paints and Varnishes on a commercial scale dates back only about 200 years. According to some writers, certain refugees, probably Dutchmen, were befriended by a banker and leading citizen of a small English city in the 16th century. Before leaving, the leader of the party, having nothing else to offer as a mark of gratitude gave the host a recipe for making varnish which was left unheeded until one day while speaking with an artist friend, the banker remembered

of the recipe and prepared some varnish in strict adherence to the instructions therein. The demand for his varnish became so great afterward that he gave up his banking business and took exclusively to varnish manufacture. The procedure in varnish making underwent little change until a few years ago synthetic resins such as the bakelite, the alkyd, the glyptal resins, the nitro cellulose finishes began gradually and seriously to establish their importance.

It has been freely admitted that in a few industries of comparable size and importance were scientific methods applied so late as in the Paint and Varnish Industry and yet in none else has the value of these methods been more clearly demonstrated.

There is no denying the fact that today the industry is one of the most highly specialized, and even a passing reference to the different aspects of the industry and the various stages of their development would call for a very lengthy discourse. In the days of antiquity the terms—paints, varnishes, polishes, etc., were used often as a general term for a protective and decorative coating but today the terms carry definite and more or less distinct interpretations and are scarcely interchangeable or vaguely applicable—one to mean anything other than that particular item.

A paint consists essentially of a mixture of two materials, namely, a solid or mixture of solids known as the pigment and a liquid or mixture of liquids generally known as the medium or vehicle. It must be appreciated that not all mixtures of powdered solid and liquid will produce a paint or a paint-like substance. For instance, a mixture of very fine sand and water cannot be regarded as paint whereas a mixture of powdered oxide of zinc and linseed oil will form a paint over a large range of proportions of the two substances. The quality which distinguishes the latter mixture from sand and water is that of plasticity. The name paint is also given to such mixtures of pigments and media as can be spread over a surface to give a decorative effect or to protect the surface from decay and corrosion. The nature of the pigments and media and their relative proportions in the mixture vary according to the purpose for which the paint is intended. The various kinds of paints used now-a-days may be classified as follows :

1. *Oil Paint.*—The medium is oil and dries by oxidation and in doing so hardens and fixes the pigment, the resultant film being insoluble in either cold or warm water.

2. *Distemper.*—The medium is a solution of glue which dries by evaporation of the water forming the film. It is insoluble in cold, but soluble in warm water.

3. *Water-colour.*—The medium is a solution of gum producing a film when the water evaporates. It is freely soluble in cold water.

4. *Washable Distemper.*—The medium is an emulsion which dries partly by the evaporation of the water and partly by the oxidation of the oil producing a film more or less soluble in water.

5. *Fresco.*—The medium is lime water, which dries by evaporation and is converted into carbonate of lime, producing a film insoluble in water but attacked by weak acids.

6. *Nitro Cellulose Lacquer and Enamels.*—These consist of pigments and nitro cellulose with various resins, plasticizes, solvents and thinners which harden by volatilization.

Of these the oil paints require the widest range of machinery. Paints are also classified according to their specific properties, *e.g.*, Anti-corrosive paints, heat resisting paints, water resisting paints, acid-proof paints, etc.

Varnishes and lacquers are, on the other-hand, defined as solutions of natural balsams, resins, lacs, fossil gums dissolved in suitable solvents and diluents with or without the addition of a drying oil such as linseed oil. Lacquers and varnishes may be broadly classified under the following two groups : (1) oil varnishes, (2) spirit varnishes or lacquers.

As in paints we have different varnishes for specific purposes, *viz.*, Goldsize varnish, finishing copal varnish, spar varnish, etc. Sabin in his treatise published about 40 years back mentions of 200 varnishes for 200 different uses made by Murphy Varnish Company (probably in America). Sabin has grouped varnishes according to their use, the division is however evidently overlapping in some cases.

A paint and varnish factory today is equipped with large precipitating vats for production of dry colours with numerous machines for pulverizing pigments—incorporating the pigment with oil—mixing paste colours with thinners or solvents, etc. The roller mills—the edge runner mills—flat stone grinding mills—cone mills—are now common devices in the service of the paint maker. Besides, there is the Master Incorporator in which the operations in the successive stages of preparation proceed automatically in a single machine. The fineness of grinding of a pigment, the thoroughness of the mixing of the pigment with the oil, the nature and proportions of the pigment, oil and the thinner are the most essential factors in assessing the type and value of the paint. The modern varnish kitchen has elaborate arrangements for heat treating of oils upto a temperature of 500°F with fuel electrically fed. In varnish making—even in these days of mechanical control and manipulation the personal dexterity of the skilled mistry, who is proverbially a zealous guarder of his trade

secrets, plays an important part. The end point in gum running is still a rule of thumb business—"the incommunicable intimate knowledge of the expert."

We shall now discuss the position of India with respect to this important branch of industry. Our pious ancestors have left us a glorious legacy of their knowledge in different branches of arts and industry—Paints and Varnish not excluded. The Indian lac which today is responsible for about 90% of the world's supply of this material was known to our ancients as a raw material for manufacture of polisher. Gurjan oil, a natural varnish found in our forests was extensively used

(1) In painting dolls and images of deities.

(2) As a coating for the seams and bottoms of boats and ships.

(3) As an ingredient for lithographic inks.

(4) As an anticorrosive varnish for iron and also as a preservative for timber and bamboo against termite and other insect.

(5) As a solvent for India rubber—the solution being used for water-proofing.

Our *gab* fruits* were extracted for water proofing the fishing nets. It is strange that neither lac, nor *gab* has been replaced even today by any better substitute. Gurjan oil of which a vast resource is offered by our forests could not however find a wide application owing to some defects, *viz.*, low flexibility and slow drying time of the varnish film.

The writer of these pages in collaboration with Dr. Karim, formerly Chief Chemist of the Shalimar Paint Colour and Varnish Co. Ltd., has recently carried out an investigation into the development of Gurjan oil industry in Bengal. It has been found that the properties of Gurjan varnish may be immensely improved and the oil can be made to produce very good and elastic films. A resin and an essential oil extracted from the oil have been successfully employed as varnish materials.

Unfortunately, India has been very shy and sluggish in adapting herself to the growing needs of the age particularly in the field of this industry. The Indian Paint and Varnish Industry in the modern sense of the term is a very recent growth dating from the beeginning of the present century. Before the last Great War there was only one British owned Paint and Varnish Factory in India (Bengal). Today, there are about a dozen paint factories operating on modern lines. Formerly raw materials were almost all imported from Great Britain and America and little else besides linseed oil, barytes, oxides and ochres could be obtained locally. Today, the raw material position has greatly improved and the following materials are said to be produced in our country. Linseed oil and other drying vegetable oils, turpentine, mineral turpentine, coaltar naphtha, coaltar pitch, rosin, white zinc, white lead, red lead, litharge, yellow and red ochres, natural and synthetic red oxides, barytes, china clay, industrial alcohol, graphite slate powder, whiting, gypsum, estergum, and waxes. Figures compiled by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India, give the annual production of various products of paint factories in India as follows:

	Per annum in cwts.
Dry colour	.. 1,48,029
Paste colour	.. 2,46,370
Mixed paints	.. 1,64,230
Enamels	.. 18,731
Varnishes	.. 47,982
Oil excluding raw linseed oil	.. 61,501

These figures are however, in some cases underestimated. Research work in various centres in India, have been undertaken in the field of paint and varnish industry. I have already referred to the work on the development of Gurjan oil industry. The researches are being continued at the Industrial Research Laboratory (Paint and Varnish Section) under the auspices of the Industrial Research Board, Bengal. We have also undertaken to investigate into the possibility of utilization of castor oil as a paint and varnish medium—to convert it by dehydration and polymerization into a wood oil substitute. We have further made a careful survey of the possibility of the cultivation of Tung oil (Chinese wood oil) in Bengal in co-operation with the Agriculture and Forest Departments and the Tea Planters Association. Tung oil or Chinese wood oil, is one of the most important raw materials for paint and varnish manufacture and is almost an indispensible constituent of modern first class decorative and protective finishes. At present the only source of supply is China with the result that the regular supply is uncertain and prices fluctuate violently. Other industrial countries such as America and England have carried out experimental cultivation of Tung oil under local conditions with considerable success. In India too, some isolated attempts have been made to cultivate this tree in Ranchi and Doars region. Systematic examinations have recently been taken up with regard to the suitability of the oil obtained from these experimental cultivations. One of the most important contributions have been made by the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, which started an experimental still in 1888 producing Turpentine oil. Indian

* Diospyros Embryopteris.

Turpentine oil compares today favourably with American and French products. There are about half a dozen factories in India, *viz.*, in Sallo, Kasur, Hoshiarpur, Bareilly, Cawnpur, etc., engaged specially in manufacturing turpentine oil. Turpentine is derived from coniferous trees. Our forests abound in Pinus longifolia (Chir), Pinus excelsa, P. Khasya, etc. At present only a fraction of the Chir forests is being tapped. It is estimated that with proper energy and attention directed to this, India can even supply the demand of the whole world after meeting her own requirements. It is unfortunate that in 1938-39 India imported 2,508 cwts. of turpentine valued at Rs. 44,195 and 101,925 cwts. of rosin valued at Rs. 625,525/-.

Rosin, an important material for varnishes, disinfectants and soaps, is a by-product from the turpentine oil industry. Rosin oil, pinene, camphor are also derived from turpentine. It is noteworthy that India imported during the last 15 years camphor worth Rs. 23,00,000 annually. The Indian Institute of Science has completed research on the manufacture of pigmented lacquers in powder form and the Department of the Director of Development of Cuttack for lacquers on wood. Bleached lac for varnish making and nitro cellulose lacquer industries has been produced at the Indian Lac Research Institute. Several processes for varnish making from shellac with drying oils has been successfully evolved as a result of the researches carried out under the auspices of the Indian Lac Cess Committee. Attempts have also been directed to producing high quality lead and zinc pigments. Reference may also be made to the improvements in the technique of applying a paint or varnish, Spray painting is now taken recourse to for high class finishes and also as a quick method of application. Recently a method for pistolling out a shellac film has evoked much interest amongst painters and paint technologists.

India's meagre export trade in Paints and Varnishes, previously confined to Burma and Ceylon has extended today to Persia, Iraq, Africa, Thailand, Singapore and East Indies. This is a blessing of war and undoubtedly a step forward towards industrial regeneration of India.

DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE ON CONVERSION

By A LAWYER

THERE is a stage of society at which law is addressed not to the inhabitants of a country but to the members of a tribe or the followers of a religious system, irrespectively of the locality in which they may happen to be. This is the 'personal' stage in the development of law. British India stands midway between 'personal' stage and 'territorial' stage. The notion of a territorial law is European and modern. The laws which the Hindus and the Mahomedans obey do not recognise territorial limits.

In India there is no fixed system of Private International Law, a branch of law which has grown up in western countries with the development of civilisation and commerce. For it pretty often seems inconvenient as well as inequitable to apply the *Lex fori* rigidly to all transactions, whether completed wholly within the territory or partly outside of it, and to acts of all persons, whether permanently settled in the country or merely passing through it. The Law Courts are of course bound to apply to each case the law which the Sovereign has provided for its regulation, but there is no reason to suppose that the Sovereign enacted the ordinary *Lex fori* with a view to the exceptional cases in question. The adoption of this policy of indifference, though common enough in other ages, is impracticable in the modern civilized world, for one of the first functions of law is to protect and to give effect to rights which have vested in a person by operation of law or as the result of some legal transaction. This in short, being the origin of Prviate International Law, the problem of conflict of Laws is in one respect more complex in India than in the western countries which are exclusively in the 'territorial' stage as opposed to the Personal stage to be found in British India. In India the conflict may not only arise between different territorial Laws but also between different Personal Laws. This peculiarity of conflict is evident in cases for dissolution of marriage after conversion of one of the parties. The point will be made clear by a concrete illustration. Syed Amir Ali in his Mahomedan Law says:

"When a non-Moslem female, whether a Scripturalist or not, married to a husband who also is a non-Moslem, adopts Islam, her marriage would become dis-

solved in the following manner. If the conversion takes place in an Islamic country (Dar-ul-Islam) where the laws of Islam are in force, she will have to apply to the Kazi to summon the husband to adopt the Moslem faith and on the husband's refusal to do so, the marriage would be dissolved. Should the conversion take place in a non-Islamic or alien country (Dar-ul-I-tarb), the marriage would become dissolved on the expiration of three months from the date of the adoption of Islam by the woman. The Calcutta High Court has held that India is not a **non-Islamic** country and that consequently when a married non-Moslem woman adopts the Mahomedan faith and thereafter contracts a fresh marriage without applying to a Judge or a Magistrate to call upon the husband to adopt Islam, she is guilty of bigamy. But it does not say what would happen if the Judge or Magistrate refused to listen to the prayer of the woman or the husband declined to accede to her demand. It is to be presumed, however, that the Court's conscience would be satisfied on her making the application and the first marriage would be regarded as dissolved on the expiration of three months."

What is the Hindu Law on the point ? Does it regard the marriage tie dissolved as soon as one of the parties is converted ? The very idea of Hindu marriage is against the severance of the marriage tie even on apostacy. The Hindu Law allows one to forsake a degraded husband or a degraded wife and degradation from caste may be the consequence of apostacy. But degradation from caste can never cause the severance of the marriage tie which according to Hindu Law is indissoluble. The Hindu idea of marriage, as it is tinged with religion, prohibits the marriage of a girl twice. Manu therefore says :

"Only once can the partition of an estate be made, only once can a girl be given away in marriage, and only once can a thing be gifted. Each of these three things can be made only for once."*

Marriage is a completed transaction and should not be confounded with betrothal. Hindu marriage when complete is necessarily irrevocable. Manu says :

"The nuptial texts are a certain rule in regard to wedlock and the bridal contract is known by the learned to be *complete* and *irrevocable* on the seventh step of the married pair hand in hand after those texts have been pronounced."†

So says Yama :

"Neither by water poured on her hands, nor by verbal promise is a man acknowledged as husband of a damsel; the marital contract is complete after the ceremony of joining hands on the seventh step of the married pair."

And to the same effect are the words of Vasistha and Narada. Nor are the above texts mere obsolete dicta of the sages. They have been followed by commentator after commentator and their age has only added to their force. Medhatithi, one of the earlier commentators of Manu, holds that

"The non-material quality of being an adopted son, like the quality of wifehood, is the result of the performance of Homa."

So Kulluka, in the gloss on the above text of Manu says that wifehood is *not* constituted without the Saptapadi and the nuptial texts; and Raghunandan and Jagannath also take the same view. And in fact the very word *Patni*, 'lawful wife,' from its etymology implies a connection with religious rites. There are texts in the Smritis which enjoin annulment of a betrothal. Manu places great sanctity and force even upon betrothal when he says :

"Neither ancients nor moderns who were good men have ever given a damsel in marriage after she has been promised to another man."

Thus it is clear that Hindu marriage once completed is indissoluble and irrevocable. Manu and other authors of Smritis permit the husband to leave his wife under special circumstances but they never say that by such forsaking the marriage is annulled and the tie is dissolved. Manu clearly says that

"It is only with his wife and progeny that a man becomes complete. Hence, the wife call the husband and wife as identical." IX, 45

He further says :

"By sale or separation wifehood can not be effaced; we know this law to have been originally made by the creator of the universe." IX, 46.‡

If this be the idea of Hindu marriage it is clear that it can not be dissolved at the sweet will of the wife after she is converted. Her apostacy may make her civilly dead and degraded in the eye of society. But the marriage still exists. It is a life long tie and is only severed in death. Nay the Hindu firmly believes that it ever continues beyond death.

This view has also been accepted by the Courts in India. *In the matter of Ramkumari* in 18 Cal. p. 264 it was held that there is no authority for the proposition that an apostate is absolved from all civil obligations and that so far as the matrimonial bond is concerned such a view would be contrary to the spirit of that law which regards it as indissoluble. In that case a previous decision to the contrary in *Rahmad Bebee* Vs. *Rokeya Bebee* was dissented from. The view upheld in—*In the matter of Ramkumari* is in accordance with the case of

* सकृदंशो निपतति सकृत्कन्या प्रदीयते ।
सकृदाह ददामीति त्रीण्येतानि सताम् सकृत् ॥

† पाणिग्रहनिका मन्त्रा नियतं दारलक्षणम् ।
तेषां निष्ठा तु विज्ञेया विद्वद्भि सप्तमे पादे ॥

‡ न निष्क्रयविसर्गाभ्यां भर्त्तुर्भार्या विमुच्यते ।
एवं धर्म्मं विजानीमः प्राक् प्रजापतिनिर्मितम् ॥

The Government of Bombay Vs. Ganga and also with those of *Administrator-General of Madras Vs. Anandachari* and *In-re Millard.* In the *Government of Bombay Vs. Ganga* (4 Bom. 330) it was held that the conversion of a Hindu wife to Mahomedanism does not, ipso facto, dissolve her marriage with her husband. In *Sundari Letani Vs. Pitambari Letani* (32 Cal. 871) it was held that where a Hindu married woman embraced Islam and married a Mahomedan according to the forms of Mahomedan Law and had sons by him during the lifetime of her Hindu husband without having been divorced from the latter, she was in the position of an unchaste daughter and was, under Hindu Law, disqualified from inheriting her father's property.

The personal laws of the Hindus and Mahomedans being different in this respect, what law is applicable in a suit for dissolution of marriage by a Hindu lady who after conversion to Islam seeks in the suit to dissolve her Hindu marriage with her Hindu husband? Herein comes the conflict of law in its peculiar shape before the Indian Court. On the few previous occasions when such prayer was made the cases were decided exparte and the prayer for dissolution of marriage was granted. In those cases Mahomedan Law was given the preference in the conflict. It was probably due to the indifference of the Hindu husband whose abhorrence was so great and whose feelings were so extremely shocked that he did not think it worthwhile to put his claim before the Court. But neither equitably nor jurisdically the principle of giving preference to the converts' law in dissolving marriage which was performed and completed under a totally different law, is correct. The system of Private International Law in the western countries never gives preference to the converts' law. The test of jurisdiction for the purpose of granting divorce was not unequivocally established in England until the decision of the Privy Council in *Le Mesurier* Vs. *Le Mesurier* in 1895. That case decides that domicil in the true and full sense of the term, of the husband at the time of the suit is the sole test of jurisdiction. With such domicil the Court has jurisdiction over a foreigner as well as over a British subject, without such domicil the Court has no jurisdiction even though the parties are British subjects. This rule may inflict hardship on the wife (*a*) where husband obtains foreign decree of nullity in his domicil, (*b*) where husband obtains decree of nullity in a foreign country which is not his domicil or (*c*) where the husband's domicil is doubtful. There was a tendency in certain cases to give a remedy by relaxing the general principle and allowing the wife to retain a domicil of her own. In *Stathatos Vs. Stathatos* and *Montaigu Vs. Montaigu* this suggestion was translated into action but modern cases apply the test of domicil rigorously. The above principle shows how the judiciary in England have always attempted to evolve a homogeneous and scientifically constructed body of private international law suitable to the changing needs of society. There they have always given the preference as regards jurisdiction and law to the domicil of the husband even at a great cost of the wife on certain occasions. If this analogy is brought to bear upon in India, it seems clear that the marriage cannot be dissolved when the wife prays for dissolution under her newly embraced faith. It is the husband's law, the law under which they were married, that should decide whether dissolution can be granted or not.

In western countries, jurists have looked upon marriage and divorce from different points of view. Dicey, for example, the great master of private international law, has discussed three theories of marriage and divorce, *viz.*, (1) the contractual theory, (*ii*) the penal theory, (*iii*) the status theory. According to the contractual theory, marriage may be regarded mainly as a contract between the parties thereto. On this view of marriage, divorce is naturally regarded as the rescission of the marriage contract, on the terms and conditions if any, for its determination agreed upon between the parties at the time of the marriage. Without discussing the justification of the theory it may be said here that according to this theory of marriage and divorce, prayer for dissolution cannot be granted to the converted woman as was done in the case of *Ayesha Bibi Vs. Bireswar Ghosh Mazumdar* and some other cases. According to the Penal theory, marriage may be regarded as a juristic act imposing on each of the parties duties in the fulfilment of which the state is so much concerned that the breach theory exposes the offender to legal penalties. On this view of marriage, a divorce is naturally regarded as the penalty inflicted by the state on offences against the marriage relation. The liability to divorce depends on the penal theory, like the liability to other criminal punishments, on the law of the place where the criminal is residing or where the offence is committed. The penal theory of divorce has not been favoured by English Tribunals but has certainly influenced Scottish Courts and affords the theoretical justification for the freedom with which they at one time in practice exercised jurisdiction in matters of divorce. The dissolution of marriage, as prayed for by the converted wife on the authority of her newly embraced faith and not on the authority of the state law, cannot be justified under the Penal Theory of Marriage which authorises the state only to grant dissolution of marriage if in the opinion of

the state there has been any offence against the marriage relation. According to the Status Theory, marriage may be regarded as a juristic act which creates or constitutes a special status *viz.*, the status of husband and wife. On this the English view of marriage, a divorce is the act by which a state through a public authority dissolves or puts an end to the marriage status. Here also the state where the parties are domiciled is the sole authority on the matter. The particular religion of any of the parties has nothing to do in the matter of dissolution of the status of marriage. So according to the status theory of marriage, the prayer for dissolution of marriage by the converted wife cannot be maintained. It will be beyond the scope of this article to discuss from what point of view the Hindu jurists looked upon marriage. But it may be briefly stated that Hindu jurists do not consider the contractual or the penal theory of marriage as just. The status theory of marriage may be said to approach considerably their view of marriage. The pithy definition of marriage as given by Raghunandan in his "Udbaha Sattva" points to that idea of marriage. He defines :

"Marriage is the ceremony of acceptance which creates the status of wife in the girl (and that of husband in the man)."*

It is not a civil contract only. But something more than that. It is a sacrament creating a permanent status. If any one is to sever this status, it is only the state under which the married couple live can sever it when in its opinion there arise sufficient grounds for such severance. To seek the help of a faith which one of the parties has happened to embrace is wholly inequitable and injudicious. Neither jurisprudence nor Private International Law warrant this view.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley of the Calcutta High Court held the same view in his recent Judgment in the case of *Noor-Jehan Begam Vs. Eugen Tiscenko.* In the said case a Russian Christian lady after being converted to Islam prayed for dissolution of marriage with her Russian Christian husband at present living at Edinburgh. The learned Judge has clearly pointed out that it is the law of the husband's domicil which only can sever the marriage. The learned Judge has further pointed out that in a Hindu marriage also the converted wife cannot pray for dissolution of marriage on the authority of her new faith. In this case he has also referred to a Judgment of Sir Barnes Peacock who held in *Shaik Kuturullah Vs. Mohini Mohan Shaw* that British Indian Courts are not bound to give preference to Mahomedan Law in the case of conflict of laws as was used to be done in the Mahomedan Law. This remark of Mr. Justice Edgley on the Hindu marriage is not an obiter dictum because it has direct reference in and bearing upon the case. It was an important point of Private International Law and the opportunity presented to the Judiciary to shew that a homogeneous and scientific law suitable to the changing needs of society can be evolved without the aid of legislation, was fully utilised by the learned Judge in the above case.

* भार्यात्व सम्पादक ग्रहणं विवाहः



BEGGARS AND THEIR MAKERS

BY DR. SURESH SETHNA, M.SC., PH.D.

WHEREVER one goes one finds beggars and lots of them, in trains, on tramways, on roads, near cinemas and restaurants, near temples and mosques and places of recreation like parks. This goes under the name of beggar nuisance and there are incessant appeals from the public to stop this nuisance. Now, is this really a nuisance to be summarily abolished or a problem which needs a careful consideration? Let us think a little and try to analyse. Why are there so many beggars? Are they making a trade of begging or they are begging because they have no other means of livelihood? It has been said that the beggars are running a business, that some people get together some crippled children and adults and try to make money out of them. Perhaps it may be so, but is it really worse than other trades in which people employ healthy men and women and for a paltry sum of a few annas a day take gruelling work out of them? Certainly, the practice of exploitation of diseased or crippled people by healtheir ones should be stopped, but society should make some other arrangement for the livelihood of the diseased and crippled persons.

Then about the healthy ones who beg. I have heard people asking beggars to go and get work. When they say this, do they know that for millions of people who are willing to work in this country today there is no work—even manual work? I make bold to say that thousands of those who are begging today in this country would like to have a chance to do some work and earn their living, but, in this country because there is poverty of a kind unparalleled in any other country they cannot get work. For a paltry sum of a few pice people are prepared to do work of beasts like that of pulling rickshaws, but even such work is not to be had.

When one sees to what insults and even physical rough handling some of the beggars are subjected, one wonders if dignity has gone out of our people. I shall give only a couple of examples. A woman was begging in a train, she went to a well-to-do businessman and in a tone with which many of us have become familiar, started begging. The gentleman, well I should not use the word gentleman for that person, could have told her to go away, but no, he caught the woman's arm and gave her a push, accompanied by a suitable abuse. Another woman was begging with a child. She went to a man and started begging. The man gave her a stare and then bawled out, "You... why don't you ask the man whose child you bore to provide for you. You go to somebody to bear a child and come and beg from us, you ... get out." If only people understand that beggars are human beings after all with all their weaknesses and not blocks of wood, they would be able to take a sympathetic view of the whole thing. Instances can be multiplied to show how children and even cripples are abused and even thrashed when they beg by the public—a public which has failed to solve their problem by suggesting and carrying out an alternative arrangement to begging.

It is necessary that every person should understand that some alternative arrangement is necessary if these people are to be prohibited from begging, it is also necessary to see that that alternative arrangement is not to allow them to become petty thiefs and pick-pockets, which is the other likely thing going to happen if they are stopped from begging. Even at present some of these beggars supplement their income by stealing and if begging is stopped the stealing is bound to increase, because in their struggle for existence the only alternative to begging, if they do not get work, is to steal.

If the crippled and the diseased beggars are to be removed from the streets, homes must be established for them, where they can be sympathetically treated for their ills and given work suitable to them, and if an unfortunate one is found who is not in a position to do any work, well can society not support him or her in such homes? The healthy beggars must be given work if they are to be prevented from begging. With the exception of a few it must be said. and it is a fact, that no one likes to beg, but poverty compels and lack of work forces them to beg and in a country which cannot provide them with work they are fully justified in begging. What one wonders is why the number of beggars is not larger in this country. This brings before us the question of the widespread poverty in this country.

It is common to see labourers getting beggarly salaries of a few rupees per month going through life, year after year, supporting a family—an aged mother, a wife and children, living in single room tenements, the same old bread day after day, month after month, year after year, the same old clothes washed at night, worn by day, the same old debt mounting higher and higher, the interest racing with the principal till it surpasses it—and life worried and anxious, a long wintry day, till death finally relieves the monotony of life. I have seen peons being employed for nine months only in some educational institutions and thrown out year after year during the three months' vacation, ordered to vacate their quarters—one wonders why not ordered to die—and this, when in those same institutions, some richly clad pedagogues in swiftly moving limousines are paid a four figure salary for not more than 10 hours' real work a week—their incomes supplemented by allowances, which become bigger with fatter salaries. One wonders at this disparity—still more at the complacency of a society which allows such things to go on.

Then there are others who have to work on daily wages and have to go and search for a job every day of their life. It is not an uncommon sight to see labourers crowd round mills, factories, buildings in process of erection, early in the morning, in the hope of being recruited, at times lucky in getting in, but often returning back with shattered hopes. But all these are fortunate ones compared with millions of others in the cities and villages of India who have hardly anything to eat or wear. Instances are common where the womenfolk in a family have only one saree which they wear in turn when they go out. Instances are common where people go with one scanty meal a day for many months in the year. What can they do if not beg, next to work which they cannot get, the only other way of making an honest living. If they are prevented from doing this what other alternative is there for them but to steal or starve? That a considerable section of the soceity should be thus allowed to live uncared for, allowed to be insulted and at times assaulted by inhuman members of the society and on the top of it, today the cry of beggar nuisance from a bourgeois society, trying to take away that one right of unfortunate section of humanity to live, one wonders if we are living in a democracy, if we are, then it is the democracy of the *haves*,—perhaps when Paul Valery said that "all revolutions come from the slowness of evolution," he was right.

For each beggar one sees there must be many more who are ashamed to beg and are either starving or living on the sufferance of some relative and those who cannot do this have to put an end to their lives.

Rich and middle class man, you who tip the waiters and barbers generously but scoff at beggars, because the wheels of fortune have turned in your favour, because fortunate circumstances and opportunities have given you a comfortable living, it does not give you a right to maltreat others for whom those wheels have turned the wrong way, to whom opportunities did not come or if they came, they were not in a position to exploit them. Take a stock of yourself as Ernest Toller, that champion of downtrodden and oppressed people, took his when he was a young man. In that connection he writes:

"... I began to take stock of myself. I was a young man from a middle class home, and I had been taking all my privileges absolutely for granted. It had seemed perfectly right and natural that I should study at leisure and travel, all at my mother's expense. I had not given a thought to the idea of freedom, it was no more than a theme for lectures in philosophy. That my friend Stanislaus should have had to work for a daily wage since he was 14, and that on the top of it that he should have to help support his parents out of his meagre earnings, had seemed right and inevitable, just as my freedom to enjoy life seemed right and inevitable. But suddenly and for the first time this right seemed problematical. I saw for the first time the foundations and limits of my external freedom: money. Money given me by my mother. Why did she have money, which Stanislaus's father had none? I thought of my childish question as to why Stanislaus should have to eat pickled herrings and baked potatoes while we had roast meat, and mother's answer "because it's god's will" no longer satisfied me. I began to doubt the inevitability of a system in which one man can squander money senselessly while another suffers from lack of bread. But I loved money. It was to money that I owed all my delights. It was only thanks to money that I was able to laze away that radiant morning among the blossoming wistaria and feathery mimosa, that I was able to lie and listen to the Mediterranean lapping gently and rhythmically along the rocky coast. Yes, I loved money, but with a guilty conscience. The day was spoilt for me, the world was spoilt for me. Values which only yesterday had seemed eternal and unassailable now seemed questionable, I myself seemed questionable."

One does not like to be followed by beggers, it is irritating, but then, one must face the realities of the situation. They are following you at the risk of being abused because for them that is the only thing to do, they are eating dregs of food thrown out by you because they cannot get any other food, they are in rags because they have no other clothes. Pay them a pice if you can afford, they do not ask or even hope for more; give them

your sympathy, but do not think that these will solve their problems. Tomorrow you will have to meet them again, perhaps they will be at some other street corner, but they will be there—in the streets—begging, eating dregs of food, shivering, lying on footpaths—your yesterday's pice has not solved their problem. It has not given them a roof above their heads, continuity of decent meals and clothes to hide their skin. When you see them once again, think, if you have a head and a heart which is not inured, just think, why in this country there is so much poverty and many things will dawn on you—the backward state of our industry and agriculture, the inadequacy of our social institutions, the widespread unemployment, and the necessity of a government which can remove these, and having done so, find out how best you can help the country, and then, whoever you are, wherever you are, if you can find time from your petty squabbles and selfish pursuits see that in the amelioration of the condition of devastating misery which shrouds this land you contribute your share.

WAR AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

By Professor UMRAO SINGH, M.A., L.T.

The present war, like the last Great War, has amply demonstrated the fact that the economic strength of a nation is no less important for its victory than its military power. It is true that mobilization of men, *i.e.*, of armed forces is essential in war, but without mobilization of material resources modern warfare would be inconceivable. It is now admitted on all hands that the most substantial contribution that India can make in the prosecution of the present war must largely lie on the economic side. In spite of this fact, the Indian Government has not paid adequate attention to the industrialisation of the country.

Loss of Foreign Markets

The present war has upset the world order to the detriment of our foreign customers. With this devastating war which is trying to engulf even the peace-loving countries of the world, we are slowly but steadily losing hold over the markets of the enemy countries. Ever since the economic depression of 1931, the capacity of the foreign markets to absorb India's surplus produce has been diminishing. The false notion of economic nationalism and economic self-sufficiency have induced foreign governments to raise high tarif-walls to make exchange depreciations and to conclude trade agreements, etc. With the outbreak of the war, the international situation further worsened. The progress of industrially backward countries during the war is likely to affect still more adversely the capacity of the world markets to absorb the surplus products. It has been calculated that there has been an annual loss of Rs. 30 crores to India due to a shrinkage in the exports of the country resulting from loss of foreign markets. Due to the need for raising war materials, there has been a stoppage of the normal imports of goods into the country.

Plea for Industrialisation of India

From the above analysis it is evident that there should be an intensive and rapid industrialisation of India so as to overcome our dependence on the vacillating foreign markets. In order to absorb the surplus produce of the country which we have been accustomed to produce for the world markets, we must expand the existing industries and establish new industries. It is an established fact that the problem of industrialisation can be planned and stabilised most expeditiously during the war period. A permanent solution of our social and economic problems lies in the diversification and rapid development of industries inside the country. Our failure to take advantage of the present opportunity to give a fillip to industries will mean a tragic waste of a chance which occurs very rarely. It is hoped that the Government and the public will lose no time to utilize this opportunity to the best advantage of the country.

A Survey of Indian Industries

In spite of several handicaps, there has been an expansion of the existing industries catering to the war needs directly or indirectly, such as jute, iron and steel, cotton textiles, woollen goods, foot-wears, cement, chemicals, etc. We may,

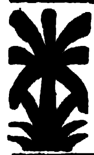
however, suggest that new industries may very profitably be started on a permanent basis at the present moment. These new industries may conveniently be divided under three heads: firstly, those industries which are needed due to the stoppage of imports, such as dyes, drugs, chemicals, electrical equipment, locomotives, engines, machinery and plant and a number of others; secondly, those industries which are necessitated by considerations of national defence, such as ship-building, automobile and aircraft industries; and, lastly those which have little connection with war effort such as coal and electricity.

Defence Industries

The experiences of the last war are worth recalling, as that taught us much and to some extent will be applicable to the present war. The development of ship-building, automobile and aircraft industries is essential for the defence of the country at all times. Before the advent of iron and steel ships, India had a considerable mercantile marine and a flourishing ship-building industry but now India's foreign trade is largely in the hands of the British ship-owners. The absence of an Indian ship-building industry is widely deplored. As for motor vehicle industry, the building capacity for motor vehicle bodies in India is being developed on a large scale. Although India will have to depend for a few years for a great many motor parts on foreign countries, yet there will be some gain to the country in manufacturing some of the motor parts inside India. We must wait for the time when India will be able to produce all the motor parts. Aircraft industry, whose direction is mainly under American control, is the least developed but it has bright prospects before it in India. India occupies a strategic position in the scheme of world air transport. With Government protection and assistance, the aircraft industry can be firmly established in India. Meanwhile the electrical engineering is the least developed. In a machine age this is really a serious omission. In order to ensure that an adequate supply of all necessary drugs and chemicals for medical treatment and other purposes is available in India, Government have been busy in making a survey of manufacturing capacity within the country. Substantial increase in the production of several important industries, such as iron and steel, paper, matches, aviation petrol, etc., has taken place. Certain heavy chemicals including hydrocloric acid, nitric acid, sulphuric acid, aluminium and ammonium sulphate have all shown increase in production in recent years. The War Supply Board has sanctioned the erection of a Government plant to produce super-tropical and tropical bleaching powder. Investigations are being made by the Department of Supply into the possibilities of indigenous manufacture of suitable wooden handles for tooth-brushes. Instances can be multiplied to show the progress of industries in India at the present moment.

Government's Industrial Policy

While all other nations have been busy in establishing industries, major or minor, at a feverish rate, the Indian Government has made the difficulty of securing the necessary machinery from foreign countries a standing excuse for accelerating the pace of industrialisation. It is quite essential for the Government to plan out a sound industrial policy and a rigid programme for its execution. With this object in view the Government should set up a permanent Industrial Advisory Board consisting of businessmen, financiers and industrial experts. This board should make a thorough and reliable survey of the industrial resources of the country and of the existing industries. Geo-industrial maps showing the nature of soils, agricultural products, industries, water power, fuels, metals and so on should be prepared in order to help the country in future planning of industry. The war industries should now be started with the active co-operation of or substantial guarantees from the Government. Recently it has been announced that the Central Government will encourage and protect those industries which cater to the war needs. Steps should also be taken to start those industries which are of great importance to the country. From the beginning, the Government should see to it that the war time industries are established on a permanent basis and are protected in times of severe post-war competition. It is essential to remember that the problem of industrialisation has to be faced as a whole and not in parts. To start a few industries here and there, while leaving major industries out of account, is only tinkering with the problem. Thus the industrial policy of the Government should be planned in the best interests of the country.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Title Conferred on the Poet

A representative from Tipperah Durbar especially deputed by His Highness the Maharaja Manikya Bahadur, conferred in the evening of May 13, at an impressive function at Santiniketan, the title of "Bharat Bhaskar" (Sun of India) on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. The Poet's reply was read out by Rathindranath Tagore:

This is an occasion to be specially reminded of and to remember the honour that was at one time accorded me unexpectedly by the royal house of Tipperah. Such an instance is rare in history. When Maharaja Birchandra Manikya sent to me his messenger conveying to me the message of how he had discovered in my youthful writings the earnest of a great literary future, it was hardly possible for me to wholeheartedly accept what he said. He knew I was young and my literary output was inconsiderable. He felt hurt to note that most of the reading public of Bengal in those days dismissed my efforts as flights of puerile fancy. It was one of his proposals to buy up a fully-equipped press with a large sum of money in order to undertake the publishing of de-luxe editions of my literary works. At the time he was in Kurseong for a change of air and unfortunately for me he died soon after he came down to Calcutta.

I thought most probably his death would mean the snapping of the bonds of friendship which bound me to the royal house of Tipperah. But it was not so. Maharaja Radhakishore who succeeded, inherited his father's affection and regard for the boy-poet. In spite of his deep pre-occupation with state administration not for a day did he put me out of his mind. He was unstinted in his affection and his liberal hospitality was constantly at my disposal. At the time the Tipperah Durbar was rife with suspicion and intrigue; the Maharaja was always afraid lest my position might be compromised by surreptitious insults. He once even told me how he wished me to freely come to him disregarding the machinations of his ill-disposed courtiers. During the short time he was in the throne I never hesitated to act up to his suggestion. Such friendly relation between the ruler of a kingdom and an immature poet whose reputation then was in the realm of a distant and illusory possibility, was and still is, as I have already said, a rare phenomenon of history.

Today that same honour from that same royal house, has been conferred on me in my old age when I have but a few years to live.

Apart from this, what makes me even more happy and proud is the fact that the recognition has come from a Maharaja who has by his recent act of graciously sheltering and helping innumerable people in distress has really proved himself a father and protector to those who look up to him. He has thus proved himself worthy of his ancient royal lineage. Today when the whole of Bengal blesses the house of Tipperah, when her glory has blossomed forth to the fullest, this honour has been offered me by the royal hands of the Maharaja. In accepting his gift I wish that his righteousness may help him more and more on the way of greater good and nobler beneficence. Let my feeble voice in the very last days of my life join with the voice of the whole country in blessing the Maharaja and wishing him a long and glorious reign.

Civilisation and Dharma

Civilisation, which is an ideal, gives us power and joy to fulfil our obligations.—In the course of his article in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Rabindranath Tagore observes:

Creation is the revelation of truth through the rhythm of form, its dualism consisting of the expression and the material. Of these the material must offer itself as a sacrifice in absolute loyalty to the expression. It must know that it can be no end in itself and therefore by the pressure of its voluminousness it should not carry men away from their creative activities.

In India we have a species of Sanskrit poem in which all the complex grammatical rules are deliberately illustrated. This produces continual sparks of delight in the minds of some readers, who, even in a work of art, seek some tangible proof of power, almost physical in its manifestation. This shows that by special cultivation a kind of mentality can be produced which is capable of taking delight in the mere spectacle of power, manipulating materials, forgetting that materials have no value of their own. We see the same thing in the modern Western world where progress is measured by the speed with which materials are multiplying. Their measure by horse-power is one before which spirit-power has made itself humble. Horse-power drives, spirit-power sustains.

That which drives is called the principle of progress, that which sustains we call *dharma:* and this word *dharma*, the Poet believes, should be translated as civilisation.

We have heard from the scientist that an atom consists of a nucleus drawing its companions round it in a rhythm of dance and thus forms a perfect unit. A civilisation remains healthy and strong as long as it contains in its centre some creative ideal that binds its members in a rhythm of relationship. It is a relationship which is beautiful and not merely utilitarian. When this creative ideal which is *dharma* gives place to some overmastering passion, then this civilisation bursts into conflagration like a star that has lighted its own funeral pyre. From its modest glow of light this civilisation flares up into a blaze, only to end in violent extinction.

Western society, for some ages, had for its central motive force a great spiritual ideal and not merely an

impetus to progress. It had its religious faith which was actively busy in bringing about reconciliation among the conflicting forces of society. What it held to be of immense value was the perfection of human relationship, to be obtained by controlling the egoistic instincts of man, and by giving him a philosophy of his fundamental unity.

In the course of the last two centuries, however, the West found access to Nature's storehouse of power, and ever since all its attention has been irresistibly drawn in that direction.

Its inner ideal of civilisation has thus been pushed aside by the love of power.

Man's ideal has for its field of activity the whole of human nature from its depth to its height. The light of this ideal is gentle because diffused, its life is subdued because all-embracing. It is serene because it is great; it is meek because it is comprehensive. But our passion is narrow; its limited field gives it an intensity of impulse. Such an aggressive force of greed has of late possessed the western mind. This has happened within a very short period, and has created a sudden deluge of things smothering all time and space over the earth.

All that was human is being broken into fragments.

In trying to maintain some semblance of unity among such a chaos of fractions, organisations are established for manufacturing, in a wholesale quantity, peace, or piety, or social welfare. But such organisations can never have the character of a perfect unit. Surely they are needed as we need our drinking vessels, but more for the water than for themselves. They are mere burdens by themselves and if we take pleasure in multiplying them indefinitely the result may be astoundingly clever, but unfortunately fatal to life.

I have read somewhere an observation of Plato in which he says: "An intelligent and socialised community will continue to grow only as long as it can remain a unit; beyond that point growth must cease, or the community will disintegrate and cease to be an organic being." That spirit of the unit is only maintained when its nucleus is some living sentiment of *dharma*, leading to co-operation and to a common sharing of life's gifts.

Lao-tze has said: *Not knowing the eternal causes passions to rise; and that is evil.* Comforts and conveniences are pursued, things are multiplied, the eternal is obscured, the passions are roused, and the evil marches triumphant from continent to continent mutilating man. And we are asked to build triumphal arches for this march to death. Let us at least refuse to acknowledge its victory, even if we cannot retard its progress.

The Dragon's Teeth

The pressing need of the hour is a change of heart, and no solution can be adequate unless it rises from a spiritual source. Paul E. Johnson indicates in an article in *The Aryan Path* a way out of the impasse humanity is now in:

"The Greeks have an ancient legend of Jason who sowed the dragon's teeth, from which there sprang armed warriors who turned fiercely upon each other until they had destroyed each other in combat, and left a bloody field of death as the graveyard of their passions. This legend has unfortunately become history. Mad with battle-lust, men rush blindly on to a fatal destruction of our fairest hopes in the blood-soaked ruins of a promising civilization.

Since 1914, science has been prostituted to the wholesale slaughter of life, and the flood-gates of passion have loosed a deluge of hatred to overwhelm the world in treachery and strife. China writhes under the heel of Japanese aggression; Ethiopia is shattered by the Italian military machine; Poland and Czechoslovakia are devoured by insatiable Nazi domination; Finland is overpowered by her giant neighbour.

Who will be the next victim of ruthless aggression?

Security has fled before the dragon's teeth. Neither life nor property, liberty nor justice can be safe where moral restraints are hurled aside in the scramble for power.

We stand at the cross-roads that may lead us to a hell of destruction or a heaven of redemption.

Yet the crisis is not between this nation or that nation, or even between political forms of government such as communism or fascism. H. N. Spalding in his recently published *Civilization in East and West* seeks to distinguish historically the biological state, the materialist state, the moral state and the spiritual state. But what state is all of one kind?

There is truth in the thesis, however, that materialistic desires bring life under the yoke of aggression and oppression. Those who seek the material values of property and of wealth, or far-flung boundaries defended by military armament, enslave themselves to the pride and pomp of such possessions. The deceitfulness of material riches is not only in their illusory comparative worth, but also in their deceptive display of power. The power of material gain is the loss of spiritual freedom and value. "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

Is there any way out of the impasse in which the surge of recent events has caught us?

The better way is to choose the kingdom of God rather than the kingdom of demoniac power.

Our crisis cannot be met by anything less than a change of heart. External reforms, better government, wiser legislation, programmes for economic justice and social welfare have their place. Yet none of them is adequate to the needs of our time. No institution or political system can save us unless we correct the ills of human nature. Economic and political problems will have to be solved but that solution must rise from a spiritual source. The way out of the jungle begins at the point where all of us find ourselves, even though we may have lost the way. The end of barbarism is the beginning that everyone can make at this moment, in his own inner choices. It is the way of repentance for our sins of greed and of lust. It is the way of decision to seek first the spiritual kingdom of God in truth and in love. Then there will be no property or position to quarrel over, but treasures of the spirit that multiply in the sharing.

"Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord," to everyone who hath ears to hear.

The Wartime Role of Palestine

It is a paradox that the war brought internal peace to Palestine which had burned with civil feud for the four years preceding it. Its

strategic importance is very great. H. Levin observes in *The New Review* :

When Palestine came into the news in the last war, to most people it was a country with a wonderful past and no present, a land of pious memories and a place of pilgrimage remote from the hurly-burly of the modern world. Some people knew that it was also the land where a handful of Zionists were trying to re-establish the Jewish National Home.

With the failure of the Allied frontal attack on Gallipoli, the British set out in 1915 to turn the Turkish flank from the south, through Mesopotamia and Palestine. The importance of Palestine as a bridgehead between Europe, Asia and Africa then dawned on many previously ignorant of it. It was suddenly recalled that this importance was recognised by the ancient Persians, Greeks and Romans and many others before and after them, and that it had loomed large in British Imperial strategy long before the outbreak of that war. British interests there have been recognised and acted upon since Napoleon was thrown back at Acre by a motley garrison commanded by a British officer, at the end of the eighteenth century; they were strengthened when Disraeli secured the dominating control of the Suez Canal in 1875; and again when Lloyd George acquired the oil rights in Iraq in 1918, and the oil pipeline was laid to Haifa in 1931.

As Egypt is the bastion for the southern bank of the Suez, so Palestine is the bastion, even though a desert lies between them, for the northern bank.

Africa and Asia meet at Palestine's gate. Its face is to Europe, its rear to Arabia, India, East and Southern Africa. It backs up Egypt and guards the southern routes to Turkey and Iraq. That is why Napoleon called it the key to the East. It is a central pivot of the Middle East.

Its coast defences can be made almost impregnable. Haifa Bay, with a shore length of about thirteen miles, can be made into one of the most unassailable ports in the Mediterranean. Behind it, is the broad Haifa-Acre plain, ideal for military encampments and manœuvring, and fitted with a highly developed net-work of communications. Unlike Gibraltar, the mainland behind Haifa Harbour is thus in British hands, and unlike Malta, it is sufficiently far from hostile bases to make attack difficult. As a training station for troops it is ideal. It provides a varied training ground for every arm, and offers a variety of terrain and climate similar to most of what is found between the Balkans and India. Near several natural battle fronts, it can itself become a field of battle for a European enemy only after these, or some of them, have themselves been conquered.

As an air junction the significance of Palestine is not always fully appreciated.

All British Imperial air communications except those to Canada and the West Indies, passed through Palestine in peace time. Dutch, Polish, Italian and French services crossed it. Even the Germans wanted to use its air fields. The high mountains of the Balkans, the Caucasus and Taurus ranges, and the desert lands on the south, make Palestine the most convenient flying route between West and East. Even air communication with China and Japan would be more convenient through Palestine than across the great plains of Russia. In

addition, it has its own oil supplies, through the pipeline. and refineries.

These were the factors that made Palestine so significant for Great Britain in the last war, and brought Britain to Palestine. She could not afford not to be there.

But Palestine need not, and does not play a purely passive part. Geographically, it offers the same strategic advantages. But since the last war conditions in Palestine in other respects have changed immeasurably. And those changes are all in Britain's favour. Firstly, from the outset of the war it has been Allied territory. Secondly, the immense change in the character and quality of the population has made it of infinitely greater value to Britain than it was in the last war. The efforts of the Jewish people in building up their National Home have placed at the disposal of the Allies a valuable war-time instrument. Since the last war no country has changed in so short a time as Palestine.

Strategic Dardanelles

T. T. Sreshta writes in *The Indian Review*:

"Rumania and Russia were beaten not by the German and Austrian armies, but by the Dardanelles," recently wrote Lloyd George, speaking of the last World War. So important are these Straits in a major European conflict.

Over the Dardanelles, history echoes with endless high-voiced discussions when tempers grew short and war-scare gripped nations. The Straits came to the forefront in the Napoleanic wars, the Crimean struggle, and the Russo-Turkish war of 1875. In 1912, they were fearfully bombarded by Italian battleships and early in the Great War, the belligerents made a wild scramble for their possession. And all over a strip of blue water that Byron loved to swim across for pastime.

Today, the centre of political gravity is again shifting towards this channel on which Stalin and Hitler have cast covetous eyes.

The Hellespont of ancient days, the Dardanelles are the narrow straits connecting the Mediterranean with the Sea of Marmora and thence through the Bosphorus with the Black Sea. They average about 3 or 4 miles in breadth.

On the European bank is the peninsula of Gallipoli and, on the Asiatic, the province of Anatolia. Along the shores are a number of ancient castles, the chief of which are Sultanien-Kalensi (Old Castle of Anatolia) and Kilid-Bahr (Old Castle of Rumelia).

Owing to the narrow width of the channel, the Dardanelles are easily defended from naval attack. Under the now defunct Ottoman Empire, the banks were lined with batteries, fortified particularly at the point known as the Narrows, 10 miles from the Aegean end of the Straits. The channel itself was strewn with submerged mines.

For the Balkan kingdoms bordering the Black Sea and for Southern Russia, the Straits form the only sea-outlet. In wartime the Dardanelles can make or mar these countries and this is what exactly occurred in the Great War.

Before the Armistice, by a secret agreement among the Allies, Russia was promised the land surrounding the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. But the rise of the Bolsheviks in 1917, with their strong antipathies for the Allies, totally altered the situation. The next proposal was to give the Straits to the Greeks, but was dropped under strong Italian opposition.

At the Peace Conference, the Allies unanimously offered the mandate to America which, with its freedom from continental prejudices, was considered the best nation to administer this small State with its diverse populations. President Wilson, at first reluctant to entangle his country in European obligations, accepted when pressed on considerations of world peace. He stated, however, that everything would depend on his capacity to influence the Senate to ratify the Peace Treatise.

But a serious development threatened to upset their plans. As the peace-makers dismembered the Ottoman Empire, rode it with supervising commissions, and gave birth to new States, a sinister figure loomed in far-off Anatolia, Mustafa Kemal, the hero of Gallipoli, now the nominal Governor of Erzerum, was organizing a revolt against the Sultan.

All at once, the dreary Anatolian plateau resounded to the boom of cannon and spatter of rifle-fire.

In a moment of over-confidence, the Greek Army in Smyrna invaded Anatolia. For Mustafa, it was the signal for battle. With the fury of the Ancient Turk, he whipped his ragged troops into action, smote the enemy hip and thigh, and drove them across the Aegean Sea back to their native land. Thus, at one stroke, was reduced to bits the carefully drawn-up Treaty of Sevres. At the Conference of Lausanne, General Ismet Inauenu (the present President of Turkey) won for Turkey complete independence as well as control of the Dardanelles.

The fortifications had been totally destroyed in the Great War. And in the Peace negotiations, Turkey had agreed not to re-erect them without the express sanction of the League of Nations. But in 1936, Kemal Ataturk, foreseeing a second international conflict, issued orders on his own authority for re-fortification. Subsequently, however, the Great Powers ratified his action. How far-sighted Kemal was in his decision is evidenced by recent developments in the present War.

Taxila

While staying at a small station in the North-West Frontier Province within easy reach of Taxila, which is within the Punjab, Bhikkhu Silabhadra conceived the idea of visiting Taxila. In the course of his article in *The Maha-Bodhi* he relates briefly the past history of Taxila :

The name of the city was originally Takshasila which was later on transcribed as Taxila by Greek and Roman writers. We find mention of it in the Mahabharata where it is recorded that King Janamejaya conquered it and performed the great snake sacrifice. From the Buddhist Jatakas we learn that in the third century B.C. and during the centuries following.

Taxila was a renowned university town; famous for the cultivation of wits and sciences.

Chanakya, the widely known minister of Chandragupta, was born here. In the year 326 B.C., Alexander the Great swooped down on the Punjab. The then reigning King Ambhi of Taxila was at this time at war with two neighbouring kingdoms—those of Porus and Abhisara. With a view to strengthening himself against these enemies, Ambhi readily made submission to Alexander and helped him with troops in his expedition against King Porus. In return for all

this Ambhi was re-instated on his own throne and rewarded with other territories by Alexander.

Soon after the death of Alexander, Chandragupta, the King of Magadha, completely annihilated all Greek influence east of the river Jhelum and annexed Takshasila and other Punjab States to the Magadha empire. Chandragupta's iron rule proved oppressive to the conquered countries, and after his death, when his son Bindusara succeeded him, Taxila revolted and attempted to throw off the Maurya rule. The Crown Prince Asoka, however, quickly suppressed the rebellion and ruled at the place as Viceroy on behalf of his father.

Asoka died about 231 B.C. Soon after his death, the Magadha empire broke up and with the decline of the Maurya power, Taxila once more asserted her independence, although it was very short-lived. There were fresh invasions from the Bactrian Greeks who regained possession of Taxila.

The Greeks ruled over Taxila for a little over a century when they were ousted by the Sakas (Scythians) from the West who became masters of the kingdom of Taxila. Subsequently, Taxila was united with Arachosia under a Parthian King named Gondophares. This union was effected in the beginning of the Christian era. Between 60 and 64 A.D., the sovereignty of Taxila was transferred from the Parthians to the Kushans who originally belonged to the extreme north-west of China. The most famous of the Kushans was Kanishka who made Purushapura (modern Peshawar) his winter capital. After the death of Kushan King Vasudeva, the downfall of the Kushans began until, in the 5th century A.D., they were completely extinguished and Taxila destroyed by the barbarians known as White Huns. Taxila never recovered from this disaster and was found, in the seventh cenutry, to be a dependency of Kashmir by Huan Tsang who visited it.

Such, in brief, is the eventful career of Taxila. Now an insignificant village of that name bears in its bosom the faded memory of its past glory.

Leonardo da Vinci Exhibition in New York

The New York Museum of Science and Industry recently arranged an exhibition of the scientific achievements of Leonardo da Vinci. Writes *Science and Culture* :

At the exhibition a collection of 275 working models of his more important inventions in the relms of science and engineering were displayed. The world has known and honoured Leonardo da Vinci as one of the greatest artists of all ages. Few are aware that his achievements in the fields of science, engineering and invention were as great as, if not greater than, that in art, and in these spheres he was one or two centuries ahead of his time. Though he never published anything during his life time, during his unceasing and varied activities he penned down notes of what he was doing. Of these writings, 7,000 of the original sheets have been preserved in different libraries of Europe. These manuscripts cover an amazingly wide range of subjects, *e.g.,* aeronautics, astronomy, botany, palæontology, geology, physics, mathematics, engineering and sculpture. Not that he was a dabbler in any of these lines but was far ahead of any master of his time. Researches among his manuscripts, which began towards the close of the last century and are still going on, have shown that he anticipated discoveries in many spheres. He was a pioneer in many branches of science—an anticipator of Galileo, Newton and Harvey. Many of his manuscripts are found to be illustrated by clear and definite sketches and drawings and it is from these sketches that the 275 working models of Leonardo's inventions recently exhibited were made. The collection of models include a helicopter, a double-hulled ship, a pile driver, a power-driven bandsaw, a canon actuated by steam. (Leonardo anticipated the use of steam and sketched a steam canon), the rolling mill, force pumps and lens-grinding machines and such modern weapons as breech loading canons, rapid fire multiple canons and machine guns and the terrible engine of war—the tank. These models leave the impression that Leonardo was an artist fully at home in the world of machines. His work in these fields did not receive the due share of recognition because he did not publish them and also because he was born in an age when people in general were not prepared to see the value of science.

Indian Literature

In a P. E. N. lecture recently delivered in the Royal Asiatic Society rooms in the Town Hall, Satya Vrata Mukerjea discussed Indian Literature. He believed that an examination of our literature could point to how it could be made worthy not only of our old renown but also of our high destinies. We quote from *The Indian P. E. N.* :

Modern Indian literature was a complex of many influences from the Indian devotional tradition to the influence of Europe, nowhere more powerful than in literature.

The present transition period, with all its doubts

and hesitations, had borne noticeably upon literature. There had been an immense intellectual upheaval in the last century, but, though a few great literary figures had arisen—Bankimchandra, Dutt, Iqbal and Tagore—the conditions of the time had operated powerfully against a sustained literary tradition; there was, he declared, no outstanding figure in the literary world today. In Bengal, though Dr. Tagore himself had had many imitators they had followed his shadow and left the substance.

Earlier Urdu literature had derived its strength from the patronage of the Courts of Delhi and Lucknow. The more popular cadences of the rest of the country had rested on an unshakable literary tradition until the English influence had brought intellectual anarchy. The Indian spirit had taken time to recover from the shock; there was a gap between the older manner and the new, during which there had been considerable writing produced but no literature. In Bengal, the gap had fallen between the time of Ishwar Gupta and the early sixties when Bankimchandra, Michael Dutt, Dinabandhu Mitra and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar had flourished.

In the interim Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his school with their polemical writing had been evolving an expressive Bengali prose.

The interim period had lasted longer in Hindustani literature than in Bengali. The new literary inspiration had become apparent in Urdu only on the deaths between 1854 and 1876 of the older Urdu poets, Zauq, Ghalib, Anis and Dabir. Sir Sayad Ahmed Khan had inaugurated an educative and propagandist movement, but it had not been until Hali and Azad appeared in the eighties and the nineties that Urdu poetry had revived. Similarly in Gujarat there had been an interim between the work of Dayaram and the appearance of the elder Kavi Dalpatram and Narmad.

The new renaissance, however, had been short-lived. The genius of the people was essentially lyrical, as the mediæval poets had recognized.

In their recensions of the older Indian epics Tulsidas, Kasiramdas, Premanand and others had introduced much lyrical detail. The poetic movement of the Bengali epic poets, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Hemchandra Banerjea and Navin Chandra Sen had failed to make a lasting popular appeal. Their diction had been stilted, education was still the monopoly of the few and the rich resonances of the new literature seemed violently alien to the squalid conditions in which the people were living.

In Gujarati literature the tendencies of transition had paralleled those in Bengali.

The literature of today was one of chaotic tumult and deeply melancholy, but there were regenerative tendencies that held hope for the future. The first was the predominantly Indian note of contemporary literature. There had always been certain unifying strands of thought and imagery in Indian culture, the common stock-in-trade of poetic fancy, the common tradition of music and rhythm, the common ways of viewing life, a nimbus of common myth and legend which had brought the Indian languages closer together and which made it possible to say that, although India was a congeries of languages, its literature was one.

Nowhere else had such a profound unity in the actual life and literature of the people been realised. Literature succeeding literature had reflected some mood or other from the great common storehouse of consecrated tradition.

Writers of every age and in every part of the country had utilised the epic material and the metrical system which was their heritage. To the epics had been added the immense literature of the *Puranas* and the later bardic chronicles of mediæval India.

Premanand, Samal and Akho had attempted with varying success to put the lovely chants and melodies of the people into the classical forms.

Islam had brought in a new note, "something of the breath of the desert with its wide amplitudes of space and air."

Urdu literature, with "its delicate embroidery of phrase and its polished jewelry of reflection," had "carved a special niche for itself in the temple of the world's literature."

It would be the first task of our reconstruction to enforce this Indian note as the guiding impulse of the new literary inspiration by encouraging the study of the history of the different languages and of their literature.

Another note of progress was the expansion both in form and in theme and the freedom of present-day writers in the use of their material. Dr. Tagore had incalculably enriched Bengali lyrical resources with his experiments. Gujarati *ghazal* writers had varied the metre with freedom and success. The European influence had added the sonnet, widely cultivated in Bengal, notably by Pramatha Chaudhuri and by Dr. Tagore, and represented in Gujarati in the *Dhwanits* of the great Parsi poet Khabardar.

A new attitude towards life was emerging. Even the devotional character of Dr. Tagore's songs sprang "from his intense passion for life in its thousand moods." Literature had received a vivid thrill from this new emotion in which physical nature became "transfigured into glowing terms of human feeling and of human relations." It was "this transforming, uplifting mood that should be India's special contribution to the literature of the future."



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Stalin's Imperialism

Commenting on the recent clash between the Kuomintang and the communist party and the New Fourth Army incident a correspondent, who is a Chinese himself, writes in *The China Weekly Review*:

It is undeniable that the Communist Party in any country is more or less under the control of Soviet Russia, therefore we cannot do other than consider what Stalin has done above all. We may not fail to remember Stalin's "achievements." Three small Baltic States Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania were annexed; Finland was invaded; Poland was partitioned; Rumania was compelled to cede her Bessarabia; even our Outer-Mongolia was also provoked to disunite and became a state of the Soviet Union some years ago.

Judging from abovementioned facts we can easily be sure that Stalin is no less brutal than any other imperialist. The only distinction between them is that Stalin's greed is not so manifest as that of some other imperialists. It is simply because Stalin hides under the pharisaical cloak of Communism. He instills Communism in our people's minds with the only object of instigating our brethren to oppose their own government, whereby he would be in a position to take advantage of the disturbance to realize his ambition. In other words, Communism has undoubtedly become the weapon of the Russian aggressor. This being the case, "why don't we abandon such a poisonous doctrine to uphold our own principle?" In actual fact Communism, however, was originally a good prisciple, yet we can by no means blindly follow Stalin's fraudulent and divergent one. While it would also be foolish to approve of the Japanese so-called "Anti-Communism" under the auspices of puppet Regime, nevertheless, we hope that the Chinese Communists will have nothing to do with Stalin. Then plans can be carried into effect in accordance with the real doctrine and no danger will be risen.

The recent conclusion of the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact, of course, exposed Stalin's further intrigue. It is well-known that Japan is Russia's irreconciliable foe and also our mortal enemy, but for his own interest, despite the enmity, Stalin, once having pledged to support China, finally signed the pact without any consideration being given to the fact that our country, struggling for existence against the Japanese invasion for four years, will win the ultimate victory before long, while Japan, exhausted by our resistance, is now in an awkward dilemma. It is no exaggeration to say that this pact will enliven the dying Japan, since large numbers of her troops, guarding against Russia's invasion for years, can take free action. Needless to say, Japan will immediately embark on her Southward Expansion policy.

A Union Between Canada and U. S. A.

The growing feeling of danger has led to the increasing consideration in Canada of a North American Federation. In the domain of military defence an alliance has already been effected. *The Living Age* publishes an article by a Canadian writer who advocates closer alliance in other spheres too between the two countries. He writes in part:

Without any shocks, without violence and without protests, the union of the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America has been effected in the domain of military defense. Two years ago, any Canadian suggesting such a merger would have been cried down with howls of "Treason!" But almost over night, our neighbors have become eminently respectable even in the eyes of our fiercest loyalists and our narrowest nationalists. That miracle has been achieved by reason of the feeling of common danger on both sides of the border. Today, in the Dominion, the agreement that links together the military, naval and air forces of the two countries is regarded as altogether natural and normal.

The agreement between Canada and the United States, it can be seen, is not leading us to disaster. We have not ceased to exist as Canadians. In putting our military fortunes on a common basis, we have lost no part of our sovereignty from an international point of view.

Our commercial measures, with respect to Japan, are indentical to those taken by the United States. Would not a war declaration on the United States by Japan be followed immediately by a similar declaration by Ottawa against Tokyo? The economic and cultural life of the two nations is so intertwined that Canada, for example, could not witness a weakening of the United States without finding herself weakened, and vice versa.

We have no alternative. We must live.

Why should we not, at this juncture of the world's history, bring about a federation of the democracies that still remain free? Why not apply to those countries the federal system which has operated with such success in the United States, in Canada, Australia and elsewhere? The American Federation, established long ago after much bloodshed, is today a society of 130,000,000 human beings who guarantee peace, power and progress among themselves. It is impossible to conceive of dissident movements within the American Federation.

First, we would achieve a better defense for our institutions, our liberties, our standards of living and the sum total of those possessions that we call our civilization; second, we would together establish the richest, most independent and irresistible human organization on the face of the globe; third, we would accelerate the economic and social development of North America, and we would acquire many of those scientific, cultural and artistic treasures which Europe is industriously destroying and which it will be our duty to replace.

Canadians, what do you think of this proposed Union? At an hour that is grave for all of us, let us think seriously of the future. Too late, England pro-

posed an Anglo-French Federation, at a time when three-quarters of France was under the heel of the tyrant.

An American Answers

The paragraph reproduced below is from a long letter published in *The Catholic World*, in which the correspondent while stating his convictions regarding the major issues of this war, raises several important questions. Regarding India he says:

> Finally, a word about India and its "three hundred and eighty million serfs" which you mention. Now a serf, as you know, is a slave, and—well, are there still slave markets in India such as we used to have in Charleston and elsewhere? of course, I grant the many and stupid blunders that England has made in India in the past. However, for the present, let us look at the record. Last summer, the Indian Congress, led by Gandhi, joined hands with England to obtain either complete independence from the Empire or Dominion Status in return for participation in the present war. But in the midst of negotiations Gandhi suddenly went pacifist, took up the policy of absolute non-violence, and broke all parleys off. His followers were no less mystified than the English were, and many still are. But is England to blame for the impasse that has followed?

Excerpts from the Comment of the Editor of *The Catholic World* is reproduced below. (Sentences quoted from the correspondence are within inverted commas followed by the comment of the Editor).

"You (the Editor) believe that the chief aim of England is to preserve her far-flung Empire."

Yes. Chief aim, but not only aim.

"The continued possession of, shall we say, Tasmania, is a matter of accidental import."

Suppose we do not say Tasmania, but India, Australia, Canada, or Singapore, or Uganda or South Africa.

"England hates the idea of one-inch of it passing into the unscrupulous hands of the Nazis."

Yes, or anybody else's hands, scrupulous or unscrupulous.

"Few tempers are lost on the subject of the possible secession of India from the Empire."

Tempers? Not only tempers but lives have been and will be lost.

"Every man and woman in England is talking of one thing. What is that thing, the possible dissolution of the Empire? Or invasion?"

Not one or the other but both. If England were promised freedom from invasion upon the promise to divide the Empire, or let go one smallest part of the Empire, England would fight on. What she defends is not England alone but the Empire.

"England is fighting for free speech, free press, free conscience."

Yes, and a good many other things including as Mr. Belloc says, financial, commercial and political supremacy in all the world. If the freedoms get in the way of the supremacies, farewell to the freedoms.

"'If we (English) fail, Christian civilization will vanish from Europe.'"

That's what they said when the Barbarians defeated the Romans, but the Barbarians became Catholics. "Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?"

"You say that England would not be England without the Empire."

Not what the world means when it says "England." England is synonymous with the Empire.

"What was England before she had the Empire?"

A poor little island. That's not what she is now, Winston Churchill has reminded us that four out of five people in England are supported by the Empire. England is a parasite upon the Empire.

"Last summer the Indian Congress joined hands with England to obtain either complete independence or Dominion Status in return for participation in the present war."

So the legitimate demands of 350 or 400 million people were to be granted not because it was right, but as a reward for shedding their blood?

"Gandhi broke off all parleys."

What wonder, after Churchill had said "we have no intention of surrendering the most precious jewel in His Majesty's Crown, India"; and Lord Birkenhead had said "No sane man could assign any approximate period for the date on which he could conceive India's attaining Dominion Status."

"Is England to blame for the impasse that followed?"

Yes.



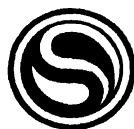
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NOTES

Mr. Amery's Everlasting No

LONDON, July 10.

The political deadlock in India was the subject of a question in the House of Commons.

Mr. Sorensen (Labour) asked whether in view of the altered international situation, the Secretary of State for India had considered "the substantial diplomatic and psychological advantages that might accrue from the release or amnesty of political prisoners in India, and a reconsideration of the basic cause of continuing political deadlock, and of an acceptable policy to remove this, and whether he contemplates any further approach to Indian political leaders."

Mr. Amery replied he was afraid he could not accept Mr. Sorenson's inference with regard to the effect of the altered international situation upon the political deadlock in India.

In any case, he was not at present in a position to make any fresh statement on the subject which, however, continued to engage the earnest attention of His Majesty's Government

Mr. Sorenson asked: Did not Mr. Amery agree that changes in the international situation were likely to affect such a vast problem as that of India and in the circumstances could he not give an indication as to when he could make a further statement?

Mr. Amery replied: "No."

Sir Alfred Knox (Conservative) asked: Would not the deadlock immediately be ended by the Congress allowing the seven Ministries to go back and function?

No reply was given.—*Reuter.*

There has been a change in the international situation no doubt. But Englishmen must be feeling that, owing to Germany attacking Russia and Russia's consequent belligerency, the international situation has improved instead of deteriorating. Hence, why should the British Government be expected now, when in their opinion the situation has improved, to take any steps which they did not think it necessary to take when the situation was worse? That is perhaps, so far as we can guess, what the authorities may be feeling.

We agree with Mr. Sorensen that diplomatic and psychological advantages may accrue from the release or amnesty of political prisoners in India.

Regarding the alleged political deadlock, our opinion is that, if the authorities had thought that there was a real political deadlock and felt that it was hampering the war efforts, they would themselves have made earnest endeavours to break the deadlock without anybody asking them to do so. But perhaps they do not feel that there is any real deadlock. For the war effort men, money and materials are needed. India being a poor and practically illiterate country, Government can get for small pay as many men to die for Britain as may be required. In fact, we have no information that recruiting officers find any difficulty anywhere in getting men. Perhaps Government want 500,000 or a million men. In our opinion that is a small number for the war that is going on. In the course of less than three weeks Russia claims to have killed and disabled a million German soldiers, and perhaps Hitler has claimed or will claim to have killed and disabled four times as many Soviet soldiers. The total numbers of German and Russian soldiers must be very much larger. Russia claims to have mobilized 8,000,000

men. What is a poor 500,000 or 1,000,000 in comparison? But the relevant point is that the authorities are getting as many men as they think they want and, therefore, there is no deadlock so far as recruiting is concerned. Manufactured munitions and raw materials also the authorities are getting to the extent that they can arrange for their manufacture, collection and payment. Here, too, there is no deadlock. As regards money, the masses in India are poor, and even under normal circumstances, little could have been expected from them as contributions to war funds. That little, if any, has been further reduced by drought, famine, floods and "riots" in different parts of the country.

Mr. Sorensen asked whether Mr. Amery contemplated any further *approach* to Indian political leaders. Mr. Sorensen perhaps does not know, or forgot when he asked the question, that every "Ruler of India" feels that it is the Indian political leaders who ought to approach Englishmen in authority for boons, not *vice versa*.

Sir Alfred Knox was right when he surmised that the deadlock would be immeditely ended "by the Congress allowing the seven Ministries to go back and function." But the Congress would not allow them to accept office again unless and until the Congress demands were met. In their Poona resolution Congress leaders formulated their minimum demand, namely, the formation of a National Government as described by them. If the British Government had agreed to form such a government, Congress would have co-operated in the war effort. As Mahatma Gandhi is against war under all circumstances, the Congress leaders had to part company with the Mahatma when they adopted this resolution. They made a great sacrifice. But Government turned down their proposal. It is not known what the Congress demand would be now if Government wanted Congressmen to accept office again. In any case, as most Congress leaders, including the President, are in jail, they cannot meet and deliberate and formulate a demand unless they are released. There is a talk in London, it is said, of releasing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He ought certainly to be released. But for formulating a fresh Congress demand, if any, the release of the Pandit alone will not do.

A part of the rumour about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's release is that it is in contemplation to send him to Russia on a mission. As if the Pandit can ever agree to go anywhere as an emissary of any imperialist governmnet. The only order of such a government which he has always obeyed is the one to go to jail. (14th July, 1941.)

"Indian Deadlock" and Agitation in America

The London correspondent of *The Bombay Chronicle* has sent the following telegram to that paper:

LONDON, July 10.

The *Daily Telegraph's* political correspondent alleges that Nazis are exploiting the Indian situation in the United States. According to him many educated Indians of both sexes are reported to tour the United States for lecturing, the German sources paying the expenses.

Isolationists are also using India as an argument against Britain. American audiences make India as an important subject for questions, and paid agitators sometimes take advantage of it to break up meetings.

British Government are considering the new ways of letting America know the truth about Indian question.

Mr. Amery may broadcast to the United States.

The correspondent concludes that some M. P.'s think that the time has come for the Government to make a new move to end the constitutional deadlock in India. They argue that this will make for better Anglo-American understanding.

Nothing stands in the way of our believing that some of the citizens of India who are now in America may be engaged in placing before the American public correct facts relating to what Britain has done and is doing in India. In fact, it is the patriotic duty of all true sons of India there to do so,—particularly as the pamphlet "Talking Points on India," supplied by the British Government to anti-Indian propagandists in America, contains falsehoods and more dangerous half-truths, and is throughout guilty of suppressing the truth on many points.

But the allegation that the Indian speakers' expenses are being paid by the Nazis may be an invention of the *Daily Telegraph's* informant. It would be extremely unwise, if not also criminal, for any Indian anywhere to touch Nazi money.

British anti-Indian propaganda is so efficient and ubiquitous that it is doubtful whether a few obscure Indian patriots resident in America can do much to dispel the false impression being created there by agents of Britain. If any leaders of the front rank of the Congress or of the Hindu Mahasabha, for example, Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Azad in the capacity of Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, etc., of the Congress, or Sj. V. D. Savarkar as President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Sir M. N. Mukherji, etc., of the Hindu Mahasabha, were to tour America and lecture on the nature, results and future of Indo-British relations, public opinion there could not fail to be influenced. But there is no probability of their going to America.

In any case, if in some way or other the

American public came to believe that Britain had neither given nor was prepared to give self-rule to India and therefore there was no full response to the appeal to India to co-operate in the war-effort, in that case the British Government might be inclined to placate the Congress. (13-7-1941.)

If Germany Wins, Or If Russia Wins—

If Germany wins, there is every probability of her invading India, as also of her attacking the United States of America, in pursuit of her plan of world domination.

In our first article in the last issue we have given our reasons for thinking that if before 1914 Britain had allowed India to be self-ruling, the world war which began that year would not have broken out. We have also given our reasons for thinking that if on the conclusion of the last world war, India had been allowed to be self-ruling as an ally of Britain, there would have been no war between Germany and Britain.

Our opinion is that if even now India were allowed to be free, that would go a great way to ensure Germany's defeat.

We have argued in our last number that India's freedom is a condition precedent to world freedom and world peace. The short article by the late Lala Lajpat Rai which we print elsewhere in this issue goes to strengthen our argument. But we neither expect nor hope that either the Lala's article or ours would be read by "the powers that be" and produce any impression on their minds.

Whatever befalls India, we would welcome Russia's victory and Germany's defeat.

Assuming, as is probable, and desirable, too, that Russia would win through, would that safeguard the British *empire?* We mean would that safeguard the *imperial* interests of Britain in her world wide domains? In India for example?

It should be borne in mind that if Germany is fighting for world *domination*, Russia stands for world *revolution*. As misfortune makes strange bed-fellows, so political exigencies bring about strange alliances. That does not mean that Russia is not at present a sincere ally of Britain. No. She is a sincere ally. But that does not mean that she has given up or will give up at the conclusion of the war her ideal and aim of world revolution. On the British side, the British Trade Unionists have declared that though Russia is Britain's ally, they (the Unionists) will not give up their principles.

London, June 28.

"Those who enter the struggle with us are our friends and Allies but they must understand that we do not compromise with our principles." This is the attitude of the British Trades Union towards Russia, according to Mr. John Marshbeink, Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen.

Addressing a Conference of Trades Councils in London today (Saturday) he added: "We abate no jot of our declaration of purpose—to maintain, and defend the principles of democracy."—*Reuter.*

Similarly, the Bolsheviks will not give up their principles. They will try to Sovietize as many countries as they can. If the Czars of Russia wanted to include India in the Russian empire, is it incredible that Soviet Russia would like to Sovietize India? The only way to forestall any future attempt on Russia's part in that direction with the help of a section of the Indian public, and thus bespeak India's friendship in advance, is to allow India to democratize herself in her own way. We have said, "with the help of a section of the Indian public." It is not on the strength of any secret information that we have used those words. Government knows of the existence of the Indian communist party and has banned communism. And the authorities, like the non-official public, must have been struck by the outburst of pro-Russian feeling in the country outside the communist party, too, on Germany's invasion of Soviet territory.

If Russia wins, she will become the greatest power on the continent of Europe. And as Russia is an Asiatic as well as a European power, she will become the most powerful independent State in Asia,—at any rate on the main land of Asia.

Like Russia the British Empire is both an Asiatic and a European State. For balance of power, Britain will require to have the friendship of some country which is vast in area and contains a very large population. If India becomes self-ruling and if Britain is able to have her as an ally, she need not seek any other friend. That does not mean that she should not value the friendship of China and Japan. But as the Indo-British connection is of long standing and as Britain understands India and India understands Britain, friendship and alliance between India and Britain would be more valuable and dependable than between Britain and any other Asiatic country. But friendship between an independent State and a subject country can have no meaning. So, in order that Indo-British friendship and alliance may be real, India must be free. It is the friendship of a powerful and prosperous country which is of any use. But no country can be powerful and prosperous which is not free. For that reason also India requires to be free.

Breaking Deadlock by Expanding Viceregal Council

Rumours, more or less definite, are being published in the dailies from day to day that it is in contemplation to improve the political situation by expanding the Governor-General's Executive Council by the addition of non-official Indian members and by the appointment of non-official Advisers to the provincial Governors. It is said that even the Defence and Home members of the Governor-General's Executive Council are to be non-official Indians.

But can these steps be expected to improve the situation? Congress M.L.A.s and M.L.C.s of the Central Legislature, except the few members belonging to the Congress Nationalist party, have ceased to take part in the proceedings of that Legislature. Will the aforesaid steps bring them back again to the legislative chambers as active members? If not, how will they serve as a remedy for the "deadlock"? The Congress has still a greater hold on the country than any other organization. If the authorities want the people to co-operate with them in the war effort with greater enthusiasm than now, that organization should be placated above all which has influence over most people.

The real "deadlock," if the authorities believe in spite of what we have stated in our first note that there is a deadlock. exists in the provinces. It is a proved fact that in the seven provinces where there were Congress Ministries Congress influence is predominant. It is only Congress Ministries which can make the people of those provinces co-operate with the Government in the war effort enthusiastically. How then can the mere appointment of non-Congress non-official Advisers to the Governors improve matters?

Congress can agree to its members accepting office again only on its own terms. As we have said before, these terms, if any, are unknown and cannot be known unless the Congress leaders now in jail are released. (13th July, 1941.)

Is Congress Still the Most Influential Organization?

In the foregoing note it has been said that Congress has still a greater hold on the public than any other organization. This may or may not be true. Its truth or falsity can be ascertained by general elections. A general election for the election of new members of the Central Assembly has been long overdue. But it is being put off again and again by prolonging the life of the present Assembly.

In the provinces, too, it is only general elections which can test the strength of parties. The dates for such elections have not been announced. There is no knowing whether there will be such elections in the provinces so long as the war lasts.

Our anticipation is that in India as a whole in case of a general election for the Central Assembly Congress will succeed in capturing more seats than any other organization, though perhaps not as many as in the last election.

In the provinces which had been under Congress rule Congress will perhaps again be able to return the largest number of members, though not as many as before. Perhaps some of the constituencies which had formerly returned Congressmen may prefer to elect members of the Hindu Mahasabha.

In Bengal Congress is likely to lose more seats to the Hindu Mahasabha than in any other province. We do not know what the case will be in the Panjab, Sind and the N.-W. F. Province.

The "Rashtrabhasha" and Other Languages of India As Tributaries to It

Taking it for granted that Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani is to be the Rāshtrabhāshā of India, the late Dinabandhu Andrews suggested in the course of some papers on the subject which he contributed to *The Leader* that the language which is to be the Rāshtrabhāshā should incorporate some words from South Indian languages, too, *e.g.*, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. This is a good suggestion. If a composite language is to be our Rāṣhtrabhāshā there is no reason why Urdu alone should be drawn upon for contributions, seeing that what distinguishes Urdu from Hindi are words derived from such foreign languages as Arabic and Persian. We have shown in a note in our last issue that in the U. P., the biggest area where Hindi and Urdu are spoken and written, only about one-tenth of the publications are in Urdu, the rest being mostly in Hindi. There is no reason to suppose that Urdu occupies a more prominent position in any other province.

On the other hand, Tamil, Telugu, etc., are spoken and written by very much larger numbers of people. And it is also a fact that they have older and richer literatures, *racy of the soil*, than Urdu can claim to possess.

It would not be a new thing for South India to contribute words for all-India use. 'Pandal' is such a word which we have been using in all provinces long before the question of a Rāṣhtrabhāshā was mooted.

And it is not merely South India which has added to all-India vocabulary.. 'Hartal' is

resorted to all over India occasionally, though the word hails from the United Provinces, we believe. Congress members all over India use the words "Prabhāt pheri," used originally only in Gujarat, we think.

That leads us to suggest that it is not merely South Indian languages which the composite Rāshtrabhāshā whatever it may be, should draw upon for its own enrichment, but Marathi, Gujarati, etc., also. One need not stop there. Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Panjabi, etc., can also bring their own contributions.

Questions for Advocates of Rāshtrabhāshā

As the Indian National Congress stands for the adoption of Hindustani as the State Language of India we repeat some questions relating to the State Language, whatever it may be, so that some one may answer them authoritatively.

1. Is the State Language to occupy the same position all over India as English does at present?

2. What is to be the language of the courts, including the High Courts, and the Government offices in the provinces? The State Language or the Provincial Languages?

3. What is to be the language of the legislatures of the provinces? The State Language or the Provincial Languages?

4. Are the *originals* of laws passed in the provincial legislatures to be in the provincial languages or in the State Language?

5. Perhaps it is understood that the State Language is to be the language of the Central Legislature, the Federal Court, and the language of the Bills to be introduced in the Central Legislature and of the laws passed there?

6. The media of primary and perhaps of secondary education in the provinces are probably to be the provincial languages.

Will the universities in the provinces use as their respective media of instruction their provincial languages or the State Language?

7. What will be the language of international correspondence, intercourse, etc.?

Purba Bharat Rashtrabhasha Sammelan Fought Shy of 'Hindustani'

In our last issue we commented on the fact that the president and other speakers at the Eastern India State Language Conference avoided the use of the word 'Hindustani' in speaking of or referring to what they wanted to be the State Language. Here is what the *Bombay Chronicle* has written on the point:

Presiding over a Conference of the Rashtriya Bhasha Prachar Samiti at Calcutta the other day, Dr. Rajendra Prasad is reported to have stated that Hindi was best suited to be the *lingua franca* of India. If he actually said "Hindi" he must have meant Hindustani, because he has had much to do with the recognition of Hindustani as the national language by Congress and various attempts to popularise it. But at a time when misunderstanding and misrepresentation are so common Congress leaders should be scrupulously careful to say "Hindustani" when they refer to the national language. Unfortunately, however, the term "Hindi" is very commonly used in Madras and in several other places by Congress leaders when they mean Hindustani. And this has been misrepresented as evidence of an attempt to impose Hindi on even the Urdu-speaking people while pretending to popularise Hindustani. When the three terms "Hindi," "Urdu" and "Hindustani" are generally admitted to represent three separate languages, sufficiently different to justify the use of separate names, however allied the three may be, it is a grievous mistake on the part of Congressmen to refer to the national language as Hindi.

Commenting on Rajen Babu's speech, the *National Herald* regrets that while "responsible Hindu and Muslim Congress leaders continue to preside over Hindi Sahitya Sammelans and corresponding organisations for the propagation of Urdu, nothing appears to have been done, so far, to create a common platform, which is urgently needed."

Restoration of Abyssinian Independence

Everyday brings news of the victory of one party or the other in the war among European nations or in the Sino-Japanese war, or news of air raids by one party or the other. We desire that Britain and Russia should be victorious in the war of European origin and that China should win in the Sino-Japanese war. But though successes tending in those directions are welcome, they involve the slaughter and disabling of very large numbers of men, which cannot be contemplated with pleasure.

But the cessation of fighting in Abyssinia and the restoration of Emperor Haile Selassie to his throne can be contemplated with unalloyed pleasure. He has now the opportunity of so educating his brave people as to make them enlightened and prosperous citizens of a free country. It is to be hoped that he will make the best and fullest use of this opportunity.

Revival of Ploughing Ceremony in Burma

RANGOON, July 10.

After the lapse of a hundred years, U Saw, the Premier has revived the ancient Burmese ploughing ceremony at Hmawbi.

Owing to indisposition the Governor was unable to be present. Lady Dorman-Smith was, however, present and read the Governor's speech.

After speeches had been made, U Saw, accompanied by Lady Dorman-Smith went to the fields where a golden plough harnessed to a pair of decorated oxen was in readiness. Lady Dorman-Smith placed the reins in the Premier's hands and U Saw smilingly stepped into knee-deep water to plough the field for a few minutes.

Lady Dorman-Smith displayed a keen interest not only in the ceremony itself but also in the demonstration of Burmese agricultural methods that had been arranged specially for the occasion and like U Saw took with her samples o. paddy shoots plucked from the ground while she and the Premier were walking round the fields on a tour of inspection.

His Excellency's message stated that His Excellency himself was a farmer and he knew from experience the many difficulties a farmer had to meet, and had expressed the hope that the cultivators would have a bumper crop this year as they had had in years past.

U Saw reminded the cultivators that the ceremony was one that had not been performed within the past hundred years. Today they referred to it as a ploughing ceremony but in the old days when the kings themselves had taken part, there was another name. The ceremony, however, was being revived as marking a new era for cultivators. He himself was the son of a cultivator and it was because of that he had their interests at heart and handling the plough was something that came naturally to him.—*A. P.*

Burma is mainly an agricultural country. In such countries people cannot but rejoice when the rains set in. Such rejoicing finds expression in various festivities of different kinds in different countries.

Festival of the Rainy Season at Santiniketan

It was years ago that Rabindranath Tagore introduced the festival of the rainy season at Santiniketan, and every year it has been held during the rains. Except when absent from Santiniketan or disabled by illness, the poet has always taken an active and leading part in the ceremonial observances and the festivities, composing new songs and, sometimes, a play for the occasion. Planting of trees, driving the plough, bullock cart race, and distribution of prizes to the owners of the best plough cattle form part of the festival.

This year's festival of the rainy season has not yet been celebrated at Santiniketan. It cannot be expected that this year the poet will take part in it, but let us hope that he will be able to encourage and gladden the festive gathering by his inspiring presence as an onlooker.

We are able to reproduce here a photograph of the poet driving the plough during the festival celebrated thirteen years ago.



Poet Rabindranath driving the plough

We are glad to note that Simla has already celebrated the advent of the rains.

Simla, July 2.

"The Festival of Rain, a dramatic composition based on Tagore's lyrics and dances was staged last evening at the Simla Kalibari Hall under the auspices of the local Bangiya Sammilani. The spirit of the season was artistically depicted through impressive ensembles for the production of which the credit is due to Mrs. D. M. Sen.—*A. B. P.*

Tagore Birthday Celebration in New York

India Today of New York for May, 1941, has given a full report of the Tagore Birthday Celebration in New York, from which we learn that

On May 9, the India League of America celebrated the 80th birthday of Rabindranath Tagore. The attendance was gratifyingly large. Mr. Hemendra K. Rakhit, President of the League, was toastmaster. Hindu music was played by Wana Singh, Rama and Meenakshi. Madame Hilda Wierum-Boulter read some of Tagore's poems. Dr. Taraknath Das, special lecturer at the College of the City of New York, in a splendid speech praised Tagore's contribution to the renaissance in India, and his spirit of internationalism. Dr. Das pointed out how Tagore had long maintained that the narrow nationalism of the West might well prove to be its ruin. He also reminded the audience that Tagore was the first to suggest regional unions co-operating with one another on a basis of equality, and how he had always deprecated the racial arrogance of Europeans and Americans towards the Asiatics. Dr. Anup Singh in his brief remarks said that if our contemporary society is to be rescued from its present tragic debacle it must repudiate leaders with shrunken souls and inflated egoes, and follow those whose vision can embrace the entire mankind. Dr. Horace I. Poleman, Director of Indic Studies in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., delivered the main address.

He began his address by informing the audience that

"A little less than a year ago I stood before an audience in Keshab Chandra Sen Street in Calcutta. Several hundred of them, they sat about me Indian fashion on the floor in a great semicircle, learned Pandits, lawyers, and teachers trained in the West, yellow-robed religious men, Jains, Hindus, Mohammedans—all very earnest men. Their attention, hospitality, and graciousness warmed me and helped to overcome the feeling of timidity with which I approached my elders and betters. I had the temerity to talk about the meaning of culture and to suggest ways and means of a better understanding between the East of India and the West of America. The tone of that meeting was one of active and hearty co-operation. It was so nearly everywhere we went in India. . . . .

"On that night in Calcutta I was introduced to my audience by your distinguished countryman, Dr. Kalidas Nag. He traced briefly, step by step, the spread of Indian culture in the West from the early dissemination of the stories of the Pancatantra to the rise of transcendentalism in America and the use which Emerson, Thoreau, and Walt Whitman made of the ideas of Indian philosophy and poetry. Long before the spread of the Panchatantra, of course, India has been influencing the ancient world, both East and West, with its arts, science, and trade. The full extent of this story is still to be determined. And since the time of Emerson the influence of India in America has been increasing, until today we stand ripe for the full commerce of ideas and materials."

Dr. Poleman concluded his address thus:

America and India alike are emerging from isolation policies, policies which, it is true, have had different reasons for their existence. But in the world of the future we shall need to know much more about each other if we are to have intelligent and peaceful relations to the fullest extent. When the present conflict is over, the utilitarian value of ideas is going to be greater than it ever has been if mankind is decently to survive. America is poorly equipped to make the step she almost unwittingly contemplates. The masses of India, too, move into a world which is little known to them. But those of us who live in the world of ideas know the best answer to the problem, for in its wide sense it is a problem of cultures, and the solution lies largely in strong cultural ties. In these days of cannon and powder there is still a horizon, a farther shore. Or, as Tagore has more nobly expressed it:

"I must launch out my boat. The languid
hours pass by on the shore—Alas for me!
The spring has done its flowering and taken leave.
And now with the burden of faded futile flowers
I wait and linger.
The waves have become clamorous, and upon the
bank in the shady lane the yellow leaves
flutter and fall.
What emptiness do you gaze upon! Do
you not feel a thrill passing
through the air with the notes of the
faraway song floating from the
other shore?"

Wanted Instructions For Equalizing Incentives for Linguistic Attainments

The State or some other agency may provide equal educational facilities for all inhabitants of a country; but it is found that even in countries or areas where such equal facilities exist, all persons are not equally educated. Nevertheless the ideal should be the provision of equal educational facilities for all.

Similarly, if the Indian National Congress sets up the ideal that the people of India should know at least two languages, the ideal should be meant for all.

Among the A.-I. C. C. instructions for prospective satyagrahis as part of the constructive programme which they are to work out are, "(k) The propagation of Rashtrabhasha" and "(l) Cultivating love of one's own language." That implies the knowledge of two languages for all but those whose mother tongue is the Rashtrabhasha. According to the letter of the instructions, those whose mother tongue is the Rashtrabhasha need not know any language but their own. But if the instructions were literally followed, whereas those whose mother tongue is not the Rashtrabhasha would know two languages and, if they so pleased, two literatures, those whose mother tongue is the Rashtrabhasha would know only one. Why should the linguistic and literary attainments of the latter be less than those of others?

So the All-India Congress Committee should issue instructions to the effect that all whose mother tongue is the Rashtrabhasha should learn another modern Indian language, say, Assamese, Oriya, Tamil, or some other tongue.

Satyendranath Bisi's New Appointment

We are glad Sj. Satyendranath Bisi, the noted young artist, has been appointed teacher in charge of the Arts section of the Princes College, Rajkot. After some preliminary train-

ing, he completed the course in painting, sculpture, wood and lino cut, and applied art in the Kala-bhavan of Santiniketan and graduated from there. He is an amateur photographer of



Satyendranath Bisi

distinction. The photograph of Rabindranath Tagore published in our June number is his work. A previous photograph of his of Mahatma Gandhi, published by us, was appreciated so much in America that two American journals of note obtained copies of it through our office. Sj. Bisi's paintings first appeared in *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* when he was only a boy of twelve.

Callousness Produced By War and War News

In normal times the news of a single murder horrifies men in a normal state of mind. But for years, and particularly in recent weeks, we have been reading of the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of soldiers and the wiping out of entire regiments and divisions by both parties without being in the least agitated. Our callousness is due to the continuous reading of war news. And the callousness of the belligerents who massacre masses of men without any hesitation is much greater than ours.

This blunting of all humane feelings is the penalty paid by all belligerent peoples—whether aggressors or defenders against aggression, for engaging in warfare.

That the non-belligerent peoples of the world have also become callous is the penalty which mankind must pay for tolerating the continued existence of war, which is a relic of savagery but has been flourishing luxuriantly.

In a country like India which is not actually engaged in war for itself, we have grown callous to such an extent that the news of the cowardly murder of scores of persons by ruffians in the course of so-called communal " riots " leave us unmoved. That is the penalty we have all to pay for tolerating a state of things in which such " riots " are possible.

While condemning war with all the emphasis at our command, we must admit that bravery, courage and gallantry may be displayed in the course of the most unjust wars, but the murders indulged in by goondas have no redeeming features. They are sheer cowardice and savagery.

Cessation of Fighting in Syria

Another item of welcome news is the cessation of fighting in Syria. Provided the promise to make Syria independent and to safeguard its independence is kept literally as well as in its spirit, the people of Syria need not take part in any fighting in the course of the present war, but may devote all their energies to their own spiritual, moral, intellectual and economic betterment.

" Akhand Hindustan Front "

Mr. K. M. Munshi's " Akhand Hindustan Front," though its object is nothing new, is nonetheless welcome. The integrity of India is implied in the very name of the Indian National Congress. The Hindu Mahasabha, the National Liberal Federation of India and all other Nationalist organizations stand for an undivided and united India. It is only the latter-day Muslim League which wants a divided India, though the division of India would spell its ruin and the perpetuation of its enslaved condition. We have said that it is only the latter-day Muslim League which wants a divided India, for the ideal of the Muslim League, too, in its earlier days was the welfare of an undivided India. The presidential address of the President of the All-India Muslim League of 1915 contains the following passage :

> "When the question concerning the welfare of India arises I am not only an Indian first, but an Indian

next, and an Indian to the last. Favouring no community and no individual, I am on the side of those who desire the advancement of India as a whole. In the affairs of my country I stand for good-will and close co-operation between all communities, with a single eye to the progress of India, the mother-land alike of Moslems and of Hindoos."

Though the implied ideal of the Indian National Congress has been all along an undivided India, it is to be regretted that Congress leaders have not taken a firm, open and unambiguous stand against the Pakistan stunt. If Mr. Munshi's movement awakens them to the evil of the mentality of non-acceptance and non-rejection underlying all vacillation, that will be a welcome result.

"Non-violence As I Understand It"

Mr. K. M. Munshi's resignation from membership of the Congress has been widely discussed in the press. It was a sheer moral necessity for him to resign. He has done his duty and has explained his position in an article with the caption of this note, published in his weekly *Social Welfare*. We are glad he has publicly declared that he has not turned anti-Congress; for we would not welcome any weakening of the Congress, or of the Hindu Mahasabha for that matter.

He begins his article by saying:

> I could not accept the view of non-violence which Gandhiji expected of me as a Congressman. But that does not mean that I have foresworn non-violence or have overnight become anti-Congress. In 1939 in my book *I Follow the Mahatma,* I described Gandhiji as a Master to whom God was the Reality, in which he subsisted and by which his being was nourished and impregnated with eternal freshness.
>
> I hold to every word that I said then; for he illumined and still continues to illumine for me the dark corners of my soul where lurk the spiritual difficulties which I have to face every day.

In the course of the article he observes:

> As I understand it, *Ahimsa,* when translated into the foreign word "non-violence" does not convey a correct meaning. *Ahimsa* is not tantamount to abandonment of the use of force. Occasions arise when the use of force is not only permissible, but becomes a paramount duty. Non-violence is a psychological factor. Its moral value is derived from the motive and the impulse. If the use of force becomes necessary in the performance of a duty which is undertaken without fear, malice or anger, it is not *himsa.*

These views appear to us to to be correct.

But though we think the use of force is justified and necessary in resisting and counteracting aggressive violence for the time being, the ultimate eradication of *himsā* can be brought about by *ahimsā* alone. It is only love which can conquer hate finally. Therefore the existence of thoroughgoing ahimsā-ists is necessary.

"Satyagraha Struggle to Last Not Less Than Five Years"

In the course of a statement on the present phase of satyagraha Mahatma Gandhi observes:

> The merit as also the strength of the struggle consists in reducing embarrassment to the minimum whilst the British are engaged in a deadly life and death war. Moreover, since our struggle is going to be indefinitely prolonged, I give no less than five years, there need be no hurry to fill jails.

Gandhiji has been saying all along that his resolve is not to embarrass the British people and Government by his satyagraha movement. He has strictly adhered to his resolve. Had he wanted to embarrass Britain he could have quite easily sanctioned mass civil disobedience.

As regards the duration of the struggle, it is evident that he does not believe that the British Government would be prepared to give India the substance of independence at the conclusion of the war. The younger generation must make themselves ready to face a long struggle, non-violent so far as they are concerned. As for older people, they may not live to see a free India and die in it. Of course, things may happen any day which may bring about a radical change in the international situation making it practicable for India to be free earlier than five years hence. The other day a young, active and enthusiastic Congress M.L.A. tried to console the present writer by saying that within one year India would be free,—meaning that if the present writer lived a year longer he would have the satisfaction of dying in a free country!

All-India Kisan (Peasant) Sabha's Support to Soviet Cause

A resolution, expressing heartfelt sympathy on behalf of the Indian peasantry for the "brave people of the Soviet Union who are so valiantly meeting the Nazi hordes," was adopted by the Central Kisan Council of the All-India Kisan Sabha for the purpose of being adopted by all branches of the Sabha on the "Soviet Day," to be observed on July 21.

> The resolution on the aggression on the Soviet Union by Nazi-Germany expressed the fervent desire of the Indian masses for the Soviet Union's speedy and complete victory. In this task, the resolution stated, the Indian masses were solidly behind them at this gravest hour in their life.
>
> The Council recognised that in her heroic fight against Nazi-Germany, Soviet Russia was not only fighting for the defence of the father-land of peasants and

workers, but it was fighting for the whole cause of world freedom and democracy which was at stake in the face of the Nazi bid for world domination.

The Council was of the opinion that the present war against U. S. S. R. was clearly a war against the democratic freedom of all the people and it was essential, therefore, that all the democratic freedom loving forces of the world should immediately unite to help the Soviet in its heroic task of crushing the barbarous forces of Fascism.

The Council wanted to make it clear that it must not be forgotten that in order to destroy Fascism and render real and effective help to the Soviet, complete democratic freedom of the Indian people was most essential.

In the circumstances, the Central Kisan Council urged upon the freedom-loving people of India, particularly, the vast bulk of peasants and workers, students and youths to render all possible help to the U. S. S. R. and to work for the intensification of the war against Nazi-Germany on all fronts.

Lastly, the Council appealed to all the progressive forces to unite and mobilise themselves for organising aid to the Soviet. It further called upon the Indian Kisans, Kisan workers and subordinate Kisan Sabhas to observe July 21 as the "Soviet Day" in co-operation with other progressive forces on an extensive scale all over the country by holding mass meetings, by taking out processions and by passing resolutions.

Bengali Mussalmans' Move for Joint Electorates

At a recent meeting in Calcutta of Bengali Mussalmans and Hindus emphatic expression was given to the view that without joint electorates there could be no improvement in the position of Bengali Mussalmans. Separate electorates, brought into existence by the amended Calcutta Municipal Act, have enabled non-Bengali Mussalmans to capture all the positions of power and influence in the Calcutta Corporation, as also all patronage. The emoluments of office have gone mostly to non-Bengali Mussalmans. This is the case not only in Calcutta, in several Bengal districts non-Bengali Mussalmans have been imported by the Ministry from outside to fill vacancies which could have been filled by far more qualified Bengali Hindu candidates and sometimes by Bengali Mussalman candidates, too. If the present move resulted in improving the position of Bengali Mussalmans, it would serve its purpose.

"Erika Thimey Dances In Two Chicago Churches"

The following paragraph is taken from *The Christian Register* of Boston, April 15, 1941 :

> On March 23, Erika Thimey appeared at two Unitarian Churches in the Chicago area. At 4-30 p.m. in the afternoon she presented a "Pageant of Democracy" at the First Unitarian Church before an audience of approximately 250. In the evening, she appeared at the People's Liberal Church where an entire worship service through the medium of the sacred dance was conducted by Miss Thimey and a trained motion choir composed of young people from the church. There was an attendance of almost 500 people. Naturally many were curiosity seekers but Erika Thimey's sincerity and artistry left a profound impression upon those who came. It was a profoundly moving experience for all those who attended, and a distinct contribution to the spiritual life of the church.

That "devadāsis" danced in Hindu temples was objectionable not because they were women who danced but mainly because owing to an evil custom they were consigned to a life of shame. Some of the dances, too, were perhaps voluptuous or worse.

Men of a puritanic turn of mind do not find anything objectionable in ecstatic dances by men. Keshub Chunder Sen danced to the accompaniment of inspiring *kirtans*. We do not know what kind of religious dances Mussalman Dervishes perform. But presumably they are not degrading. There is no reason why religious dances by women should in themselves be objected to.

When we first witnessed the performance of Tagore's *Natir Pūjā* at Santiniketan, the last dance of Srīmatī before the *Stupa* was felt to be a distinct contribution to spiritual life.

Japan's Economic Position

This year's mid-April issue of *Foreign Policy Reports* is devoted to Japan's "New Structure." In it T. A. Bisson gives a glimpse into Japan's wartime economy. Says he :

> Although the exact limits of Japan's wartime economy are still indefinite, and the margin beyond which collapse may come has not yet been reached, there can be no doubt that Japan's economic position has seriously deteriorated during 1940. Publication of detailed statistics on Japan's foreign trade ceased toward the end of the year. Official figures for total trade in 1940 show exports valued at 3,972 million yen and imports of 3,709 million, leaving a favorable balance of only 263 million.* As the excess of exports to yen bloc areas largely exceeds this amount, the debit balance to foreign currency countries must have greatly increased. A recent estimate, in fact, indicates that Japan's merchandise trade deficit in foreign currency totaled $202,400,000 in 1940, as against $93,150,000 in 1939.† The dwindling Japanese gold stocks and foreign currency reserves were thus forced to cover a much greater debit balance in 1940.
>
> Japan's internal economy was also subjected to increasing strain. Although taxes have trebled since 1936, the public debt aggregated nearly 30 billion yen by the close of 1940—an amount considerably larger than the total national income, and a three-fold increase in five years. Unassimilated bonds held by the Bank of Japan, amounting to over three billion yen at the end of 1940,

* *Tokyo Gazette*, March, 1941, p. 376.

† U. S. Department of Commerce estimate, cited in *The New York Times*, March, 23, 1941.

have steadily increased, while government institutions hold 30 per cent of all bonds issued.*

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's Condemnation of Pakistan

In the past Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Prime Minister of the Panjab, has on several occasions criticized the Pakistan proposal. Recently he again condemned it in the course of his address at a public meeting convened by a Students' Federation.

He was considered one of the pillars of the Pakistan edifice.

An Imperialist British Weekly's Summary of Nehru's Views

In April last Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Unity of India* was published in England by Lindsay Drummond. His views, as stated in that book, have been summarized in *News Review*, an imperialist illustrated weekly of England. The summary begins :

VOICE FROM GAOL

Next to Mohandas K. Gandhi, the most potent advocate of Indian Nationalism is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a stern, unbending Brahmin, who comes from one of Allahabad's wealthiest families, went to Harrow, and used to have his silken underwear laundered in France.

A Socialist who nowadays wears simple homespun, and desires a political and social revolution in India, Nehru believes there is room for close collaboration between a Socialist Britain and his own country.

In the cause of Indian nationalism as opposed to the British regime in India, he has addressed 10,000,000 people, travelled 50,000 miles by 'plane, railway, bullock-cart, horseback, canoe, bicycle and on foot.

Often gaoled for his activities, he was in prison at Dehra Dun when a deadly snake slid into his cell. Because his creed is non-violence, the Pandit tried to prevent warders from killing it, although he was in deadly danger.

Believing that "prison is a dreadful bore, but India is one vast prison," Jawaharlal Nehru was last week serving a sentence of four years' rigorous imprisonment for having made anti-war speeches in 1940 as part of Mr. Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign. Nehru was sentenced at Gorakhpur, birthplace of Leopold Stennett Amery.

The odd sense of justice which Britain's rulers possess made it possible for Prisoner Nehru's principal essays and speeches to be published in London last week while not only he but many another leading Congressman was behind British bars.

About the recent British promises, the summary has the following :

Author Nehru was able to explain fully the reasons why India's masses are not supporting the war. "We had bitter memories of the war of 1914-18 and what followed it. In that war India's help had been considerable, over 1,200,000 men being sent to various theatres of war.

"All manner of promises were held out to us about the future Status of India. What really followed was intense repression, martial law in the Punjab, and the famous Amritsar massacre."

By 1927, India's unofficial parliament, the All-India Congress, had declared that it would not co-operate in any imperialist war.

As the new war approached, the British Government amended the Indian Constitution which accords provincial autonomy, and vested all power in the event of war in the puppet Central Government.

In August, 1939, Indian troops were mobilised and sent abroad to Egypt and Malaya without any reference to the Central or autonomous Provincial Assemblies.

As a protest. Congress withdrew all its members from the Central Assembly and warned the British Government against dragging India into a war without the consent of the people.

"In spite of all this," writes Nehru, "India was declared a belligerent country immediately on the outbreak of the war in Europe, and the Indian Constitution Amending Bill was rushed through the British Parliament in a few minutes. This was deeply resented. . . . At the same time we did not want a Nazi victory. . . ."

Congress solution was to invite the British to state their war aims, as "it was manifestly absurd for a subject India to become the champion of liberties abroad which were denied to her." Also requested was a declaration of independence and the right to frame their own Constitution through a Constitutent Assembly, without external interference."

Nehru declares that this claim was made in no spirit of bargaining. It was the inevitable outcome of "our long struggle for freedom" and was "the essential preliminary to any effort to make the war popular in India."

A seasoned politician like Nehru cannot have been surprised if this claim was widely regarded as such. But he waxes bitter.

"They refused to define their peace or war aims, and in regard to India it was stated that at the end of the war His Majesty's Government will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of several communities, parties and interests in India and with the Indian Princes with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in framing such constitutional modifications as may be deemed desirable."

It was made clear that among the interested parties were British financial and mercantile interests.

This masterpiece of Whitehallese stuck in the gullet of Congress, which takes the view that the Indian Princes are a mediæval relic and British financiers the people's worst enemies.

It accordingly rejected the British offer and called upon the Provincial Governments to resign in protest.

About the far-famed British "offer," we read :

Anxious to break the deadlock, the British Government has been dangling the possibility of Dominion Status for India after the war.

Sidling still further away from the bigger question of Indian independence, it has been engaged in knocking down its own Aunt Sally by claiming that India cannot even aspire to be a British Dominion until Gandhi's Hindu and other disciples can agree with the powerful minority of 80,000,000 Muslims represented by the Muslim League.

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* *The Oriental Economist*, January, 1941, p. 7.

Nehru contends that Muslims as a whole want independence, but their leaders are reactionaries who have suggested a partition of India similar to that of Ulster with Eire, rather than become a political minority under the majority rule of Hindus.

The Hindu-Muslim dilemma is to him a British ruse to "Divide and rule," and he sums up by declaring that Congress does not want Dominion Status nor the "so-called protection" of the British Army and Navy.

Envisaged is the possibility of India entering a Federation of its neighbours China, Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan and Persia. Japan is not included, but the Pandit declares that India is willing to take risks and face dangers, and pooh-poohs the possibility of Japanese aggression.

Not all Indians are as uncompromising as Nehru. Moderates and Liberals, led by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, have lately made proposals for ending the stalemate.

They suggest that Viceroy Linlithgow, whose virtual dictatorship is now exercised through a Central Executive Council, should fill the Council with "non-official Indians representing important elements in Indian public life."

The new Council would be treated as a Dominion Council and the Viceroy would say when full Dominion Status was to be granted after the war.

This proposal, which was discussed last week by Lord Linlithgow and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, is backed by many a sentimental anti-Nazi Indian who wants to help in the war effort. But there was no sign that it appealed to Mahatma Gandhi or his disillusioned, gaoled lieutenants.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani

In Sir C. Y. Chintamani India has lost one of her ablest and most distinguished publicists. In the latter part of his career he belonged to a numerically small group of politicians, we mean the Liberal party, but he continued till the end of his days to be a force to be reckoned with.

When in 1918 some elder Congressmen decided to abstain from the special session of the Congress, they did not contemplate a permanent secession from that body, which to them stood as a symbol for patriotism. But its adoption of the programme of non-co-operation marked the parting of the ways. They formed a separate organization, the National Liberal Federation of India. Sir (then Mr.) C. Y. Chintamani, not then an elderly man, though he had already made his mark as a journalist and public man, joined this, the Liberal, party, and worked for it ever since with his characteristic enthusiasm and outspokenness. In fact, he was one of its thought leaders, as he was undoubtedly its most active member. An 'extremist' among "Moderates," he continued to the last an unsparing critic of Government. He was an uncompromising opponent and critic of non-co-operation. It was an irony of fate that the Time Spirit betrayed him into writing for *The Leader* an editorial article on the personnel of the all but white post-war reconstruction committee the day before his death, in which he exposed its constitution in scathing terms, calling it an insult and asking that it be completely boycotted as the Simon Commission had been boycotted. There is no difference in principle between non-co-operating with a body brought into existence by Government and non-co-operating with Government as a whole. The whirligig of time brings on strange revenges.

His doctorates and his knighthood came to him unsought. It would have been better if he had refused the knighthood.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani was an entirely self-made man. He was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth, as the saying goes. Nor could he boast of any academic distinctions when he started a weekly paper at Vizagapatam at the age of eighteen. It was short-lived. He worked subsequently as an assistant of the late Mr. R. N. Mudholkar of Amraoti for the Indian National Industrial Conference, bringing out some publications for it. He also published a volume on the Indian National Social Conference and edited and brought out the speeches of Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta.

The natural gifts with which he started life —a keen intellect, an extraordinarily capacious and retentive memory, devotion to the public cause as he understood it, capacity for hard continuous labour in spite of a week constitution, ability to take quick decisions, a talent for clear, logical, telling expression both in speech and writing, and the like—stood him in good stead to the last day of his life. Even when he could still be called a young man, he came to possess an encyclopaedic knowledge of public questions. He was perhaps the ablest debater and parliamentarian in the U. P. in his day and certainly one of the ablest in the whole country. Once when he was absent from the U. P. Legislature, of which he was then a member, Sir Edward Blunt remarked from the Government benches that to go on with a debate in his absence would be to play Hamlet leaving out the Prince of Denmark.

Though best and most widely known as the editor of *The Leader*, his editorship of that paper was not the whole of the sterling services which he rendered to the U. P. in particular and India in general. He contributed greatly to the building up of the public life of the United Provinces as a member of the Provincial Legislature also, as well as by organizing political, social and industrial conferences and by his other public activities. During the 28 months of his tenure of the office of a provincial Minister he introduced many notable administrative reforms in the departments under his charge and gave proofs

of great ability, drive and initiative in the performance of his duties. Towards the latter part of his incumbency of the ministership, differences arose between him and the bureaucracy and continued to increase. At last when the Governor tried to ignore Mr. Chintamani in a matter relating to the Education Department of which he was in charge, he resigned, but not before he had proved that the Governor was in the wrong. For one who was not a favourite of fortune, this action not only showed independence but meant considerable pecuniary sacrifice, too.

Before Mr. Chintamani became editor of *The Leader*, of which he was practically the maker, he edited the *Indian People* of Allahabad a weekly organ owned by Mr. (now Dr.) Sachchidananda Sinha, as the assistant of the latter. He helped him greatly also in obtaining articles for and editing the *Hindustan Review*. He regularly wrote the editorials of a Patna paper also from Allahabad. These appeared without even Mr. Chintamani's initials and passed as the work of the Bihari editor of that paper. Mr. Chintamani knew exactly the number of words which he would have to write to fill the space allotted to him in the editorial page of that paper, and we often used to find him counting the words before despatching his MSS., written in his bold and clearly legible hand.

To *The Leader* he devoted all his journalistic talents, his energy, his intellect, and all his garnered knowledge and wisdom. He not only wrote for it and guided and controlled its policy, but trained some of his assistants also and scrutinized all the minutiae of its printing, dotting its 'i's and cutting its 't's, not even the commas and semicolons escaping his attention. The result was that *The Leader* became one of the most accurately printed papers in the country. The principles on which *The Modern Review* is conducted are somewhat different from the policy and principles of *The Leader*, but that has not stood in the way of our appreciating its value.

Mr. Chintamani was editor of *The Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay for a short period.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani was a fine conversationalist and had an abundant fund of humour. He knew plenty of anecdotes of India's patriots and notabilities, and often garnished his talk with them. He had at his fingers' tips the dates of birth of the most notable of his contemporaries. He had a list of India's famous political workers arranged "in order of merit," giving the first place to Dadabhai Naoroji. To Gokhale also he assigned a high place,—the exact position given to him I have forgotten.

The walls of his small sitting room in the small bungalow at 2-1, South Road, Allahabad, all traces of which have disappeared years ago, were decked with prints of the portraits of his favourite politicians. At one time he had a strong desire to join the Servants of India Society and with that object in view corresponded with G. K. Gokhale, who favoured the proposal and agreed to accept him as a member. But Mr. Chintamani himself refrained from joining the Society for reason of his own. All this took place before *The Leader* was started.

He was a religious man,—a pious Hindu, though not strictly orthodox. He was a social reformer. His faith in providence kept him optimistic even in the midst of India's trials, tribulations and disappointments.

He was a staunch believer in spiritualism and in re-birth, and placed unquestioning faith in what the spirits of the departed great, whom he respected, communicated to him through trusted mediums. A nephew of his who is no more, who was in the staff of *The Leader* and subsequently transferred his journalistic services to the *Indian Nation* of Patna, was a good medium. One of the patriots whose spirit he invoked was G. K. Gokhale. I had it from Sir C. Y. Chintamani himself that he had from Gokhale's spirit the names of many Indians who would not be born again. He had such strong faith in what he believed Gokhale's spirit had communicated to him through the medium mentioned above, that he printed in *The Leader* some articles which that medium wrote out when possessed by Gokhale's spirit. Sir C. Y. Chintamani told me that what the medium's hand wrote under the influence of Gokhale's spirit resembled Gokhale's handwriting, which was quite familiar to him (Sir C. Y. Chintamani). (18. 7. 1941.).

Why Most Americans Want Russia To Win

NEW YORK, July 12.

Seventy-two per cent of Americans want Russia to win against Germany, according to the latest Gallup poll.

Only four per cent of the people questioned wanted Germany to win. Seven per cent were undecided and seventeen per cent thought it made no difference to America which side won. The reason frequently given by those wanting a Russian victory was "Russia is not imperialistic—Germany is. If Russia won she would not attempt to invade the United States, whereas if Germany won she probably would."—*Reuter*.

The reason given by the majority of Americans for wanting Russia to win is that if Germany won, her imperialistic ambition would lead her to invade America, but if Russia won, she, not having any imperialistic ambition, would not invade America. But Americans do not appear to be against imperialism in itself

and in the case of all imperialistic powers. If America had been against all imperialists, she would not have wanted Britain to win, as she certainly and rightly does. She helps Britain, because Britain will not invade the U. S. A. after winning the war. The majority of Americans do not object to Britain holding India in subjection. They are satisfied with safeguarding only their own independence. (18. 7. 1941.).

Why India Most Probably Wants Russia To Win

Though no "Gallup polls" has been or can be taken in India, most probably most Indians would have declared themselves in favour of Russia's victory if such a pole had been taken. Why do most Indians want Russia to win, as presumably they do ? Their reason is not exactly the same as that of the majority of Americans, mentioned in the foregoing note. Americans want to safeguard their independence, and as in their opinion a victorious Germany may invade their country but a victorious Russia would not, so they want Russia to win. But in the case of India there is no independence to safeguard, as it is a subject country. If Hitler won, he might and would invade India.. But there is no Indian who would prefer Nazi rule to British rule. If Russia won, no one can be sure what policy she would adopt towards India. Most probably Great Britain has already safeguarded or would safeguard her imperial interest in India by some agreement with Russia, and even those Indians who want British rule to end, would much rather prefer its prolongation for a brief period than its substitution by Nazi rule. In any case, assuming the termination of British rule in India in some indefinite future, what Indians would desire would be freedom and independence, not some other foreign rule in the place of British rule.

As we have pointed out in a previous note, no alliance or agreement with Britain, or for that matter with any other country, is likely to lead to Russia's abandonment of her final goal of world revolution. If she won, that would be all the greater reason for pursuing her policy of Sovietizing the whole world. And the world includes India, much as British imperialists want that it should not. There is only one sure way to counter world sovietization, and that is a democratic world federation. What would India prefer ? (18. 7. 1941.)

Some Utterances of Jawaharlal Nehru

"To the attention of those in authority who are seeking a solution for the Indian political problem, a means of striking a chord in Indian hearts, I would commend such utterances as the following taken from different parts of *The Unity of India*," writes Mr. Arthur Moore of "The Statesman" of Calcutta, in the course of an article on Nehru's book of that name in the London *Spectator* (18th April) received in India last month. "They have a world-wide application. Indeed, they are worthy of the attention of our great Prime Minister."

"The day of small countries is past. It is also patent that the day of even big countries standing by themselves is past. Huge countries like the Soviet Union or the United States of America may be capable of standing by themselves, but even they are likely to join themselves with other countries or groups. The only intelligent solution is a world federation of free countries."

"In Europe people talk of a European federation or union; sometimes they include the United States of America and the British Dominions in this group. They leave out always China and India, imagining that these two great countries can be ignored. There can be no world-arrangement which is based on ignoring India or China. . . . . If there are to be federations, India will not fit into a European federation where it can only be a hanger-on of semi-colonial status."

"On the eve o. the French collapse Britain's rulers were unorthodox enough to propose a union of England and France. That was an astounding proposal. It came too late. But it showed that the British Government had got out of the ruts, and could take a big step if the situation demanded it."

"I should have liked to keep the silken bonds of the spirit between India and England. These bonds can exist only in freedom. I wanted freedom, for India's sake, of course; but I also wanted it for England's sake."

"India achieving her independence in this way would not look unfavourably to certain privileges in the matter of trade and commerce being granted to Britain. She might even accept certain financial burdens which in justice should not fall on her. We would be willing to pay this price for freedom with peace, for the cost of conflict will, in any event, be much greater. India would also be a friend and colleague in world affairs, provided Britain stood for freedom and democracy."

The first of the extracts picked out by Mr. Arthur Moore shows that Jawaharlal wants a world federation of free countries. The last shows that he would not object to be Britain's "friend and colleague in world affairs, provided Britain stood for freedom and democracy." But would Britain stand for freedom and democracy in India ? (18. 7. 1941.)

League of Nations Working on Reduced Scale

GENEVA, July 16.

A reminder that the League of Nations is still carrying on is given by Mr. Sean Lester, Secretary-General, in the report for 1940-41 in which he states that both the personnel of the League and the budget are considerably reduced but the International Labour Office of which a part has been transferred to Canada is still

working at Geneva on a reduced scale. The Secretariat of the League continues to furnish Governments with "useful information of hygiene, nutrition, housing, social assistance, protection of youth, help to refugees and the fight against abuse of drugs." Mr. Lester expresses the view that after the war responsible statesmen will have to restore the mechanism of international life in order to avoid a return to the tragedy of wars.—*Reuter.*

"The Question of An Indian Settlement"

In the course of a leader the *Manchester Guardian* says:

LONDON, July 15.

"The time has come for the British Government again to take up the question of an Indian settlement. From both sides the war is moving nearer to India. On the east the Japanese press towards Singapore and Burma. On the north-west German intrigue is busy both in Afghanistan and Iran. Should Germany defeat Russia, India will be insecure and would know it. Besides all else, we have this immediate cause to desire a peaceful settlement for India and India to need it for herself.

"To a proper settlement in India there must ultimately be several parties: the British and Indian Governments, the Princes, the Congress, the Moslem League and the smaller minorities. But it is impossible to wait for them to embrace one another before doing something more than we have yet done.

"The question has two parts: framing a new Constitution for India after the war and the methods by which India shall, in the meantime, have a proper share in the Central Government. The second part now hold the field. There is not likely to be any "solution" unless the Viceroy's Council is so reconstructed that Indians will have in it what is to be in effect, whatever it is called, a "National Government." There is the possibility that the Congress and the Moslem League would not at first come in. Every effort should be made to bring them in. Reconciliation in India would be as inspiring as many a victory in the field.—*Reuter.*

The Government of India, the British Government in Britain and British newspapers have been all along trying to persuade themselves to believe and persuade others also to believe that the Muslim League is the sole or at any rate the principal representative organization of the Muslim community. But that is not a fact. The Congress has more Mussalman members than the Muslim League. The membership of the Momin Conference is far larger than that of the Muslim League. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema and the Arhar party are also influential and large nationalist groups—perhaps larger than the Muslim League. It is Lord Linlithgow's persistent patronage of the latter that has given it great importance, and it gets recognition from British imperialists because it stands in the way of the freedom of a United India.

Just as the Government of India, the British Government in Britain and British newspapers ignore all Muslims who do not belong to the Muslim League, so they all ignore the people of the Indian States and recognise only the ruling princes;—and that for similar reasons. Like the Muslim League, the princes, too, stand between an undivided and united India and democratic freedom.

And why does not the *Guardian* mention the Hindu Mahasabha? An Indian settlement to be satisfactory must take into account the existence of the large nationalist groups of Mussalmans, the people of the States, and the Hindu Mahasabha.

The *Guardian* is perfectly right in observing that "it is impossible to wait" for the Muslim League and other parties "to embrace one another before doing some thing more than" what Britain has yet done.

It is good that the *Guardian* wants a "national government" for India, by whatever name it may be called. But it should understand that no government can be a national government in India until and unless Congress comes in. Again, it will not be a national government if it ignores the nationalist Mussalmans and the Hindu Mahasabha. (18. 7. 1941.)

Acceptance of Peace Proposals by Peru

The acceptance of peace proposals by Peru is an item of welcome news like those of the armistice in Syria and the restoration of Abyssinian independence.

LIMA (Peru), July 17.

The Peruvian Government have announced their acceptance of the mediation proposals put forward by the United States, Argentina and Brazil in the border dispute between Peru and Ecuador and have agreed to withdraw their troops 15 kilometres from the frontier.

The Peruvian Government have also agreed that a Peruvian and Ecuadorian civil and military commission shall supervise the withdrawal and that military aircraft shall not fly over the frontier zone until a peace and friendship pact has been signed between the two countries.

Ecuador has already accepted the mediation proposals.

Border incidents occurred on the frontier between Ecuador and Peru at the beginning of July. The Ecuadorian Ministry of Defence announced that Peruvian troops had attacked frontier posts and bombed three towns, while the Peruvian Government blamed Ecuador for the incidents which started the hostilities.—*Reuter.*

Defence Advisory Committee

SIMLA, July 17.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief General Sir Archibald Wavell at a Press conference this morning announced that the following members of the Central Legislature had agreed to be members of the Defence Advisory Committee:

Four members from the Council of State—Lala Ramsarandas, Mr. V. V. Kalikar, Sir Mohamed Yakub and Sardar Buta Singh.

Six members from the Assembly—Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Sir Henry Gidney, Mr. L. C. Buss, Lieut.-Col. M. A. Rahman, Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Capt. Dalpat Singh.

Gen. Wavell also announced that the heavy burden of work which had fallen on the Defence Department had necessitated its expansion and that it had been decided to appoint an Additional Secretary to the Department. That appointment would be taken up by Sir Gurunath Bewoor, at present Director-General, Post and Telegraphs. Sir Gurunath will be Defence spokesman in the Assembly and Secretary to the Defence Advisory Committee.—*A. P.*

The work of the Defence Advisory Committee, if it be not a mere make-believe, would include the giving of advice relating to adequate preparations for the defence of India. No defence preparations can be adequate without an army large enough for the area and population of India, a big navy and a large air force—all adequately equipped and manned by trained fighters. The numbers of fighters required for fighting on land and sea and in the air would not be sufficiently large unless all provinces and regions were drawn upon for recruits. Advisers should be able to say how recruits can be best had from all areas. Such advice can come most appropriately and in the most practicable and acceptable forms only from advisers who belong to the areas concerned. But there are no such men in the committee. (18. 7. 1941.)

Do India's Statesmen Read India's Classics ?

At the sixteenth ordinary meeting of the Royal Society of Arts Professor Gilbert Murray's lecture on " Hellenism and our Present Cause " was read in his absence owing to his illness. The whole lecture as published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* deserves to be studied. Below we make a long extract from it, with the question at the top of this note, " Do Indian statesmen read India's classics ? " :—

The old classical tradition, with all its weaknesses, has deep roots in England.

Two members of the House of Commons were once discussing why it was that Mr. Gladstone, when compared with such highly able and industrious colleagues as Joseph Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, seemed to tower above them by a sort of " greatness " of mind and character. " One thing is," said one of them, " that Mr. Gladstone spends his spare time reading Homer and Plato and Dante and the Bible, whereas Dilke and Chamberlain mostly read bluebooks." Bluebooks, of course, seemed far more businesslike; bluebooks taught them the facts and statistics which they wanted to know, and in the end bluebooks tended to make the furniture of their minds. Mr. Gladstone could get up the facts and statistics when they were wanted, but for a permanent possession he preferred to carry about with him the greatest thoughts of poets, saints and philosophers. And when he spoke, that possession coloured his language; when he faced a political problem, those ideas formed his background.

There is something peculiarly English or at least British in this attitude of mind. I am sure neither Bethmann-Hollweg nor Stresemann, not to speak of the present usurpers of power in Germany, would ever have spent their leisure in reading Homer and Plato and the New Testament. They might have listened to music; they would probably have drunk beer; but read Greek—the very idea would have seemed ridiculous. University professors were paid to do that. In France it would be different. There would be quite as much literature, but not so much classics. M. Herriot, an omnivorous reader, might be caught with Dante or Vergil, and Marshal Petain with the *Imitatio Christi;* but Laval, Briand, and the majority of ex-Prime Ministers—I think not.

Among English statesmen of the older tradition, a weakness for great literature, and in particular for Greek literature, has been almost endemic. Charles James Fox is a striking instance. It is always difficult for us moderns to understand the enormous affection and admiration which Fox inspired. To us he seems a courageous and eloquent but singularly unsuccessful statesman. But listen to the opinion of a contemporary, not actually a member of Fox's party; to Sir Francis Burdett he was " the man who is universally acknowledged to be the greatest character in this country, whose virtues and abilities are so transcendent as to hold him out to the whole world as an object of esteem and admiration." Was not his secret the same as Mr. Gladstone's ? He was not very diligent about bluebooks; Pitt easily beat him there. He read great literature and his mind was full of the kind of thoughts that inspired the greatest writers of the past. He was quite an authority on Euripides. He seems to have been at home in great literature everywhere. Once at Rogers' breakfast table he was suddenly asked what was the greatest work of imagination produced in Italy in the eighteenth century. Most of us, I think, would have felt rather at a loss or at least have asked for notice of that question. But Fox was not taken aback; he suggested at once " Metastasio's *Death of Adam.*"

Burke, Gladstone, Peel, Lord Derby, Asquith, Bryce, Baldwin—and may we add General Wavell ?—all carried on the tradition, not merely a tradition of classical scholarship, but something far deeper—a conviction, held as an obvious and indisputable truth, that however pressing a particular crisis, and however important the immediate financial or electoral interests involved, there are always other considerations more permanent, considerations of wisdom or honour or magnanimity or may be of eternal right and wrong.

Hitler's Oil Problem

We have written in a note in the last July issue that one of the objects of Hitler's attack on Russia is to obtain supplies of oil. This opinion is confirmed by the following telegram :

LONDON, June 28.

Oil is Hitler's economic soft spot and he is not happy about his future supplies, declared Doctor Dalton, Minister of Economic Warfare at Cardiff today (Saturday). This was implied by the recent Nazi moves in the Baltic and the Middle East and Russia. " Once the enemy's supplies fall below a certain figure, Germany will be unable to continue the war."

Dr. Dalton added that he was very happy to read that Constanza was ablaze. This port was stocked full of oil which the Germans were unable to get away owing to the British blockade. Germany was using vast quantities of oil in the attack over a thousand miles front in Russia.—*Reuter.*

The Bratachari Movement in South India

We take the following extracts from *The Hindu* of Madras (10th and 11th June, 1941) :

SAIDAPET, June 9.

An impressive demonstration of the Bratachari activities by the Bratacharis under training was a feature of the concluding function of the First South India Bratachari Training Camp, held last evening at the camp centre at Poonamallee. Mr. A. S. Daraiswami Reddiar, President of the Chingleput District Board, presided. There was a very large gathering present, including Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar.

After a Spade March and prayer, Mr. K. Sanjiva Kamath read an account of the activities of the Camp.

MADRAS, June 10.

The Bratacharis, who were in training at the first South India Bratachari Training Camp held at Poonamallee during the last four weeks, gave a farewell demonstration in the City last evening at the Gokhale Hall. Mr. S. Venkatesa Iyengar presided. There was a large gathering present.

Mr. Venkatesa Iyengar said that service to the motherland was the chief ideal of the movement and if once that ideal was inculcated in the minds of the youth of the country, all their problems would be solved. The movement also stood for unity and he wished all success to the movement in the province. He said that they must be grateful to Mr. K. Sanjiva Kamath for his efforts to establish the movement in this province.

SAIDAPET, June 9.

A rally of the trainees at the South India Bratachari Training Camp was held this morning at the Board High School, Poonamallee, at which the "enrolment ceremony" took place. The trainees were invested with the Bratachari badges by Mr. K. Sanjiva Kamath, General Secretary of the South India Bratachari Society, Mr. S. Venkatesa Iyengar, Honorary Treasurer of the Society, presided.

Poonamallee Panchayat Board gave a farewell to the first batch of South Indian Bratacharis at the Panchayat Board Office this forenoon. After prayer, Mr. Seshachariar, President of the Panchayat Board, read the farewell address.

Tagore Number of the Visva-Bharati Quarterly

The recent celebrations of Rabindranath's eightieth birth anniversary have been marked by the publication of a bunch of Tagore Numbers and Supplements of Bengali and English periodicals. Most of these are beautifully produced, and contain useful articles, many of which are of abiding interest on the life and work of the Poet. The latest in the field, but not the least, either in quality or in bulk, is the Tagore Birthday Number of the Visva-Bharati Quarterly, ably edited by Srijut Krishna Kripalani. It is a sumptuous volume of 341 pages, and has an imposing list of contributors, as will be seen from the announcement appearing in the advertisement pages. Among the useful features are "A Tagore Chronicle" (1861-1941), "Chronology of Tagore's Bengali Books," "Tagore's English Books," "List of Tagore's Writings in the Visva-Bharati Quarterly," "Tagore's Writings in the Modern Review," and "Books written on Tagore" (in Bengali, Hindi, English, Hungarian, German, Dutch, Portuguese, French, Italian and Chinese).

The reproductions in colours of three of Rabindranath Tagore's paintings are excellent. The other illustrations also are very fine. A fuller notice of the number will appear in a subsequent issue of *The Modern Review*.

Seventh Volume of Tagore's Bengali Works

It was estimated that those Bengali works of Rabindranath Tagore which were not condemned by him as immature and which he had allowed to be republished would fill 25 big volumes. Of these the seventh has just appeared. Of the works of his earlier years which he would not at first allow to be republished but of which later he agreed to allow the republication in a separate series at the earnest request of many lovers of his works, one big volume has already appeared. What may be called the 'authorized' volumes by way of distinction, will most probably exceed 25 in number, as he has written much after the estimate was made.

The works which he would feign consign to oblivion would do credit to many other poets.

Abanindranath Tagore Completes His Seventieth Year

Abanindranath Tagore completes the seventieth year of his life this month. His pupils, many of whom have won distinction as artists, and his numerous friends and admirers desire to celebrate the occasion in a fitting manner.

Abanindranath's chief distinction is not only that of a great artist but also that of being the father of the modern artistic renaissance in India. Some of his best works have been reproduced in colours and some in monochrome. But it is to be regretted that there is no complete collection of reproductions of his works. It is a matter for still greater regret that there is not even a complete list of his works. It is too late now to try to compile an exhaustive list. But some of his old pupils and lovers of his art may be able to draw up a tolerably adequate list if they collaborate.

Abanindranath's fame as an artist has thrown into the background his distinction as a Bengali author. Some of his writings have been translated into French by Madame Andre Kerpeles. We are glad the Visva-bharati Publication Board has undertaken to republish his

stories and the Calcutta University has decided to publish the lectures on art which he delivered in Bengali as its Bagishwari Professor of Indian Fine Arts. We are told that the University has been printing in book form those lectures of his which appeared in the now defunct Bengali monthly *Bangavānī*. But we understand, Dr. Abanindranath Tagore has said that some of them appeared in the Bengali monthly *Prabāsī* also.

Our information is that Sj. Mukul Dey, Principal, Government School of Arts in Calcutta, has in his possession many of the early pen and ink drawings by Abanindranath. If our information be correct, these, if reproduced in a suitable form and made available to the art-loving public, would be much appreciated.

Acharya Ray Octogenary Celebrations

As the readers of the daily papers are aware, Achārya Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray completes the eightieth year of his life on the 2nd of August, 1941. The celebration of this memorable event in the life of this greatly honoured scientist, educationalist, industrialist, philanthropist, publicist and author will begin on the 2nd of this month with the holding of a public meeting.

"Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India"

Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India is the third of the valuable big volumes relating to the life and activities of Raja Rammohun Roy which Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D., has brought out. The first of these, *Selections from Official Letters and Documents Relating to the Life of Raja Rammohun Roy*, was prepared with the collaboration of Rai Bahadur Ramāprasād Chanda, B.A., F.R.A.S.B., who contributed to it a valuable biographical memoir of Raja Rammohun Roy. The second volume of the series is entitled *Raja Rammohun Roy and the Last Moghuls* (Selection from Official Records, 1803-1859). With the publication of the third volume, the author has placed before the public all the principal documents relating to the Raja available in India. Foreign sources, such as the British Museum and India Office in London, the National Library in Paris, similar collections in Copenhagen and other places, etc., have still to be laid under contribution. It is hoped that, if the author receives adequate encouragement of the public, he will be able to visit these repositories of valuable material in foreign countries, too.

The volumes already before the public are such that no one seriously interested in the life story of the Father of Modern India can do without them. They are, moreover, source books of the history of India during the last decade of the 18th and the first four decades of the 19th century. As such they should be recommended as source books of history which our universities should require their advanced students of history to make full use of. All universities and colleges ought to have these volumes in their libraries. Public libraries also ought to have them.

Governor-General's Enlarged Executive Council

In a *communique* dated Simla, July 21, 1941, the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the constitution of a National Defence Council are announced.

The *Communique* runs as follows:

> "As a result of the increased pressure of work in connection with the war," says the *communique*, "it has been decided to enlarge the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India in order to permit the separation of portfolios of Law and Supply and Commerce and Labour; the division of the present portfolio of Education, Health and Lands into separate portfolios of Education, Health and Lands and Indians Overseas; and the creation of portfolios of Information and of Civil Defence."
>
> His Majesty the King has approved the following appointments to the five new seats on the Council:
>
> *Member for Supply.*—Sir Hormusji P. Mody, K.B.E., M.L.A. (Central).
>
> *Member for Information.*—The Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, P.C.
>
> *Member for Civil Defence.*—Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao.
>
> *Member for Labour*—Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon, K.C.I.E.
>
> *Member for Indians Overseas.*—Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central).
>
> For the vacancies which will occur when Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan and Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai take up the posts, to which they have recently been appointed, His Majesty has approved the appointments of:
>
> Sir Sultan Ahmed to be Law Member and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, M.L.A., to be Member for Education, Health and Lands.

This is in no way equivalent to the "National Government" demanded by the Congress. Nor is it the kind of Executive Council suggested by the Non-party Leaders' Conference in Bombay.

"Increased pressure of work in connection with the war" is said to be the reason why the Executive Council has been expanded.

"Increased pressure" would be felt most by the holder of the (Military) Defence portfolio and perhaps also by the holders of the Finance and Railways and Communications portfolios.

But there has been no splitting up of these portfolios. Did the Council Members complain of overwork? What increase of pressure has resulted from the war in the departments of Education, Health and Lands and that of Indians overseas?

The taxpayers' money should not have been wasted in expanding the Council unnecessarily, and without transferring any real power to Indian hands.

In the *communique*,

> The composition of the expanded Executive Council is described as the best evidence of the anxiety of the Viceroy and of His Majesty's Government to secure really representative non-officials of the highest possible standing for important positions of responsibility.

No non-official, not even Mahatma Gandhi, can be claimed as a "really *representative*" non-official unless he has been elected by some organization or body representative of the people or of a section of the people.

We have no desire to minimize or understate the qualifications of the gentlemen selected by the Governor-General. But the statement that they are "really representative non-officials of the *highest* possible standing" cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. The Government of India Act of 1935 has fully succeeded in rousing or aggravating provincialism, communalism and political partisanship. So we shall not criticize the Viceroy's selection as regards provinces outside Bengal;—we will speak only of Bengal. As we do not belong to any political party—not certainly to the faction opposed to Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, it is to be hoped our comments will not be misunderstood by his friends and himself.

His opponents have tried to make out that he is utterly unfit to hold the portfolio of Education. We do not hold any such opinion. He is a very intelligent man of affairs and a successful man of business. He is undoubtedly qualified to deal with the administrative and financial sides of the subjects of Education, Health and Lands. His note on the Bengal Secondary Education Bill, for example, shows that he has a thorough grasp of the secondary educational requirements of Bengal and the money required to meet those needs adequately.

But at the same time it cannot be truthfully stated that he is a "really representative non-official of *highest possible* standing," so far, for example, as the subject of Education is concerned. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, for example, would have been unquestionably more really representative of Bengal and of higher standing as regards the subject of Education and by his experience and academic qualifications very well qualified to deal with the academic, administrative and financial aspects of all grades and kinds of education.

The paragraph from the *communique* on which we have commented states that the Viceroy's nominees are to fill "important positions of responsibility." That reminds us that they are *not* to be responsible to the Legislature, which is at least partially representative of and responsible to the people;—they are to be resposible only to the Governor-General.

The Leader of Allahabad writes:

> Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao has been appointed Member for Civil Defence. No one questions his ability, but what does he know about civil defence? He is to make a special study of the civil defence in Britain before coming over to India. That is, he is going to qualify himself for the job. Malik Sir Firoz Khan Noon is to be Member for Labour. We are not aware of his special qualifications for this office. But the Punjab had to be represented. (25.7.1941).

The "National Civil Defence Council"

Regarding the constitution of the "National" *Civil* Defence Council the *communique* states:

> In pursuance of the desire of His Majesty's Government to associate Indian non-official opinion as fully as possible with the prosecution of the war, approval, on the recommendation of the Viceroy, has also been given to the establishment of a National Defence Council, the first meeting of which will take place next month.
>
> The Council, the strength of which will be about thirty members, will include representatives of Indian States as well as of Provinces and of other elements in the national life of British India in its relation to the war effort. The following will be the members from British India:
>
> Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, M.L.A.
>
> The Hon. Maulvi Saiyid Sir Muhammad Saadulla, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Assam.
>
> The Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Bengal, Sir Muhammad Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhatari, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E., Kumararajah Sir Muthia Chettiyar of Chettinad, M.L.A., the Hon. Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, K.C.I.E., Mr. Ramrao Madhavrao Deshmukh, M.L.A., Lt.-Col. Sir Henry Gidney, M.L.A., Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., M.L.A., Raja Bahadur of Khallijkote, M.L.A., the Hon. Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan, M.L.A., Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, M.L.A., Mr. G. B. Morton, O.B.E., Mr. Biren Mukerjee, Lieut. Sardar Naunihal Singh Man, M.B.E., M.L.A., Begum Shah Nawaz, M.L.A., the Hon. Khan Bahadur Major Sirdar Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, K.B.E., M.L.A., Premier of the Punjab, Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, Prof. E. Ahmed Shah, the Hon. Khan Bahadur Alla Muhammad Umar Soomro Baksh, O.B.E., M.L.A., Chief Minister of Sind, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, M.L.A. and Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Usman, K.C.I.E.
>
> The names of the Indian States members will be announced separately.

The following paragraphs relate to the constitution, personnel and functions of the National Civil Defence Council.

> The expanded Executive Council and the National Defence Council are characterised as two elements of

the expansion of machinery which has been decided upon. The Defence Council, if it is to fulfil the functions for which it is intended, will also claim more time of the members of the Executive Council.

The personnel of the Defence Council is selected in such a way as to give representation not only to territorial areas but to different interests, functions and communities. Muslim representation, for instance, is secured by no less than four Prime Ministers in addition to the only woman representative Begum Shah Nawaz. From the point of view of representation of functions, Commerce is strongly represented by Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, Sir Muthia Chettiar, Mr. Morton and Mr. Mukherjee; while Labour is represented by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Dr. Ambedkar, military interests by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, minority interests other than Muslim by Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Parsis), Mr. Raja (Scheduled Castes) and Sir Henry Gidney (Anglo-Indians) and Prof. Ahmad Shah (Indian Christians).

It is proposed that the Council should meet about once every two months under the chairmanship of the Viceroy himself. The proceedings will be in camera and special arrangements will be made to ensure secrecy. Only members of the Council will ordinarily be present, but the Governor-General will have discretion to invite members of the Executive Council or any other officer to be present, when necessary. At each meeting, apart from other business, the Council will receive a full and confidential statement of the War position and of the position in regard to Supply. The Council is intended to act as a liaison between provincial War effort and the War effort of the centre.—*A. P.*

The members of this council are to have no powers and no responsibilities evidently.

In another part of the *communique* it is explained that the Civil Defence Member, and of course the Civil Defence Council, too, will not have anything to do with the military defence of the country. Of course;—that is the Britishers' preserve.

Of the two new portfolios, namely, Civil Defence and Information, it is explained that the first has nothing to do with military defence but will include A. R. P. and the creation of services and provision of equipment necessary to deal with the immediate danger or the effects not only of air attack but of hostile action by land or naval bombardment; maintenance of essential services under these different forms of hostile action; care of the fugitive population, or those rendered homeless, demolition, prevention of panic, etc., it is expected that as in England Civil Defence will develop into a large and important portfolio which it is impossible to combine with any other department. Mr. E. Raghavendra Rao, the Member in charge, who is now in England is to make a special study of the Civil Defence situation there before coming over to India.

Under Information are included the task of mobilising the country's war effort and preserving the confidence and morale of the population.

In the Civil Defence Council one of the two members "representing" Bengal is the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, M.L.A., Chief Minister of Bengal. The *communique* states that the work of the Civil Defence Member, and of the Civil Defence Council by implication, will include "care of the fugitive population or those rendered homeless, demolition, prevention of panic, etc." Mr. Fazlul Huq and his Ministry are supposed to have done this kind of work to perfection in the town and district of Dacca and and its neighborhood! It is perhaps for that reason that the head of that Ministry has been selected by the Governor-General for membership of the Civil Defence Council. (25. 7. 1941.)

Policy Underlying Council Expansion and Formation of Defence Council

"Described as 'non-political and non-communal,' the expansion now announced, will result in a Council with three officials and eight non-officials as against the existing Council of four officials and three non-officials, excluding the Commander-in-Chief.

"It is claimed that the announcement implements the offer of last August substantially, so far as the present attitude of the major political parties permits. It is emphasised there has been no change of policy since the August offer was made; that the object of the present expansion is efficient government of a country at war; and that the changes made are within the frame-work of the constitution and without prejudice to the future constitutional settlement by agreement among the political parties.

"Explaining the policy, underlying the expansion as well as the constitution of the National Defence Council, it is pointed out that they should be regarded purely as a war measure and not as intended to satisfy or stave off any political demand. No political demand is excluded or prejudged by what is being done. All the promises made in the August offer still stand.

"Questions of modification of the existing constitution were advisedly excluded from present consideration, until they could be dealt with by proper machinery after the war. The individuals to be appointed, it is pointed out, are persons whose status as representative Indians is beyond question.

"The development of the war situation and the possible approach of the centre of operations towards India, it is said, may mean that there would be even heavier calls on the machinery of Government in the future than in the past and it is necessary to see that the Executive Council is not shorthanded. It is also necessary to see that members should not be tied down by burden of departmental work to their headquarters. It must be possible for them to tour India.

"They will hold office at His Majesty's pleasure.

"Members existing as well as new of the expanded Executive Council, it is officially stated, will draw Rs. 66,000 a year, instead of the present salary of Rs. 80,000. It is expected that they will assume charge without unnecessary delay."

The claim that the expanded council will be "non-political and non-communal" is untenable. It would continue to be "political" in a bad sense, inasmuch as all the important portfolios and the "key positions" as it were, *e.g.*, Home, (military) Defence, Finance, Railways and Communications, would continue to be held by Englishmen and British I.C.S. men.

The expanded Council would also certainly be "communal," because in it Muslims have been given as many seats as Hindus, though the latter are three times as many in the total

population of India as the Muslims, and though a very much larger share of the burden of taxes is borne by Hindus than by Muslims.

We are not interested in discussing whether the present announcement implements the offer of August (1940) or not. No party in India thought that offer worthy of acceptance.

It is stated that the 'object of the present expansion is efficient government,' etc. Has the government been inefficient uptill now? If the present expansion has been possible now without all parties in India arriving at an agreement, why was it not possible ten or eleven months ago?

The *communique* need not have given the assurance that "there has been no change of policy since the August offer was made." We understand British policy and its object, so far as mortal men who are not imperialists can understand them.

The words,

> ". . . . the changes made are within the frame-work of the constitution and without prejudice to the future constitutional settlement by agreement among the political parties."

and the paragraph which follows them are very helpful. They fit in with Mr. Amery's Everlasting No.

We deny that the individuals appointed "are persons whose status as representative Indians is beyond question." They undoubtedly represent themselves and their friends. But it may be questioned how many of them would have secured the highest places if a general plebiscite of all voters, irrespective of creed and caste, had been taken. Nay, it is not certain that even the communities or small sections of the communities to which they belong, would have returned them by absolute majorities of votes. (25. 7. 1941.)

White Paper on Expanded Executive Council

The parliamentary white paper relating to the expanded viceregal executive council and the new Defence Council, judging from its cabled summary, does not tell us anything more than the Simla *communique* on the subject. What is aimed at is not any constitutional advance for India, but only consolidation of the British war effort. It has been represented that if Britain be defeated in the war, India will be in great danger, and, therefore, Britain is fighting in India's interest, too. But the question is, if India were not a British possession, would Britain have felt any concern for India's safety? It is because Britain may lose her most valued possession, that there is anxiety for India in British minds. If Britain loses and Russia loses and Germany wins, China will be in great danger. But there is no such anxiety for China as there is for India in British minds. Why? Because China is not a British possession.

We want Britain to win with all our heart, whatever happens to us. But any talk that Britain is fighting India's battle is sickening. Britain is fighting for her own freedom and existence in the first place, and in the second place she is fighting to see that India neither becomes independent nor passes into the hands of any other power.

The Viceroy will have advice from Indian men in greater abundance than before, but he will be as free as before to accept or reject such advice at his own sweet will. That is to say, he will remain as great an autocrat as he is now.

The old insincere cant is repeated that

> "Constitutional changes in India are quite impracticable while the British Empire is engaged on a vital struggle for its existence and that agreement between major political parties and interests in India is a fundamental condition or consideration of any new constitutional scheme."

It is not at all true that constitutional changes are quite impracticable while the British Empire is engaged in a vital struggle for its existence. When a joint Franco-British citizenship was proposed by the British Government at a very critical stage of the present war, was not that a very fundamental constitutional change and was not Britain then engaged in a vital struggle? In the midst of this very war the British Government decided to introduce reforms in the constitutions of Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guina. Moreover, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has shown that the giving effect to the non-party Leaders' Conference Bombay resolution would not have required any constitutional change. Why was it not given effect to?

If instead of authorizing the Viceroy to select his own men, the British Government had allowed the Central and Provincial Legislatures, or the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League and the Nationalist Muslim organizations to select their own representatives, would they have chosen men less able, less experienced and less anti-Nazi?

Debate in Parliament About Expanded Council, Etc.

When Mr. Amery had announced the India White Paper in the House of Commons, Sir Hugh O'Neill suggested that the House should express appreciation of the patience exercised

by the Viceroy without which it would not have been possible to make the enlargement of the Executive Council. He asked what would be the function of the National Defence Council.

Mr. Amery in reply said :

"I entirely agree with what has been said about the infinite patience and tact, which the Viceroy has exercised for many months to try and get together a team which will co-operate for the defence of India and have the common cause of India and ourselves at heart. He has now succeeded in getting together what I consider the most representative and powerful National Defence Council. It is an advisory body and the object is to keep the Central Government of India in its war effort in touch with the different Provincial Governments and Indian States, with commerce, labour, etc."

So far as defeating the Nazis is concerned Britain and India have a common cause. Beyond that Britain's and India's causes are different. Britain wants to keep India in subjection as long as she can; India wants to be free as early as practicable.

Mr. Gordon MacDonald (Labour) asked Mr. Amery,

"Is he aware that the limited character of the statement will cause intense disappointment to many freedom-loving people who are supporters of that country?"

There was considerable interruption when Mr. Gordon MacDonald referred to the statement as "of limited character."

When the truth is told, it cannot but have a disturbing effect on those who are selfish.

Mr. Amery replied :

"The statement of administrative changes was calculated to bring men of goodwill into closer association with the Governor-General of India. The constitutional position of the Government of India in the future has already been stated."

All who do not "co-operate" with British imperialists on those imperialists' own terms are by implication branded as men of ill-will.

Mr. Graham White (Liberal) asked whether Mr. Amery would consider the desirability of having discussions in the House of Commons so that opinion with regard to India could have free expression and whether Mr. Amery contemplated inviting any leaders to come to Great Britain to co-operate in the war effort as others have come from the Dominions.

Mr. Amery pointed out that Mr. White's first question was a matter of the business not under his control. while the second question was not under discussion at the moment.

Oh yes; of course. But the real reason for Mr. Amery's evading the questions was that he could not possibly have answered them satisfactorily.

Mr. Sorensen (Labour) asked,

"Have consultations taken place with the Indian Congress or the Muslim League and are any representatives of either of these bodies in the new body?" Mr. Sorensen also asked whether the Viceroy would be able to exercise his veto with regard to the decisions of the enlarged Council.

Mr. Amery replied :

"For many months the Viceroy had conducted negotiations with the Congress and the Muslim League with a view to securing complete co-operation. He has now succeeded in securing the co-operation of many representative men, some of whom are members of the Moslem League and others who have been closely associated with the Congress."

Does the Congress or does the Muslim League admit that these individuals are still associated with the Congress or are still members of the Muslim League? The fact is, they are not.

Replying to Sir Stanley Reed, Mr. Amery said that the new members of the Executive Council would share full statutory collective responsibility of the whole Council as well as being responsible for the administration of important departments. As to Mr. Sorensen's question about the veto, the powers of the Viceroy under the Constitution remained unchanged.

That is to say, the Viceroy will continue to be free to veto the decisions of the Council.

Miss Rathbone (Independent) was called to order when she asked Mr. Amery if he had considered what influence on the attitude of the Congress the change of situation in regard to Russia may have.

This calling to order is significant.

Mr. Amery to-night (Tuesday) described those who had joined the Viceroy's Executive Council as a "team of ability and experience which it would be difficult to rival in India or indeed elsewhere."

When a man has recourse to exaggeration, one may be sure he has a weak case.

If India possesses men of such transcendent and unrivalled ability, why does not Britain agree to India's becoming self-ruling?

They were, he declared, men with administrative, political and business experience and of personal ability. The Viceroy's War Cabinet would be very much stronger today for their inclusion. They would in the fullest sense share in the collective responsibility and statutory responsibility of the Executive Council as well as direct important Departments which had been entrusted to them. The aim, said Mr. Amery, was to increase the efficiency of Government and to make full use of the vast and hitherto insufficiently tapped reservoir of Indian ability and patriotism.

Is it then admitted that Government has not been sufficiently efficient hitherto?

Measures "marking a change in the spirit, if not letter, of India's constitution" were the earnest of the British Government's desire to transfer to Indian hands steadily an increasing share in India's destiny.

There is no change in the spirit of India's constitution. There is no "earnest of the British Governments' (alleged) desire" perceptible yet. No "increasing share in India's destiny" has been transferred to Indian hands. All real power still remains in British hands.

"The National Defence Council will be very far from being a body of "yes men" said Mr. Amery. At the meeting of the Council, members would be informed in confidence of affairs which they would discuss with the Viceroy and in turn put forward their own suggestions. After the meeting they would return to their provinces and confer with their representatives. In this way, it was hoped that there would be continual contact between the Viceroy and his Executive on the one hand and Provincial or State Government, Local War Committees or industrial organisations on the other.

Mr. Amery thought that it ought to prove most helpful in guiding and stimulating India's war effort. "I cannot help hoping, that in the course of working together side by side in the common interest of India's safety and India's future, that representatives on these bodies of men of every political complexion and community will be drawn closer together. I hope they will find bonds of mutual understanding and sympathy, which may immensely facilitate the solution of those very difficult inter-communal and inter-party problems which are today the main obstacle to India's attainment of her rightful position as a free and equal member in the British Commonwealth."—*Reuter*.

As neither the expanded Executive Council nor the Defence Council contains representatives "of men of *every* political complexion and community," how can all communities and political parties be drawn together by working together in those bodies? For example, there are no Congressmen or Hindu Mahasabhaites there.

India's really "rightful position" is that of an entirely "free and equal member" of the brotherhood of free and independent nations. But assuming without admitting that her "rightful position is that of a free and equal member in the British Commonwealth," the "main obstacle to her attainment of that position" is Britain's determination not to part with power as long as possible and her resolve to exploit our differences to the full in her own selfish interests. (25. 7. 1941.)

Opinions on the Changes in India

MAHATMA GANDHI'S OPINION

WARDHA, July 22.

"The announcement does not affect the stand taken by the Congress nor does it meet the Congress demand" declared Mahatma Gandhi interviewed by the *Associated Press* on the announcement regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the establishment of the National Defence Council.

Asked whether members of the A.-I. C. C. should be released in order to enable them to consider the present situation in the light of the announcement, Mahatma Gandhi said: "I can at once say that I have no authority to prevent the members of the A.-I. C. C. from doing anything they wish to do. The authority given to me by the A.-I. C. C. does not permit my interference with the fullest freedom of its members, and in any case the bodies that gave me the authority can at any time refuse it or withdraw it."—*A. P.*

MR. SAVARKAR'S VIEW

BOMBAY, July 22.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha says, in part:

The announcement of the expansion of the Executive Council, the constitution of the National Defence Council and the Defence Advisory Committee, constitute together a step in the right direction, but, as usual, this step is so belated and so halting that it cannot dissipate the bitterness felt by patriotic parties in India that she should still continue to be satisfied with occupying no better status than the hated one of a dependency.

Even this war has not opened the eyes of Britain to the need that India should be granted at least equal co-partnership in the Indo-British Commonwealth. Secondly, she is bound to weigh like a millstone round the British neck, rendering both of them liable to be overtaken by still more formidable political disaster than what the war at its present stage threatens to prove.

Nevertheless, if these announcements are meant to pave the way for further and rapid developments of constitutional progress on the lines indicated above, they are welcome to that extent. In any case the fullest advantage must be taken of this breach effected in the stronghold of the central citadel of British bureaucracy.

Mr. Savarkar is perhaps mistaken. No breach has been effected.

OPINION OF SOME SIKH LEADERS

SIMLA, July 22.

A statement made by seven Sikh leaders says, in part:

The fact that out of eight Indian non-officials no Sikh has been thought fit to be included in the Central Cabinet, more especially when its expansion has been made to improve the war effort, will be taken by the Sikhs as an insult to the honour and intelligence of the entire Sikh community.

SIR CHIMANLAL SETALVAD'S VIEWS

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, interviewed, said: The distribution of the portfolios among the new members will not create any enthusiasm. Barring the important portfolio of supply given to Sir Homi Mody, the rest of the portfolios are comparatively unimportant and are merely sub-divisions of some of the present portfolios.

RT. HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI ON COUNCIL EXPANSION

COIMBATORE, July 22.

"I do not see what good this announcement will do," declared the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in a press interview on the Viceroy's Council expansion. He added "it is queering the pitch for the Poona Conference, which must condemn it *in toto*. The Government have neither strengthened their position. Nor met the people's demands in the slightest degree."—*A. P.*

DR. SYAMAPROSAD MOOKERJEE'S OPINION

MADRAS, July 22.

Expressing his personal opinion on the announcement about expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of a National Defence Council, Dr. Mookherjee said that it had failed to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people.

DR. HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU'S VIEW

ALLAHABAD, July 22.

"I do not think that the steps taken by the authorities will satisfy the country at all," remarked the Hon. Dr. Hirday Nath Kunzru when questioned by the representative of the *Leader* about his views on the official announcement concerning the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Dr. Kunzru added, "our considered views will be expressed at the Poona Conference."

LUCKNOW, July 25.

It is reliably understood that the Hon. Pundit H. N. Kunzru, declined that offer of a seat in the National Defence Advisory Council as he feels no real purpose will be served by such half-hearted schemes. —*H. S.*

MR. JINNAH'S CHAGRIN

BOMBAY, July 22.

The *communique* announcing the decision regarding the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the so-called National Defence Council is to be most deeply regretted. It will not secure the wholehearted, willing and genuine support, if that is what is honestly required, of Muslim India, for the simple reason that the persons chosen and nominated by the Viceroy are neither real representatives of the people nor will they command the confidence and trust of the Muslims.

The statesmanship of the Viceroy is leading him from one mistake to another and it is most unfortunate and very painful to note that the Viceroy should have canvassed members of the Muslim League over the head of the leader and the executive of the party and it is still more painful that some of the members of the League should have succumbed.

I congratulate the Viceroy on having created defections in the ranks of the Muslim League by securing the services of the Muslim League Premiers and some other members of the League who have associated themselves with this scheme without reference to or knowledge of the leader or the executive of the organisation.

The action and the conduct of the Muslim League Premiers and the members of the League who have associated themselves with this scheme without reference to and knowledge of the executive of the League, in the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the constitution of the National Defence Council as announced in the *communique*, will have to be considered and dealt with as soon as possible.

Mr. Jinnah's statement only betrays the weakness of the Muslim League. The Viceroy has done nothing wrong in fixing his choice on some so-called members of the League. Nor will the latter care a straw for Mr. Jinnah's threat. (26. 7. 1941.)

Rabindranath Tagore in Calcutta

Rabindranath Tagore was brought down to Calcutta from Santiniketan on the 25th July last for medical consultation. May he be restored to health and live among us for many many years to come. (26. 7. 1941.)

Peru-Ecuadorian Conflict

It is painful to note that armed conflict between Peru and Ecuador has broken out afresh.

QUITO, July 25.

An Ecuador *communique* says: "Three Peruvian aeroplanes bombed Puerto Bolivar and the ship *Atahualpa* without result. Fighting is going on at Palmales.

At 2-0 p.m. Peruvian planes bombed Santa Rosa without result. At 4-0 p.m. there was sharp fighting on all fronts. Ecuadorian troops are holding their positions.—*Reuter.*

Condemnation of Two Obnoxious Bengal Bills

Very largely attended meetings continue to be held to condemn the Calcutta Municipal Amendment Bill and the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. (26. 7. 1941.)

Expression of Sympathy with Soviet Russia

Last month there was a large gathering of workers, peasants and the general public in Calcutta to express sympathy with Soviet Russia and wish it success in its defensive war with Germany. (26. 7. 1941.)

Some Leading Indian Intellectuals Wish Well to Soviet Russia

CALCUTTA, July 20.

Good wishes to the Soviets in their present conflict with Nazi Germany are conveyed in a lengthy statement issued over the signatures of over 70 leading Bengalee intellectuals, including newspaper editors, university professors and lawyers.

In their statement the signatories, who are led by Sir P. C. Ray, express the view that the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union has opened a new and momentous phase in world history. The war of machines and of men rages today on a colossal front and on a scale unheard of before. At this hour of trial we feel it is urgent that attention is drawn to the massive, moral and material achievement which the Soviets have to their credit. Some of us have been critical of aspects of the Soviet regime: some again do not support the theory of Marxism which the Soviet has attempted to put into practice. But when one remembers the dark legacy of Czarist misrule, which was followed for years by a disastrous civil war and the intervention against this infant Soviet of nearly all the Powers on earth, the Soviet achievement can only be described as magnificent. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has testified to it in glowing terms and since the two leading sociological investigators in the world today—Sidney and Beatrice Webb—brought out their book on "Soviet Communism—a new civilisation"—information with regard to the U. S. S. R. has been both reliable and abundant.

The statement continues "We in India cannot forget how in the great gesture after the revolution the Soviet renounced all priorities and capitulations and concessions and privileges which the Czarist Government had enjoyed in Asiatic countries along with the other great powers.

It concludes: "The Soviet people have no 'cultured classes' in our sense of the term and want none. They seek a wholly cultured people and try to offer leisure, security and opportunity to all. In a little over twenty years and in face of the most stupendous odds, the common people of the Soviet Union have created what we believe is a new civilisation. We send our good wishes to the Soviets and wait anxiously for the day when they will come out victorious over the forces arrayed against them."—*A. P. I.*

Years ago the beneficent work of the Soviet regime was described by Rabindranath Tagore in his Bengali "Letters from Russia" ("*Russiar Chithi*") first published serially in *Prabasi* and then in book form. (26. 7. 1941.)

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA'S FREEDOM A WORLD PROBLEM

By the Late LALA LAJPAT RAI

The problem of India, that is, the problem whether great India is to be free or slave, is not only an important problem to Great Britain, but it is one of the gravest possible concern to the whole world. It is a question upon which, more perhaps than any other whatever, the future peace of Asia, Europe and the whole world depends.

India is such a huge slice of the earth and contains such an immense population, that no person interested in world-affairs can ignore its importance. India's human potentialities of all kinds are very great. Commercially it is strategic for half the globe. It is the key to the Indian Ocean and the clearing house of the larger part of the Orient. This is why militarism and imperialism have always looked upon it with eyes of greed. This is why India has inspired Alexanders, Tamerlanes, Napoleons, Wellesleys, Czars and Kaisers with visions of world-empire. This is why for two centuries Great Britain has shaped her foreign diplomacy, her military plans and her imperial policy with a constant eye to strengthening her hold on India, her richest province, her greatest source of wealth and prestige. This is why she has carried on so many wars to guard the borders of India, to keep open her road to India, to weaken any nation that might endanger her possession of India.

Nor will India in the future be any less an apple of discord among the nations, a source of endless plottings, jealousies, intrigues and wars, so long as she remains a subject people,—a rich prize to be coveted, sought for and fought for by rival nations. Her only safety and the only promise of peace and safety for the Orient or for Europe lie in her freedom; in her ceasing to be a pawn on the chess-board of the world's diplomatic, imperialistic and capitalistic plottings, and in her power to protect herself,—a power which she would abundantly possess if free. In the very nature of the case no League of Nations and no other possible agency or power can ensure peace to the world so long as a great civilized nation, located in the very centre of the world's greatest continent and possessing one-fifth of the entire population of the globe, is in bondage. We see, therefore, why the problem of India's freedom or bondage is not only a world problem, but a problem more fundamental to the world's peace and safety than any other whatever.

[This brief article by the late Lala Lajpat Rai, written more than a dozen years ago, goes to support our argument in our article in the last issue of *The Modern Review*.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

MAGIC—AND MODERN SCIENCE

By VILEM HAAS

The first man who endeavoured to establish a regularity in the processes of nature, was the first scientist. He saw that where a seed had been sunk into the earth a blade of grass grew up, that the moon waxed and waned at regular intervals, that a sharp stone which hit an animal on the head could kill that animal. He saw causes and he saw effects, and he began to seek causes for the processes that he saw. Far was it from primitive thinking to reflect on the more intimate connection between causes and effects. The simplest and most important natural processes, *e.g.*, the birth of a living creature or the sprouting of a plant cannot be explained purely by reasoning. We can only associate a cause and effect with each other, but never quite exactly explain how this cause and this effect are connected with each other causally: life in nature is in itself a mystery, primitive man feels this by instinct; and as nature is his essential problem, he will essentially think purely in analogies, *i.e.*, in this way: where this happens, that happens, *e.g.*, where a seed is sunk into the earth, a blade of grass grows.

But his thinking is not such that he would ask himself why this or that cause really produces this or that effect. For that is generally in living nature an inexplicable fact.

The entire thinking of the earliest peoples thus turns on analogies, not on exact causalities. Even at the present day we can still observe this in those most ancient so-called "magic" sciences, which still live on nowadays somehow—mostly in entirely depraved forms. Thus, for instance, astrology, one of the oldest of the sciences still pursued today, does not at all, at least not in its purer formulations, maintain that a certain constellation causes a certain destiny; it merely says: a certain destiny corresponds to a certain constellation. Whether astrology is right or wrong in saying this, is a different question, about which we do not wish to dispute here. However, among all justified and unjustified objections to astrology (and the writer of the present essay is by no means an adherent of astrology) the weakest and most erroneous objection is that which rests on the misunderstanding that astrology maintains that a certain constellation is the immediate cause of a certain destiny; for the ancient astrologers never maintained this, if only because they were not at all acquainted with this rationalistic mode of thinking. This primitive "magic" thinking even at the present day, in a very low and corrupt form, still plays a large part in the daily lives of many millions of people. as superstition. It is, for instance, a fairly general superstition that if a black cat has crossed our path in the morning, we shall have "bad luck" that day. This—or the like of it—is believed by many millions of people; but it will not occur to any of these people to reflect on the way in which this black cat causes this bad luck. That is a kind of "magic" thinking. thinking in mere analogies, which we still find today very often and even among cultured people, and curiously enough among people of very low and those of very lofty mentality, among primitive, uneducated people and among artists.

Modern ethnology, and above all the researches of the Frenchman Lévy Bruhl, have shown that primitive tribes everywhere generally think in this way. Lévy Bruhl called this mode of thinking quite generally the "thinking of primitive tribes," and the psycho-analysis of Sigmund Freud assumes that to a great extent children and sometimes neurasthenic persons do their thinking in these "primitive" forms, which are not necessarily primitive in a derogatory sense, but are simply scientifically so called.

If we examine this mode of thinking more closely, we see that it had to rest mainly on purely statistic observations—we shall here leave aside the possibility of a higher, mystical or divine inspiration. In the main, the matter must be explained thus: if, for instance, it was observed in many cases that a certain constellation corresponded to a certain human destiny, then this was accepted as a "law of nature" in the astrological sense. And human beings even of today are perhaps to a great extent inclined to assume that this purely analogous or statistic mode of thinking is capable of searching out higher and more profound connections of life, of which our modern mechanistic thinking has lost sight. And there is a correct foundation for this feeling: if we combine processes in living nature to larger complexes and regard them as such, complexes which we designate as "destiny," fatum—then we see that it is no longer a matter of causes and effects in the proper sense of the words; in "destiny" all is cause and effect at the same time. If for instance I walk in a certain street and am run over by a motor-car there, then (provided that I am still alive) it is impossible for me to say what is the cause and what is the effect: my walking in that street, or the driving of the car in that street, or something between the two. And in all great conflicts of life, there is scarcely ever an unequivocal "cause" and an unequivocal "effect."

Now, however—obviously simultaneously with the beginnings of the development of mechanical physics of technology—another mode of causal thinking developed. The effect of a lever or the hurling of a stone or the turning of a wheel are processes wherein the relationship of cause and effect is more apparent and more comprehensible to the human intelligence: the mechanical connections of cause and effect appear to the human understanding as the "causal" connections par excellence. And the human understanding has since then tried again and again to trace all processes of nature to mechanical causes and effects.

A brief survey of the history of human thought would show that first of all certain antique philosophers, Democritus, the school of Epicuros, and above all Lucretius gave the impetus to this mechanistic conception of scientific thought. The Middle Ages constitute a certain interruption: mediaeval thinking was in the main different; scholasticism, for instance, often thought in "analogous" forms, but not "magically"—this thinking was fundamentally different from that of primitive peoples—it was theological. Considerations of space forbid our going into details here. But the real golden age of strictly mechanistic causal thinking in natural

sciences begins with modern times, with Galilei, with Kepler, and especially with Newton and the old French materialists Lamettrie, Holbach, etc. And this kind of scientific thinking completely dominated the "technical age," thus particularly the 19th century. The great scientists of that age really all cherished the same hope, that the totality of natural processes could one day be traced to a few mechanical-causal fundamental laws, *e.g.*, to the law of impetus, the attraction of bodies (Newton), centripetal and centrifugal force, etc. It appeared to them possible to discover the laws of life, of energy, of matter simply by investigating the mechanical relations of the atoms among themselves. Mechanistic thinking came more and more to be regarded as the causal and scientific thinking par excellence, and it was hoped to explain nature as a mechanism.

These hopes of the technical age—with its great technical inventions, which, as it were, held all thinking and research beneath their spell—have been given up to a great extent by modern science. In the same measure in which the most modern sciences penetrated further and further into the details of natural happenings, they were step by step compelled to give up this purely mechanistic causal thinking more and more. They did so and they do so with reluctance, again and again it is maintained that the actual principle of causality is not being given up, only varied but in the last analysis, even the ancient "magic" thinking was a kind of causal thinking, certain causes had certain effects, only the purely mechanical connections of cause and effect were not investigated. But these purely mechanical connections of cause and effect have in many cases proved to be no longer exactly discoverable even today. For instance, certain processes in the atom cannot be established unequivocally on the basis of mechanical laws of nature; only a number of various probabilities can here be established.

Einstein's theory of relativity has, as is well known, completely revolutionised scientific research. Einstein reckons with a four-dimensional space-time continuum, *i.e.*, three dimensions are the three space dimensions familiar to us, the fourth is the lapse of time, which has now become, as it were, a mere new element of the three old space dimensions. The whole conception of the universe of Einstein and his school is no longer palpable and visible, it has a merely mathematical character. The new sciences which are built up on the theory of relativity do indeed also reckon with causal processes, but the latter have not three, but four—and with the latest research scholars even six, eight and ten dimensions—as their sphere, whilst it is precisely of the essence of mechanical causality that the mechanical sequence of cause and effect, *e.g.*, impetus, attraction, centrifugal force, had our palpable three dimensions as its sphere. In short, the whole conception of causality is imperceptibly changing in the hands of our scientists, and is unintentionally approaching ever nearer the old thinking in mere analogies. If we can explain a process in nature only by a causality which requires four, five, six, eight or ten dimensions, then in the scope of our palpable three dimensions this scarcely appears as anything more than as a mere analogy, *i.e.*, the establishing that a certain fact and an other fact are conditioned by each other, without being able to say at all *how* cause and effect are really connected. The place of the strictly mechanical causality in the three-dimensional space is here taken by the mathematical formula, which possibly has more to do with the magic formulæ of the ancient Chaldeans and astrologers than our modern scientists would like to admit.

It is characteristic, too, what decisive importance is now again attached to merely "statistic probabilities." A large part of the results of modern research is based upon such purely statistic probabilities. But then the whole of the ancient magic sciences were based upon such statistic probabilities, *e.g.*, the assumption that a certain destiny corresponds to a certain constellation, can only be the result of statistic observations that it *was* so in many cases, and is in itself no more than a statistic probability; just as certain processes in the atom are, according to the most modern science, calculable only as statistic probabilities. And if the most modern continuation of the general relativity theory, which reckons with a "curved space-time continuum" of space, has as its hypothesis (or as its result) that the universe can have no origin and no end, then this proves to how great an extent the whole modern mode of scientific thought has already abandoned the method of observation in the sense of "cause" and "effect," as it simply eliminates the question of the cause of all causes.

It is very characteristic that one of the most modern scientists of our time, James Jeans, in the consideration of certain processes in the atom, himself mentions that modern research of the atom in itself makes probable the possibility of a "destiny" in living nature, *i.e.*, the possibility of some mysterious connections of life in nature which are not at all, or only very vaguely, discoverable to the human understanding through statistic observations. And as a matter of fact,

even a Chaldean or Egyptian priest would not have asserted anything very different in 3,000 B.C., if he was honest. Only our observations are certainly more exact. Let us revert once more to our example of the black cat. If today the necessary organisation were set up for the scientific investigation of this belief or superstition that a black cat which crosses our path, "brings bad luck," *i.e.*, an exact limitation and formulation of the precise connotation of "bad luck" (*e.g.*, by means of a list of minor and major mishaps) would be undertaken; for instance 1,000,000 cases would be observed, and it would be demonstrated that if in 999,999 cases a black cat indeed brings "bad luck" within twenty-four hours—then every modern scientist would be compelled to recognise this superstition as a "statistic law of nature." A scientist of fifty years ago would simply have laughed at it, because there cannot possibly be any kind of mechanical causal connections here. That is the difference between today and yesterday. If, however, this is so, if science has reached this standpoint, then there can no longer be any general objection to the ancient "magic" or "ethnological" sciences, as hitherto no serious "exact" scientist has taken the trouble to est in detail whether they hold water or not.

It is true that an essential difference is to be observed here, the difference in attitude. The modern scientist will *try* again and again to find a concrete, and moreover, a mechanical cause. He is, after all, a man of the 20th century which comes after the 19th century. The old magician never sought for these mechanical causes. But if the modern scientist does not find these, he just goes to the fourth, sixth or tenth dimension, and in place of mechanical causality we shall then have the mathematical formula and statistics, which, in the sense of the classical natural sciences, is just as "uncausal" as the formula of the old magician.

Thus we see that the more nearly it approaches the more intimate secrets of happenings in nature in detail, our time in the same measure evinces characteristics in its thinking which resemble those of the original thinking of primitive peoples who lived quite differently from us within and with nature; it is true that at present this is on an entirely different, higher spiral of thought. This is perhaps, however, a very great natural process to which our life and our thinking are subjected : and then Einstein's theory of relativity, the physical work of Planck, James Jeans, Schrodinger, Eddington, and the psycho-analysis of Sigmund Freud—who introduced this "*a*causal" thinking into the the psychology of primitive tribes, children and sufferers from certain nervous diseases,—and the present war would be only events in that same gigantic natural process wherein humanity simply reverts once more to its natural and aboriginal state, and the destruction and reconstruction of the world have entered on an inconceivably revolutionary stage.

RURAL FINANCE*

By Dr. SUDHIR SEN, Ph.D.

A rational system of rural finance can no doubt make a substantial contribution to the economic betterment of the rural population. Nevertheless, the role which credit alone can play in this field has often been exaggerated in the past. It is well to recall that the Indian cultivator is indebted because his income is low while it becomes difficult to lend to him at a low rate of interest because he is in debt and therefore not sufficiently credit-worthy. Low income, indebtedness, dear credit—so runs the causal chain. At the same time dear credit itself is a cause of low income and therefore helps to perpetuate indebtedness. If the cultivator has to pay high rates of interest for crop loans, marketing finance, etc., his net return is correspondingly lowered, if he has to pay such rates for the existing debts, he has a smaller balance left to make both ends meet; and lastly, dearth of finance coupled with high interest rates is a definite obstacle in the way of better farming and higher income.

Unless a comprehensive attempt is made to raise the income of the cultivator through every possible channel, efforts to cheapen rural credit can never be very successful. Operations when

* This article sets forth some of the conclusions reached by the writer while working as Secretary to the Sub-Committee on Rural Marketing and Finance of the National Planning Committee.

concentrated only on the credit front can have but limited importance. Its strategic value, however, rises very considerably as soon as an all-round attack is launched simultaneously on various fronts.

With this simple but oft-forgotten truth in mind let us now examine to what extent the problems of India's agriculture can be tackled directly from the credit end.

II

The general practice of distinguishing between short and long term credit has not yet been firmly established in the field of India's agricultural finance. Not the least reason why a large number of co-operative credit societies has come to grief in the past, lies in the failure to realise that such societies from their very nature could deal only with short term loans for productive purposes. In actual practice the advances made by them were only too frequently used by the cultivator in paying off the interest and capital instalments to his creditor with the result that the number of defaulters mounted and the societies found themselves saddled with a disproportionate amount of unrealisable assets. The policy boiled down to one of borrowing short and lending long, which runs counter to the cannons of sound finance. One of our first desiderata in the field of rural finance is to evolve suitable institutions which could specialise in short and long term credit respectively.

III

Long term loans are required by the cultivator mainly for two sets of purposes: either to enable him to carry his load of debt or to bring about some permanent improvement of his land, *e.g.*, by increasing the facilities for irrigation, etc.

As regards indebtedness, the only possible solution of the problem lies (a) in scaling down the existing volume of debts to some reasonable dimensions which would more nearly correspond to the repaying capacity of the cultivator and (b) in bringing into existence some appropriate institutions which would advance to him long term loans at the lowest possible rate of interest with provisions for their repayment in suitable instalments spread over a period of years.

The action taken by provincial governments in recent years through legislation on debt conciliation has gone a long way in establishing a more rational relationship between outstanding debts and the repaying capacity of the borrower. It is difficult to see how such legislation could be avoided particularly after the steep fall in agricultural prices during the depression. As regards the actual working of this legislation there are no doubt points of detail which are open to criticism. Besides, it cannot be denied that debt legislation has, as it was bound to, upset the financial status quo of rural economic life and thus has given rise to some serious problems.

IV

In a country where the average size of holdings and the per capita distribution of land are very small, there is an imperative need for intensive cultivation. It follows that very much larger sums should be invested in land than has hitherto been the case. A good deal of such capital investments will necessarily fall within the purview of the Government as private individuals or small local bodies would not be in a position to undertake projects involving expenditure of large sums. Nevertheless, there is a vast scope for small-scale capital investment (*e.g.*, digging a well, re-excavating a tank, etc.) which can be profitably undertaken by private individuals either separately or organised in societies.

The long term credit facilities provided by private individuals (money-lenders, zemindars, etc.), co-operative mortgage banks and the Government are far from adequate. Apart from the fact that interest rates charged by private individuals are much too high, the supply of funds from this source is erratic. Loans advanced by the Government mainly under the Land Improvement Loans Act, can meet only a very small part of the total requirement. The development of co-operative mortgage banks except in Madras, has been very slow, their individual loans are relativly small in amount and the total volume of transactions has never been large.

Perhaps sooner or later Joint Stock Mortgage Banks will have to come into the picture. Such banks, if encouraged and supported by the Government, could be developed quickly. They could provide the necessary finance in much larger volumes and on rates which would be sufficiently attractive to the borrowing class. The major obstacles which now stand in the way of joint stock enterprise in the field of India's agricultural finance can, we believe, be largely removed through a comprehensive policy.

In some provinces the restrictions on the right to transfer land, though imposed in the interest of the cultivating class, make it difficult to borrow on the security of the land unless at very high rates of interest. Where long term loans are required definitely for productive purposes, such restrictions may be relaxed.

Simultaneous provision may be made against the transfer of land from a cultivator to a non-cultivator and/or against the holding of such transferred land by a non-cultivator for more than a limited number of years. As for tenants at will and most of the peasants belong to this category, they can be made more creditworthy only if some provision were made for the transfer of their occupancy rights. Lastly, it would be indispensable to ensure that those who effect improvements on land should be in a position to enjoy the fruits of their labour. Such a guarantee would serve as a powerful incentive to land improvement.

V

Short-term accommodation is required by the cultivator for seasonal operations, for the movement of crops, also for the purchase of cattle, farm implements, etc. The bulk of such finance is provided by the money-lending class. The disadvantages of this overwhelming dependence are well-known. The borrower has to pay a heavy rate of interest. His loans are frequently accompanied by a pledge to sell his crop to the money-lender who also acts as a trader. Sometimes the crop is actually sold in advance at the time the loan is taken. An indebted cultivator cannot act as a free agent in selling the crop to his creditor and thus invariably receives an unfavourable price.

While the evil is undoubtedly there and its magnitude is at times appalling, a suitable remedy cannot be found simply by denouncing the money-lender. For, after all, the cultivator turns to the money-lender for financial accommodation mainly because he has no other source at his disposal. Our efforts should be directed to evolve a better credit system under which the cultivator would no longer be constrained to borrow from the money-lender on crippling terms.

Recent legislation on money-lending, like that on debt conciliation, has no doubt been inspired by the best of motives. Nor should there be any difficulty in accepting the principle that the transactions of the money-lending class should no longer be allowed to proceed on a perfectly laissez-faire basis and that the State has both the right and the duty to bring them under control through suitable legislation. The question, nevertheless, remains open whether the legislation in its present form will serve the purpose for which it is intended. For one thing, law alone is not likely to put an end to the existing abuses. If the money-lenders are honest and reasonable, they will not exploit the helplessness of the cultivator and in that case there would be no need for legislation. If they are not so, they can find out ways and means to evade the legal provisions and thus frustrate the main object of the law. Legal prescription of the upper limit of interest rates which can be charged and similar restrictions can have little practical value in these circumstances. In fact one of the less desirable by-products of the legislation on money-lending may very well be to drive the honest and scrupulous money-lenders out of this field and leave it entirely at the disposal of those who would not hesitate to employ dubious methods to circumvent the law.

There are reasons to believe that in most provinces these restrictions have created a feeling of nervousness among the money-lenders who are often reluctant to make any advances at all. Consequently, there has been flight of capital from the countryside to the towns while it has become difficult for the cultivator to get any financial accommodation at all. The legislation has thus created a gap in the present structure of rural finance without making any attempt to fill it.

Lastly, it is not yet realised that one of the essential condition for evolving a better system of rural finance is to make the cultivator more credit-worthy and, therefore, to raise his income. Unless simultaneous efforts are made to improve the economic conditions of the individual cultivator, money-lending legislation will be of little avail.

In these circumstances it appears that a policy of licensing lenders together with provision for a periodic inspection of their accounts would in all probability promise much better results than legal fixation of the maximum rate of interest. The fear that one's name may be removed from the list of approved money-lender would serve as a deterrent and would perhaps prove more helpful in eliminating just those practices which the law seeks to do away with. The inspection of accounts would be a salutary check on abuses; it would render possible a better appraisal of the actual incidence of rural indebtedness, and it would at the same time prepare the ground for establishing a direct link between the Reserve Bank and the money-lending class.

VI

In those cases where the role of the money-lender is interlinked with that of the middleman and the creditor of the cultivator is also the purchaser of his produce, the solution of the problem necessarily presupposes simultaneous arrangements for financial accommodation both for raising and selling the crop. The question

of crop loans becomes important in this context. For this purpose it is essential to devise some method under which the hypothecation of crop would be both cheap and easy. The present stamp duty on crop hypothecation may be removed and the registration of all such hypothecation with the village headman on payment of a small fee could perhaps be made obligatory.

Credit institutions will, however, be reluctant to grant such loans unless the securing of such loans is assured. Special legislation would very likely be necessary for the purpose. It could, if necessary, be made a penal offence for a cultivator to remove or dispose of the hypothecated crop without the consent of the creditor. Similarly, provision may be made that such crops, when harvested, should be stored in public warehouses where they would be beyond the control both of the producer and the debtors, assuming that in accordance with the suggestions offered below, the services of such ware-houses would be increasingly available to the public.

Even then a drought or a flood may conceivably cause heavy damage to the crop or again, other creditors or the landlord might be the first to lay a claim on the produce. Unless these difficulties are overcome lenders would be unwilling to make advances on the basis of crop pledges. The first of these objections could be met by introducing some kind of crop insurance which would spread risks over years so as to avoid any serious loss. The other objection could be countered by creating a kind of chattel mortgage in respect of the crop in favour of the creditor, say, on the lines similar to those of the English or Irish Agricultural Credits Act so that such credit may have priority over all other claims.

VII

Large sales immediately after the harvest cause a slump in the market so that the producer receives a low price for his crop. The reasons why he is constrained to dispose of his produce as soon as it is harvested are (*a*) being sore pressed for hard cash he has no resources to hold out for a better price and (*b*) there are no facilities for storing his produce and borrowing against it. A system of warehouses combined with facilities for marketing finance would go a long way in removing these difficulties.

Warehouse storing is not to be confused with revalorisation (*i.e.*, an attempt to force up market price by an artificial restriction of supply) nor is it intended to put a premium on speculative holding of crop. Its object is much more modest, namely, to enable the cultivator to hold his crop only when he knows for certain that by putting off sales by a few weeks or months he would raise his income by a clear margin. There are without doubt cases where a cultivator knows fully well that holding the crop would pay but has not the means to do so.

The extent of the middlemen's profit resulting from the margin between the harvest time price and that prevailing a few months later has often been exaggerated. It has been overlooked that, were this profit to be unduly large, more middlemen would step in so that the normal play of economic competition alone may be expected to bring it down to reasonable proportion. Owing to the absence of adequate storing facilities the costs of storing including all incidental waste are at present high and this partly accounts for the rise in prices a few months after the harvest. Better storing facilities would automatically reduce such costs while in normal course the cultivator would benefit from such reduction.

As regards the construction of warehouses or godowns in rural areas, they can, as in other countries, be built by private enterprise and run for profit. In the United States, for example, warehouses are established within the market permises. They are all licensed and are independent both of the buyer and the seller. When warehouses are owned by private individuals competition can normally be relied upon to keep storing charges within reasonable limits while, if necessary, statutory rules may be laid down fixing such charges.

If in the initial stages it is found that private enterprise is not forthcoming on an adequate scale, the Government should, in our opinion, give whatever encouragement is possible for the construction of godowns or warehouses, for example, by providing cheap long term loans for the purpose as part of their rural development policy. Such loans could also be advanced to co-operative societies or other bodies which could be made responsible for running godowns. Railway companies, as recommended by the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee, could build godowns in suitable places for storing rural products. In all regulated markets it should be one of the main tasks of the market committee to provide godown facilities. To the Madras Government goes the credit for having been the first to take active steps for stimulating the construction of godowns in a number of marketing centres by agreeing to share the initial costs. The lead taken by Madras should be followed in other provinces.

The godowns must be rat-proof and fire-

proof and afford protection against damage from rain and moisture. Further, it should be a general policy to insure the goods. This will reduce the risk involved in storing and would facilitate borrowing on the security of the stored produce.

It is clear that provision of storing facilities will help matters little unless accompanied by measures to facilitate borrowing by pledging the produce deposited in warehouses. If warehouses or godowns are constructed in accordance with set rules so that they may be licensed and if licensed warehouses issue receipts against goods in strict conformity with rules explicitly laid down for the purpose, there would be little difficulty in turning such receipts into negotiable credit instruments. Such a policy will enable the cultivator or the middleman to secure the necessary finances and will lead to the creation of genuine trade bills and thus fill up a serious gap in the present system of rural finance.

VIII

One of the major problems in rural marketing relates to the fact that, under the present system, there is often an embarrassingly large supply of some commodity in one place while there is an appreciable margin of unsatisfied demand for the same commodity in other places. This lack of co-ordination is reflected in the unusually high level of inter-regional price differences. As a result both the consumer and the producer suffer. It is clear that an equalisation of the price level would redound to the advantage of the country as a whole.

There is an analogous problem in the field of rural finance. In the bigger money markets there is a plethora of funds while financiers are at a loss to find channels for remunerative investment. In the rural areas there is need for investment both on short and long terms and people are at a loss to find enough funds for the purpose. This discrepancy is reflected in the very wide margin between the rates of interest prevailing in rural and urban areas. As a result the average saver receives a low return on the money he saves while the investor in rural areas has to pay a high price for the money he borrows. Clearly, a very much narrower margin would be advantageous to both.

To take another analogy, the present distribution of credit facilities reminds one of the excessive concentration of rain-water in certain regions while, simultaneously, there is a drought elsewhere. If man were to co-operate with nature on an adequate scale, in many cases a more rational distribution of the available water through a system of irrigation canals would be possible, which would bring relief to regions suffering from scarcity of water as well as to the flood-stricken areas. What we need most in the field of credit today is, so to say, a system for better financial irrigation.

While money has perhaps always been cheaper in bigger centres than in villages, in recent times the concentration of funds in such money-markets as Calcutta and Bombay has been aggravated. Several factors have been responsible for this. As was natural, during the depression more money was thrown on the money market which pushed down the rate of interest. The liquidation of gold holdings, in so far as it was not due to distress, increased the supply of short-term funds which flowed into the money market. Incidentally, the pull of the Post Office Savings Bank has always been in the same direction, as it transfers funds from rural into urban areas. Legislation on debt conciliation and money-lending has at times been responsible for an exodus of funds from rural into urban areas. Lastly, in some cases, *e.g.*, Bengal, it seems almost certain that the smaller banks, confronted with a growing competition among themselves, offered high rates of interest to the depositors in order to attract funds, and with the interest rates of banks at a high level, the small capitalist in rural areas had still less inducement to risk his savings by making new advances to the cultivator.

IX

This maldistribution of credit facilities could have been partly rectified if the Government were to float long term loans and were to make the sums raised in this way available through some suitable machinery (*e.g.*, the co-operative organisation) to the cultivating classes as long term loans for productive purposes on a slightly higher rate of interest so as to cover the costs involved. The case for such a policy was, to our mind, particularly strong during the depression years when the interest rate in the bigger money markets touched a very low level.

The maldistribution of liquid funds must, however, be attributed to institutional shortcomings. Leaving aside the question of direct transfer of funds to rural areas through governmental initiative we have to explore the possibilities of cutting a canal between the big financial centres and the rural areas so that liquid capital might automatically flow and irrigate the latter.

The simplest and most effective method of bringing the advantages of cheap money to the door of the cultivator would be to induce joint

stock banks to participate more actively in agricultural credit. While the growth of branch banking in recent years is to be welcomed, it has not yet penetrated into the villages. One of the pressing needs in the field of banking in India is how to combine the efficiency of Western banking with the cheapness associated with the village Sowcar. Even in a country like England, branch banking in the countryside is remrkable for its cheapness. The credit requirements of the tenant farmer are met by commercial banks through their branches flung far and wide over the countryside. For example the Midland Bank has numerous branches in agricultural districts where the staff consists of a Manager and a "Junior" who does the work of the messenger in addition to his clerical duties. Sooner or later branch banking in India will have to be developed on such inexpensive lines if the credit system is to function efficiently.

The more important question for the time being is to create first-class agricultural bills which would be acceptable to commercial banks. Joint-stock banks can be induced to participate in agricultural credit through small branches only when there is a sufficient volume of business to be transacted. We have shown how crop bills and warehouse receipt can be turned into first-class agricultural paper. Railway receipts too can be easily converted into negotiable instruments of credit.

X

In this context much will depend on the rediscounting facilities offered by the Reserve Bank of India. For commercial banks will be willing to invest their funds in crop bills, warehouse and railway receipt only when they themselves would have the possibility of replenishing their cash reserves, whenever necessary by rediscounting them at the Reserve Bank.

Section 17 of the Reserve Bank of India Act confers wide powers on the Bank to engage in transactions with a view to rendering active assistance to agriculture. The interpretation put on certain phrases in Section 17(4)d ("supported by documents of goods which have been transferred, assigned or pledged") stands in the way of creating a short term agricultural bill on the basis of the marketing operations in rural areas. The difficulty can be obviated if rural warehouses were erected on the lines recommended above. It will necessarily take some time before the warehousing system can be introduced in rural areas on an adequate scale and if the country were to wait till then, the creation of rural trade bill would be a needlessly slow process. There is thus a strong case for a less rigid interpretation of this particular clause of the Act.

The above difficulty can be circumvented in another way, namely, through the application of Sec. 17(2)(b). This clause lays down that the Reserve Bank could engage in the purchase, sale and rediscounting of those bills of exchange and promissory notes which bear two or more good signatures. The word "good," however, seems to be interpreted so strictly that in the present condition of the co-operative movement in India it becomes well-nigh impossible to supply such signatures. The Reserve Bank through its circular has laid down the condition which co-operative banks will have to fulfil before they can be eligible for obtaining financial accommodation. In fact what it has been asking for is a complete rehabilitation of the movement as a condition for such accommodation. It has tended to overlook the vital consideration that it can itself lend a helping hand in bringing about the rehabilitation which it demands. We strongly recommend that as an experiment, a number of co-operative central banks or societies from among the best existing at present should be selected and that the Reserve Bank should declare its willingness to rediscount their promissory notes on condition that these notes also bore the signature of the provincial co-operative bank. In this way a beginning can be made here and now in cutting the canal of which we spoke earlier, connecting the rural areas with the Reserve Bank so that the benefit of a low Bank Rate would also be available at the rural end.



AUTHORS I HAVE MET

Louis Bromfield : John Gunther : Somerset Maugham : Upton Sinclair : Ethel Mannin : Ernest Hemingway

By KHWAJA AHMAD ABBAS

In every man and woman there is a tendency to hero worship, a desire to make the acquaintance of the great and the famous. Some idolize cricketers, others pursue politicians while many get a kick out of a signed photograph of a film star. Personally, I like to meet and talk to my favourite authors.

The first author of importance I met was Louis Bromfield whose novel of India, *The Rains Came,* had such well-deserved success and was filmed, too.

It was eight years ago that I first met Bromfield when he came and stayed for some time in Aligarh, the quiet university town in U. P. where I was an undergraduate at that time. About half a dozen of us were asked by the Vice-Chancellor to look after Mr. and Mrs. Bromfield who were anxious to get familiar with the problems of young Muslims. They were the first Americans I met in my life and the first thing that struck me was their charming informality and warm friendliness which was in such a marked contrast with the chill aloofness of the other 'White' visitors we sometimes had at the University. Within a few hours of our introduction we were like old friends and talked endlessly on every conceivable topic under the sun—from politics to films, from religion to sports!—and what flattered us youngsters was that they let us talk and patiently listened to our youthful pronouncements.

The next time I met the Bromfields was in the autumn of 1938 in Sen Lis, a pretty little town near Paris, where they own a villa in idyllic surroundings. With characteristic hospitality they told me to visit them as frequently as I liked. On Saturday they used to keep an "open house" and one might meet all sorts of interesting people—American diplomats, struggling young artistes, well-known journalists and, not infrequently, someone from India. For India has a special place in the heart of the cosmopolitan Bromfields who since I met them in Aligarh, have visited the country twice, spending altogether not less than three years in various places from Kashmir to Travancore, making a host of friends everywhere. They did not dash from place to place like most tourists but saw the country and the people in a quiet, leisurely manner, making long stops in places they liked. In Baroda they rented a house in the Indian quarter and spent several months during which they hardly saw any "White" people. Such a close familiarity with



Upton Sinclair

the people coupled with his sincere regard for the Indian sentiment has given Louis Bromfield that deep understanding of India which is so apparent in *The Rains Came.* It is no secret, of course, that Baroda provided the model for Ranchipur, that State described in his penetrating novel.

I shall not forget the last occasion I and an Indian friend met Louis Bromfield. It seems so long ago now. The villa was quiet and empty, for those were the days of the Munich (September, 1938) crisis and he had sent his family away to America. We sat in the book-

lined study, sipping tea, and talking—not about novels and films but about the international situation! In journalistic circles in Paris I had heard that if war broke out Bromfield might go to the United States to rouse public opinion in favour of intervention on the side of democracies and one felt a vague thrill in talking about politics with this man who might play such a big role in the war that, we then thought, was imminent.

Two old French ladies, the Bromfields' neighbours, dropped in to talk with him. Their sons were in the army and, like millions of mothers all over the world, they were naturallly anxious about their future. It was raining outside and the leaden, grey skies seemed to portend impending doom. We—two Indians, one American and two French women,—linked together by the common danger of war, waited for something to happen.

And it did happen. The telephone rang. It was the American Embassy calling, the news had just come over the wire that President Roosevelt had sent a personal message to the two Dictators, appealing for peace. Good old Roosevelt, I felt, always doing something spectacular and splendid! Did he, far away in Washington, know that even if his message did not deter the Dictators in their madness, it at least brought a ray of hope to two old women in a little French village called Sen Lis!

We took leave of Louis Bromfield, and came away in a more cheerful mood. His last words were: "See you in India"!

My encounter with John Gunther, the live-wire correspondent who shall continue to be known as a journalist even if he is the author of two best-selling books, was brief but it left an impression on me of a pleasant personality, full of energy and bubbling with good humour, inquisitive and impatient, who does not forget for one moment that he is out for "news." Over three years ago when he was in Bombay, gathering material for *Inside Asia*, I went to interview him at the Taj. His room was in characteristic disorder—books and papers, newspaper clippings, typewriter and piles of of manuscript lying about in magnificent disarray! It was about lunch time but he was still in pyjamas and evidently we had disturbed him in his work.

He had to speak the same eveneing at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall and was preparing notes for his lecture. But he was not too busy to talk with me and answered all my questions. And when I had finished, to my utter surprise, he started interviewing me with the skill of a trained reporter that he is. "Now that you have wasted half an hour of my time, why shouldn't I get something out of you?" he said and plied me with questions about the cross-currents of Indian politics—the difference between Communists, Socialists and Royists, the differences



Ethel Mannin

between Muslim League and Congress and the social position of the Harijans. It appeared that he had already discussed these questions with the respective leaders of all the parties but wanted the objective view of a journalist to round off his impressions. Rather flattering, what!

Within a few minutes of meeting John Gunther, I met a literary personality of greater eminence who is quite a contrast with the lively American reporter. I met Somerset Maugham, author of such classics as *Of Human Bondage*. He too, was staying at the Taj. While Gunther's

room was flooded with light, the windows wide open, Somerset Maugham sat in a room as neat and quiet as himself, the drawn blinds throwing it in semi-darkness. Is Maugham afraid of light? I asked myself.

It is as difficult to draw Maugham into conversation as it is easy to talk with Gunther. I think he is incurably shy, a little self-conscious, terribly afraid of saying something which might hurt you. When talking he chooses his words with the same meticulous care that he displays in his writings. Politely he refused to discuss politics and we talked mainly about literature—about his plays, novels and short stories. While the world admires his novels and short stories, he himself has a preference for his plays. At the time I met him his *Summing Up* was in the press. He described it as the "autobiography of a soul." After reading this masterpiece I know how apt his description was.

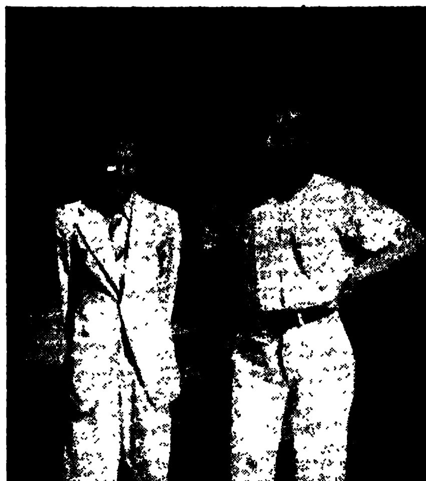
One may not be able to talk much with Maugham but the experience is elevating. One has the impression of a highly sensitive soul, seeking expression in his work with the self-effacing earnestness of a true artist, observant not superficially like us journalists but with a penetrating insight which probes the deeper mysteries of life. When the Gunthers of the decade are forgotten, Somerset Maugham's contribution to literature shall endure.

Upton Sinclair, whom I met in Pasadena (near Los Angeles), turned out to be an American edition of Mahatma Gandhi. Of course, he is not so short or thin, nor was he clothed in a loin cloth. But he has the same penetrating eyes behind glasses, the same air of unaffected simplicity. He was dressed in a cheap pair of linen trousers and an undervest instead of a shirt, the most sensible clothes to wear in the heat of the Californian summer, and I felt self-conscious and over-dressed in my carefully pressed suit and tie and collar.

But one cannot be self-conscious for long in the presence of Upton Sinclair who has got the knack of all truly great men to put one at ease. It was difficult to imagine that this unassuming, obliging man, who had thoughtfully kept iced orange juice ready for an unknown Indian journalist, was the author of sixty best-sellers, each of which has run into several editions and has been translated into practically every known language of the world (including almost a dozen Indian languages!).

Upton Sinclair is not one of those Americans who think India is a land full of fakirs, maharajas and coolies. In fact his knowledge of Indian politics astounded me. Within a few minutes of my arrival he said, "You must be a Congressman, of course, but do you prefer Gandhi or Nehru?"

It was interesting to talk to Sinclair about the election for Governor of California which he fought some years ago with his now world-famous slogan "End Poverty in California" (abbreviated as E P I C). Without malice or bitterness he told me the causes of his failure—the coalition of the capitalists against him, the active hostility of the motion picture magnates and the campaign of lies and slander that was launched against him by the reactionaries. His fight, however, was not in vain. It was the first blow struck at the entrenched reaction in



Author with Upton Sinclair

California and it is mainly due to the spade work done by Upton Sinclair that a progressive candidate won last year.

I asked Sinclair about his novel *No Pasaran* and was surprised to find that he wrote it without going to Spain, simply with the help of a map and newspaper cuttings.

While taking leave of him, I had the privilege of presenting him a copy of Jawaharlal Nehru's *Autobiography* thus introducing one famous author to another.

While crossing over from New York to France I met Ernest Hemingway (the author of *Farewell to Arms*) in peculiar circumstances. The 82,000—ton steamer, *Normandie*, left New York at a time when the war scare (August, 1938) had just started and many of the passengers had cancelled their passage. Just as we were about to steam out of New York harbour a rumour went round that Ernest Hemingway was on board on his way to rejoin Government

forces in Spain and that the Police wanted to arrest him.

Hemingway, however, kept himself to his cabin and did not show himself until after we had left behind the Statue of Liberty. Next day I and a group of others who were returning to England after the Youth Congress sent a note to Hemingway (who was in First Class) to come down and meet us. That evening he appeared —looking like a fierce army officer, red in face, stout and heavy, far from the general conception of intellectuals.

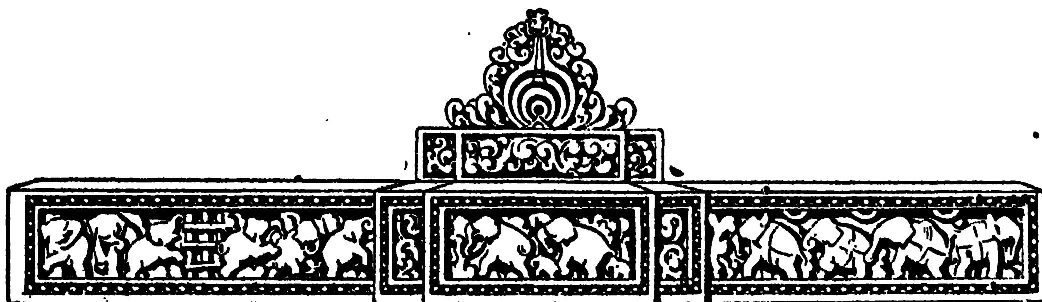
Over innumerable drinks he talked to us. But it was significant that he didn't seem to care to talk about literature. His one topic was the war—the war in Spain where he had been fighting, with the International Brigade. With the help of bottles, glasses and ash trays he explained to us at length the exact strategic position of the rival armies in Spain. It was almost pathetic—as well as heroic!—to find this brilliant writer talking about the relative importance of bombers, machine guns and tanks. Hundreds of other intellectuals from all over the world rallied, like Hemingway, to help the people of Spain in their fight against Franco. It is sad to reflect that their noble efforts should have proved futile against the might of the Fascist International.

I had a strong prejudice against all women writers—until I read Ethel Mannin's *Confessions and Impressions*. Once I had read it, she was immediately put in the select list of authors I wanted to meet personally. And so, soon after I arrived in London, one afternoon I and a friend (another Ethel Mannin fan) found ourselves roaming about the pleasant suburb of Wimbledon Common, looking for "Oak Cottage." Finding a colossal oak tree and under it a doll's house in a pretty garden we knew that must be the place. There is nothing doll-like, however, about Ethel Mannin, who is as practical as she is free from any of those frivolities of gesture and temperament which are generally associated with the modern young women. She is not very young, either, and it is her constant complaint that her readers don't seem to understand that she has grown since she wrote *Confessions and Impressions*. Plainly dressed, with her straight hair, her face sometimes appears severe, betraying the strain of years of hard work on an acutely sensitive personality. But then she smiles and the severe expression is gone and she is just a pleasant young woman of 39 who enjoys life (even if she is not unconscious of its sordid aspects), likes her friends and can keep them amused and entertained by her talk, and, above all else, has an exquisite taste for beauty which is apparent as much in the pictures on the walls as in the flowers in her garden.

Her complete disregard of conventions has sometimes been misunderstood and misrepresented. But this iconoclastic attitude is so spontaneous and unostentatious that one is hardly aware of it when one actually meets her. She suffers neither from hypocrisy nor from that studied recklessness which unfortunately passes for modernism in some circles. Apart from being a brilliant writer, Ethel Mannin is perhaps one of the finest representatives of modern womanhood.

Her generosity and kindliness are among her most likable qualities. Her life's saving she recently donated to the cause of Republican Spain.

Her interest in all progressive movements is deep rooted and she is an active worker in many socialist organizations (though she is far from being a communist) like the Independent Labour Party. "You can call me a revolutionary," she says in her sequel to *Confessions*, *Privileged Spectator*, adding "And you may spell it with a capital 'R'".



AMONGST THE PUB-KACHAREES OF ASSAM

By S. K. MUKERJEE,

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As an amateur photographer, I love taking picturesque scenery and people of the places I chance to visit. It is a pleasure to photograph people who are rather conscious of the camera and who would not easily submit to being photographed. I have to visit places in Assam where tribal people live and I would like to tell something about the Pub-Kacharees.

Pub-Kacharees are a branch of the Kacharee tribe, who are one of the real natives of the province of Assam. If they migrated from outside Assam, it is not known when they came here and from what place,—at least I have not come across any details about that in the historical books that I have read. As far as is known, this tribe got the name from the place of their residence—Cachar Hills. Now, of course, one will find Kacharees (Cacharees) in the plains of Assam and a very considerable section of the tribal people has settled in Kamrup District. There are also some percentage of Kacharees in Goalpara and other districts of Assam.



Bihu Dancing

The Kacharees, like other tribal races of Assam are believers in snakes and some wild animals as their deities. They offer prayers to the elephant, snake, tiger, bear and some other animals as well. In offering prayers to the deities they sacrifice goats, pigs, dogs, fowls pigeons and ducks, which they specially rear for the purpose.

They do not believe in any medicines and if anybody falls ill they make prayers and offerings to their deities. They also believe in witches.

They are very simple and are mostly very truthful.

The Kacharees are peace-loving by nature and honest in dealings.

The women are very hardy and they do more work than the men. They manage the household, do the planting and harvesting of the crops, weave clothes, go a-fishing and do any other work that may be necessary. The male persons only do the ploughing of the land. The Kacharees cultivate mainly paddy and in some areas they also cultivate mustard.

The main food of the Kacharees consists of half-cooked rice and *Lau-Pani* (wine made from rice at their own houses). They take flesh of the animals they sometimes kill, but they never cook it properly;—they only roast the meat to some extent and take that with relish.

Their mode of hunting is very interesting. When they scent the presence of any deer or pig in the near about jungle, they all assemble with nets, spears, *tokans* (a special type of stick, made of bamboo by the Kacharees, strong enough to smash the head of any animal with one blow) and dao's. After all have assembled they put the nets on one side of the jungle towards which the animal is supposed to try to flee when chased. They then enter the jungle and begin shouting and screaming. The poor animal is then forced to the net and killed. After the killing of the animal they come to the border of the jungle

and each person present in the hunting expedition gets an equal share of the meat, no matter



Kacharee women weaving the Endi

how little one gets. The sharing of the meat is very interesting to watch.

The most interesting part of their life is, I believe, their marriage. When a man decides on marrying, he visits his own and near about villages, and tries to find out a marriageable girl. When he has been able to select his bride, he snatches her away to his own home by force. When this has happened, the relatives of the girls, together with the villagers go and challenge the bridegroom-to-be and tries to bring the girl back, when the bridgroom's party have a hot discussion. The next procedure is that there arises a question of the price the bridegroom can pay for the girl. The term is *gao-dhan* (price for the body). The *gao-dhan* varies from 3 scores to 20 scores and unless the settlement about the *gao-dhan* is arrived at and at least some portion of the same is paid on the spot to the bride's guardian, the marriage is not settled and the trouble is not ended. When the marriage is settled, both the contesting parties feast together and go away to their places with presents from the bridegroom's party. There are no rites to be observed in connecion with their marriage.

Of the festivals, the Kacharees, like other people of Assam, have their *Bihu* which corresponds with the Bengali *Sankranti.* During



Kacharee types

Bihus (they have this every month on the last day) they have feast, drinks and dancing festivals and in some of the bigger events they dance continuously for three days and live by drinking only.

[Photographs illustrating this and the following article are by Mr. S. K. Mukerjee, author of this article.]



THE NEW YEAR OR THE BIHU FESTIVAL IN ASSAM

By PRANGOPAL CHANDRA DAS

The fourteenth day of April is a great day in Assam, for on that day falls the Assamese New Year. Few people who pass through Assam this season will fail to observe on what a lavish scale the New Year is observed in this part of India. From time immemorial the New Year has been observed as a great national festival throughout Assam and it has been the custom of the people to observe the first week of the New Year as one of joy and happiness even for the poorest of the poor.

This festival is popularly called the *Bihu*. The origin of the Bihu festival is rather shrouded in obscurity now. Scholars derive it from the Sanskrit word *Visuva* meaning Vernal Equinox and indeed the principal Bihu takes place on the



Chief woman dancer who directs the women dancers

Visuva Sankranti day—Vernal Equinox. There are three Bihus celebrated in Assam—*Bohāg* Bihu, *Kāti* Bihu, and *Māgh* Bihu.

The Bihus mark the changes of seasons: they come at times when there is some well-earned rest from the monotony of life and its work and with opportunity to forget oneself and give oneself upto joy and merry-making. The Bihu is essentially a peasants' festival and Assam is predominantly an agricultural country.



Chief male dancer who directs the men dancers

During the six months of summer and rains, no such festival is held, and thereafter each festival takes place after an interval of three months each.

The *Kāti* Bihu comes off on the *Asvin Sankranti* or autumnal equinox and continues to the first day of Kartika. The Kāti Bihu does not offer plenty and the festivities are also limited. Therefore the Kāti Bihu is called the *Kangāli* or Bihu of non-plenty.

The next Bihu is the *Māgh* Bihu held on the *Pousa Sankranti* or Winter Solstice and the first day of Magha. It lasts only two days but feasts and enjoyments are great on this occasion. This corresponds to the second week-end of January. It is the middle of cold season and householders have gathered a good year's harvest. But the approach of the Māgh Bihu is felt as early as the beginning of January. In the outskrits of the towns and in the villages when the stillness of the night has overtaken the world one can hear the sounds—monotonous and unceasing—of



A mixed party of Bihu dancers

small *dhols* (drums) and *takā* (a simple device made from split bamboo) played by boys and youths of the village sitting around a well-lit fire inside a temporary grass house; the monotony is broken now and then by a song in a spirited voice when it is echoed in the hills and dales beyond. At night preceding the Māgh Bihu a great feast is held in the grass house and the young and even elders take part in the repast. Very early next morning, people take their "holy-bath" and all gather round the *meji*—a tall camp made of bamboo, grass and dry leaves—and there make a bonfire of it.

This Bihu takes place soon after the harvest, plenty of winter and it is the *Bhogāli* Bihu—Bihu of feast and enjoyment. The granaries are full and preparations many and varied. *Pithās* (sweet half moon-shaped cakes), *Sāndha* (fried rice beaten flat), *Kārais* (fried grams and grains), etc., are abundant and Bhogāli is an apt description. Winter harvest is the main staple crop in Assam and Māgh Bihu is an auspicious occasion coinciding with the great harvest time and the expression of joy of the people as they provide for the coming months. In ancient Greece and Egypt also, such agricultural festival was held.

But the grandest of the Bihus is the *Bohāg* Bihu which marks the beginning of the Assamese New Year which is also the Hindu New Year. It corresponds to the vernal equinox in mid-April and begins on the last day of the old and continues for the first seven days of the New Year. The



In this festival only women dance

first day, *i.e.*, *Chaitra Sankranti* is the *Uruka*—Bihu Eve and observed as *Garu* or cow Bihu and the rest *Mānuh* or man-Bihu.

In the morning of the Cow Bihu day, the



Kacharee hunting party, ready to start

This Bihu is the outward expression of joy of man at the advent of Spring. The approach of the Bohāg Bihu is heralded from long before by nature and its agencies. Assam everywhere is rich in natural beauty. At this season of the year, Assam is a verdant and smiling land. Fresh green leaves on the trees, countless beautiful flowers in blossom on all sides, innumerable ministrel birds with their sweet, moving songs, and mid-day raging blasts blowing away dust and the last vestiges of dry leaves, all herald the advent of Spring and the coming of the Bohāg Bihu. On the advent of Spring, nature in its abundance has transformed the earth and the soft and newer atmosphere around doubtless has its influence on human breasts.

The New Year must begin with everything new. A whole set of utensils (earthenwares) are brought and the old cooking vessels are cast away for good. Those of metal are specially cleaned and washed.

All classes of people put on new dresses. For months past, indeed all the year round, womenfolk are busy with the loom. For inability to weave on the part of an Assamese maiden is considered a standing disgrace on the girl and the family, and it is difficult to find a suitable husband for such a girl. A friend or relative must be presented with a *Bihuān* (Bihu present). Hand woven fabrics, such as *gāmochā* (richly designed towel), *cheleng* (chaddar), *hāchati* (long handkerchief), *Barkāpor* (double-sized chaddar) are presented according to means.

cattle of the village are collected together in a place and taken to the nearest river or tank where they are ceremoniously bathed. Before they are taken out, thick garlands made of slices of gourd, brinjal, etc., are placed on the heads of the cattle and holy water is sprayed on them. Usual sticks are forbidden that day and only small twigs of *Mākhiyati* and *dighalati* (small plants) are used. The boys throw water on them singing some verses the gist of which is that though its (cow's) sire might be small, it may grow bigger every year. They are given special food, the old rope is discarded and a new one used from that day. With the shades of evening falling around, three *yāgs* (from go-yagna, cow sacrifice) composed of small heaps of selected kinds of shrubs are ignited for the welfare of the cows. The cattle is the cultivator's best friend and it is only meet they should also begin the New Year auspiciously. Nor is the plant world forgotten. On the dawn of the New Year's day the fruit trees are girdled around with long fibres of *Tarā* (a fibrous shrub), perhaps in the expectation of a better return.

Then the *Man-Bihu* starts on the first day of the New Year. The "bring in" should be as auspicious as possible and nothing should be done to impair its grand sweetness. The people begin the year with a puff of fan, the idea being that this will keep the body immune against a sultry day in the coming year. Because of the sweetness and grandeur, the Bohāg Bihu is called *Rangāli*—Bihu of joy and merriment.



Kacharee hunters in the forest

Those parted by distance and marriage are joined on this occasion and children pay respects to the elders. Hospitality is open-handed then.

Sports and games are usual features of the Bohāg and Māgh Bihus. Rabbit hunting is very popular with village lads. The common game of cowries, and egg-breaking are common and cock-fights, goat-fights and wrestling are pleasant items. Buffalo-fights are not so common everywhere nowadays, even now such fights take place in some localities during the Māgh Bihu. In the towns nowadays modern sports are held and prizes offered.

In the evenings, *Huchari dal*—itinerant parties of singers and dancers visit the village from door to door and for seven days the village resounds with forceful singing and dancing, the party of course, never returning empty-handed. In many places they have theatricals in the evenings.

But the unique character of the Bohāg Bihu reaches its climax in the special class of songs and dances known as Bihu song and dance. It is specially for this reason among others, that it is so eagerly looked forward to by young and old alike. In the villages of the interior, and in districts by the side of hills and dales, and the uplands of Eastern Assam inhabited by more simple folks, life still dances like a song far away from the busy haunts of civilisation. The Bohāg Bihu has been the occasion for countless beautiful songs : they are intermingled with *Bangit* (pastoral songs). Spontaneous self-expression of the people as they are, in them we find the joys and sorrows, hopes and fears of rural Assam. These songs are songs of youth, beauty and love. They are sure to make a very enjoyable reading when translated into English. Youths sing the ballads and perform the traditional folk dances which make them much more sweet and enjoyable. On this occasion, dancing is a "passion" with the youth.

The village maidens in gay festive dresses—in their beautiful national dress—*Mekhalā* and *Rihā* (women's girdles)—meet in groups under the greenwood tree in the village common and dance and sing to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The young men have their own village green where dance festival takes place with great vigour.

These festivities and mirth continue till the seventh day of the New Year when it reaches its supreme height. All classes of people—old and young—conscious of the impending close-down of the gayest of festivals, gather in the open field and there the young ones dance and sing away the *Rangāli* Bihu to begin life thereafter with renewed vigour and resolution. And thus ends the great festival but not without regrets and earnest longings. "When Bihu departs, what wilt thou sing of ?" laments the young.

The Hindu New Year is observed throughout India and it is possible that some observe it with much enthusiasm, but the New Year or Bohāg Bihu as observed in Assam—the easternmost province, surpasses anything of its kind in other parts of India. Some suggest that this Bihu is equal to "Vasantotsab" held in Spring in ancient Hindu India. Though in the impact with the outside modern world, the festival has lost some of its former grandeur and universality, still it has not suffered in any way in its national character. In some towns these days the festival is celebrated on modern lines. Boat-racing, some times horse-racing and other modern sports are held and socials are arranged. It is the greatest national festival of the Assamese people and no other festival evokes so much enthusiasm, so much joy as does this Bihu. Whatever its origin might have been, it is not purely a religious festival now. This is a popular national festival in the true sense of the term ; on these



Every hamlet is gay, men and women of all ages take part in Bihu dancing

occasions people of other rligions also join with the Hindus in the mirth and sports. The Christmas and the English New Years come very near Bohag Bihu in point of gay festivity and universal rejoicings. The Bihu is nothing but a spontaneous expression of joy and happiness of the human heart at the advent of Spring and Verdant Nature.

INDIAN SHIPPING AND SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRY

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IN India we do not, as yet, have a shipping and ship-building industry worth the name. This fact assumes a grave appearance when we remember that we have a 4000-mile coast line to defend; in the past both these industries flourished in our country, and even today we have all the necessary raw material and labour resources for reviving these industries. Moreover, we aspire to become a powerful industrial nation which, in modern days, is completely impossible without some well-equipped shipyards, a mercantile marine, and a powerful navy.

OUR COASTAL TRADE

Every year nearly 7 million tons of cargo and about 2 million passengers are carried in coastal trade of India. In 1924, Mr. Haji calculated, that of this trade only 13 per cent was shared by the Indian shipping companies. Today this share has increased, though it still remains low, to nearly 20 per cent of the cargo and 5 to 8 per cent of the passenger traffic. The Indian tonnage operating on the Indian coast does not exceed 1 1/3 lakh tons gross and this is hardly 23 per cent of the total tonnage. In the overseas trade about 25 million tons of cargo and 2 lakh passengers are transported every year; of this, the share of Indian shipping does not exceed 2 per cent; the British ships carry over 64 per cent and the foreign ships nearly 34½ per cent of this trade.

This backward condition of Indian shipping is due mainly to two factors. The British and foreign companies are well-organised and they have formed themselves into 'rings.' In the face of competition with an Indian firm prices are cut to unremunerative levels, till the newcomer is throttled. Prices are again raised when the coast is clear. By these unfair means, more than 20 Indian companies involving a capital of over Rs. 20 crores have come to grief during the last 35 years. This is a huge waste. Moreover, these foreign companies make every effort to hold their customers by means of the deferred rebate system. A customer who exclusively gives trade to a member of the 'ring' for a continuous period of, let us say, 6 months becomes entitled to a rebate of 10 to 15 per cent of the freight paid by him. Thus the Indian trader is prevented from giving a trial to the Indian companies. Secondly, the grant of subsidies by the various governments to their shipping companies makes them powerful competitors against Indian shipping companies, who have obtained no such help from the government. The League of Nations calculated that out of 33 maritime countries 27 have granted subsidies to their shipping companies. This naturally enables them to quote a price below costs of operation. In most cases the coastal trade of these countries is also reserved for their own shipping companies; and this is a big advantage. Moreover, the Japanese shipping companies, which have increasingly invaded the Indian coastal trade ever since 1914-18, have the additional advantage of an occasionally depreciated currency and a unified trade policy.

The inactivity of the Government of India becomes still more intolerable when it is realised that two government-appointed committees have recognised the rights of Indian shipping to special protection, at least in the coastal trade. The Indian Mercantile Marine Committee (1923) and the Imperial Shipping Committee (1939) have both recommended measures to enable the Indian shipping companies to have at least a major portion of our coastal trade. It is a pity that nothing has so far been done.

There are, however, many cogent reasons why the Government of India should assist the Indian shipping industry. The mercantile marine acts as a second line of defence in a national emergency. The merchantmen can be be converted into units of a fighting fleet in case of war and even today naval warfare plays an

important part in keeping the national independence intact. Further, the mercantile marine will afford a suitable chance for the training of our seamen and naval officers. This is a very important consideration. Secondly, shipping in India gives rise to an annual income of over 57 crores of rupees out of which nearly Rs. 50 crores are taken away by the foreigner, who even takes away nearly 75 per cent of the income arising from coastal trade. A major portion of this income, if not all, can be retained in India if our shipping industry is developed. This money will be a welcome source of additional income to us. Finally, even today in spite of the war there is a serious unemployment in the ranks of our educated and semi-educated young men. The shipping industry will prove a good source of employment to many a deserving youth.

A Shipping Policy

Some Indian companies have made brave efforts in the past to establish themselves; the device of mutual agreements and government mediation has been tried but without success. The Government of India has also issued communiques with a pious wish, but all this has utterly failed. The only method to secure a permanent and stable foothold for the Indian companies—and this has become imperative by reason of a wartime shortage of foreign shipping —is by means of legislative action. It is unfortunate that Mr. Haji's Bill of 1928 and Sir A. H. Ghaznavi's Bill of 1936 failed to pass through the legislatures. They were noble efforts and if more commonsense was used at that time the problem of Indian shipping should not have faced us with such acuteness today.

Now two things are urgently needed. The Indian coastal and river-borne trade should be reserved exclusively to Indian-owned and Indian-controlled shipping companies. This procedure is nothing new or unique since, as we have already noticed, many maritime countries have reserved their coastal shipping to their own companies. Moreover, there is no element of discrimination in this policy because it is proposed to give full compensation to the foreign companies. It has been estimated that Rs. 20 to 25 crores will be needed to buy up the existing non-Indian shipping companies operating on the coast and in the river trade of India. There is no doubt that Indian capital is fully capable of supplying this money. Further, there has been a wrong misapprehension that the Indian shipping companies will prove costly to the Indian business community because of inefficiency and because of a tendency to monopolistic exploitation. The existing Indian companies have proved their worth and there is no doubt whatsoever that their costs of operation will not be higher than that of the European companies. A condition of healthy competition which in any case, as recommended below, involves a system of government control will amply ensure that the business community gets fair terms.

It may be noted that the reservation of coastal trade to Indian companies does not involve any cost to the Government of India. We do not recommend the grant of shipping subsidies because the Indian companies, in the absence of unfair competition by foreign 'rings,' are thoroughly capable of standing on their own legs. In view of all these arguments it passes comprehension why the Government of India has so far been inactive. It is of course clear that this inactivity cannot be justified on the basis of laissez faire policy which is an already exploded doctrine.

Secondly, in addition to the reservation of coastal and river-borne trade to Indian shipping effort has to be made to prevent cut-throat competition and the rate-war among the Indian companies themselves. The best way of doing this probably is by authorising the Government Controller of Shipping to fix minimum and maximum prices for each type of work and to allot definite quotas to the different shipping interests. This measure will prevent the inefficient companies from becoming a burden on the business community and will prevent chaotic conditions that result from a rate-war.

Ship-Building

An Indian shipping industry cannot be sustained without the backing of a few modernised ship-building and repairing yards. It is of course true that under the present-day war conditions it is not an easy task to set up even one or two modernised ship-building yards in our country. The supply of specialised machinery, engines, and superior technical skill will offer special difficulty; but with the assistance of the Indian Purchasing Commission in the U. S. A. the supply of these essentials should be possible. What is, however, needed is a sympathetic attitude on the part of the Government of India. The Indian ship-building yards, in addition to advancing the interests of Indian industrialisation, will prove a good source of supply to the British mercantile marine and the navy.

In India, at present, we have half a dozen repairing and re-fitting yards at Calcutta and Bombay. These yards, in addition to repairing and re-fitting work, can also produce small craft, tugs, barges, etc., upto about 600

tons, and in some cases even upto 1500 tons, replacement. These yards by their very nature are small and old-fashioned. It is estimated that with some renovation they can probably produce seagoing vessels upto a replacement of 3,000 to 5,000 tons. It will of course be necessary to set up new yards to build bigger ships.

The Scindia Steam Navigation Company, under the able guidance of its leader, has made noble efforts to construct a ship-yard at Vizagapatam. The opening ceremony of this yard was performed recently (June 21, 1941), though it may take more than two years to place the first ship on the market. It is intended to build ships of 6,000 to 10,000 tons and ultimately 16 vessels involving an expenditure of over 4 crore rupees will be produced. In the beginning, steel for making hulls, propelling machinery, and technical skill are to be imported from abroad. Ultimately, all the requirements will be met by our own country.

The Scindia Company first wanted to establish a yard at Calcutta but negotiations with the Port Trust broke down. The choice of Vizagapatam has also been wise inasmuch as the supply of cheap coal, electric current and cheap labour make it an economical spot. It must, however, be admitted that at present Vizagapatam is an out of way city and, what is more, the local labour force has not received the benefit of skilled training that Calcutta and Bombay workers usually get in the general engineering workshops and in the ship repairing yards. Moreover, Calcutta is a trade centre in close proximity to coal and iron deposits. Hence, Calcutta would surely have been a more suitable site. The Scindia Company had to construct a yard at Vizagapatam after they had failed to secure a site in Calcutta. It is, however, keenly expected that the Scindia project at Vizagapatam will be a big success.

It appears to us that it is the clear duty of the Government of India to help this industry. An attitude of indecision, vacillation and lack of sympathy cannot be justified on any ground whatsoever. The Government of India can do three things, and the conclusions and recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee (1923) fully support this policy. In the first place, assistance should be given to the Scindia Company to enable it to purchase its requirements of machinery, raw materials, and technical skill through the Indian Purchasing Commission recently constituted in the U. S. A. and the Ministry of Supply in Great Britain. This assistance is most urgently needed at the present moment. Secondly, the Government and Port Trust work should be promised to the company provided it confirms to competitive requirements of quality and price. Fnally, when the ship-building yard at Vizagapatam proves its worth it should be made compulsory for all the vessels plying on the coast and in the rivers of India to have been built at this ship-yard. When other yards are constructed they will also be included in this scheme. At present there are 150 to 225 vessels operating on the coast and in the river traffic of India. This number is expected to increase. The Vizagapatam ship-yard when in full operation should be able to supply the entire annual requirements of our country.



Woodcut by Kanai Samanta

GANDHIJI AND NON-VIOLENCE

By BIJOYLAL CHATTERJEE

Gandhi is, after all, a philosophic anarchist. He belongs to the group of Kropotkin and Tolstoy. The philosophic anarchists do not believe in violence. To them coercion is always bad. Man and woman should be left free to realise the best of his or her personality. The majority should not be ruled by the minority nor the minority should be ruled by the majority. Thus say the anarchists. Each man should be a law unto himself. Such is their watchword. Those who hold such views cannot tolerate the existence of the state, for the state means violence in some form or other. The anarchists want to do away with the state. To them government is organised violence.

But all men are not perfect. Possessive impulse still plays a dominant part in the lives of men and women. There are persons who will stick at nothing for gaining their selfish ends. There are brutes in human form who are slaves to their instincts. Such men will trample on the sacred rights of their fellowmen, commit rape and murder and other major crimes. Society cannot afford to keep such people at large, for in that case no civilised life is possible and the law of the jungle would reign supreme. It would mean the end of civilisation and the beginning of barbarism. The sense of security will be gone, and where there is no sense of security, the growth of the individual is well-nigh impossible. The anarchists will say that education will enable people to control their instincts by the power of reason, instil the spirit of toleration in their breasts and thus transform their lives. People are bad—because they are deprived of the advantage of education. With the spread of real education—defects in character will be removed, people will learn to cherish a loving consideration for their neighbours and adjust their interests in a friendly way. Moreover, with the abolition of private property poverty will disappear, and with the disappearance of poverty—crimes against property will not occur. Thefts and dacoities will be things of the past.

Communists here differ from the anarchists. They do not share with the anarchists the view that a time will ever come when every man will be perfect in his behaviour. The communists say that there will always remain lapses in conduct due to passions and temptations unconnected with wealth or the absence of wealth. Therefore, according to their opinion, though the state as a coercive machinery will wither away, a sort of 'house-keeping state' as opposed to 'police state' will come into being to deal with the moral lapses of men and women.

Mahatma Gandhi is an idealist in the true sense of the term but a practical idealist. I have already said that Mahatma Gandhi is a philosophic anarchist by faith and as an anarchist he cannot support coercion in any form. He says, "A society organised and run on the basis of complete non-violence would be purest anarchy." Yes, Gandhiji is struggling to create that new world where the principle of non-violence will dominate the lives of men and women. His mission is to bring in that 'purest anarchy' where everyman would be a law unto himself and every form of coercion would disappear. His faith in the essential goodness of human character is so unshakable that he believes that the ushering in of such a millennium is possible. Had he not that burning faith in the divinity of man—in the final triumph of non-violence, his failures would have by this time driven him into the caves of the Himalayas. But he belongs to the tribe of Columbus and even when the horizon seems to be darkest, he is still sustained by his heroic faith.

When somebody asked him whether such anarchy was possible, Gandhiji replied, "Yes. It is realisable to the extent non-violence is realisable." He is perfectly logical here. Anarchy involves the extinction of the state. The state can be abolished only when men have become perfect in their behaviour. Where men have learnt to love each other, they would respect each other's faith and rights. Where the spirit of non-violence reigns supreme—interest will not clash against interest, faith will not clash against faith—there would be perfect harmony in society. When such a state of things would come to pass, the state would become unnecessary—there would be no need of governmental violence to prevent people from doing injustice to their fellowmen. Until people learn to love each other and respect each other's rights—until they cease to exploit their fellowmen, the might of the state will be necessary to make justice prevail in society. In a society where man is not perfect in his behaviour, where

injustice prevails and exploitation has not ceased, anarchy would mean untold sufferings and miseries to the people.

Gandhiji is a practical idealist and therefore knows the limitaiton of human character. He cannot, therefore, think that in the immediate future men at the helm of the State of Independent India would be able to do away with violence altogether. He writes :

"But no Government worth its name can suffer anarchy to prevail. Hence I have said even under a Government based primarily on non-violence a small police force will be necessary." (*Harijan*, 9-3-1940).

Again he says :

"A Government cannot succeed in becoming entirely non-violent because it represents all the people."

We must keep the fact in mind that Gandhiji is not only a saint but a statesman, too. As a statesman he cannot afford to ignore stern realities. He knows perfectly well that in the immediate future there is no possibility of bringing in that new order when the state can be safely abolished and therefore no force would be necessary. People are not yet non-violent, society is still based on exploitation, men do not respect each other's faith and the masses are woefully deprived of their legitimate rights which are so essential for the realisation of their best personalities. To give people their rights over the instruments of production, to make the masses free from exploitation, poverty, ignorance and disease, the intervention of the state would be necessary, force has to be used by the government to prevent exploitation and to make the ideal of justice triumphant in society. Gandhiji, therefore, cannot think of a state of affairs in the near future when force can be entirely dispensed with. The Congress Government of Bombay exerted force (law is useless unless backed by force) to make the scheme of prohibition successful and Gandhiji did not utter any word of protest against the policy pursued by the Prime Minister of Bombay. Sj. Rajagopalachari also exerted governmental violence to make the learning of Hindi compulsory in the educational institutions of Madras. Did Gandhiji raise any voice of protest against the action of Mr. Rajagopalachari ? In his speech at the Round Table Conference Gandhiji told his audience very frankly that independent India would not hesitate to use the force of the state to expropriate those expropriators who have unjustly gained vast property to the detriment of the people. Only a visionary who has no sense of reality will say that complete non-violence on the part of the state is possible at the present stage of human evolution. Gandhiji is a dreamer no doubt. But every great man is a dreamer. Plato dreamed of his republic, Marx dreamed of classless society, Lenin dreamed of a new world where exploitation had completely ceased and the proletariat had become free. Gandhiji also dreams of an ideal society where non-violence would become the dominant principle. But dream is not reality. A statesman has to take reality into account; otherwise he would be a prophet crying in the wilderness. Gandhiji, the dreamer, who sees the divinity of man, sings the glory of non-violence; Gandhiji, the realist, who sees the brute in man, says that

"Even under a Government based primarily on non-violence a small police force will be necessary."

ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

I got upon a 'bus one day,
And 'bus-conductor Amery
In fourteen tongues my fare required :
While fumbling for a coin to pay
"How long before the boundary
Of Independence ?" inquired.

"So that is where you want to go !
No Sir ! I shouldn't, for your health;
Besides, you'll need another 'bus :
Dominion Status, you must know,
Within the British Commonwealth
Of Nations is our terminus."

But we remained just where we were,
"Let's go as far as that at least;
What are we stopping for ?" I said.
"Two passengers are bick'ring there;
Well, West is West and East is East;
Out 'East' they bicker till they're dead.

"But once they stop we'll put on speed
And move as fast as Tilden sends
A tennis ball of Slazenger's;
And 'till' they stop we can't proceed;
The progress that we make depends
'Entirely' on the passengers."

He shook his head as if in pain,
And stopped; I thought he'd said his say :
But then he added, "Well, meanwhile
It's time you paid your fare again;
A wealthy man like you should pay
Fares by the minute, not the mile."

DIOGENES
—*The Bombay Chronicle*

THE ALL INDIA RADIO

Its Administration and Its Programmes

BY DROPDI NANDAN

RECENTLY there raged a controversy in the columns of most of the Northern India papers on the question of the language patronised by the All-India Radio under the name of Hindustani. The very importance of the question and the fact that the agitation has hitherto yielded no tangible results, are sufficient justification for carrying on the agitation with renewed vigour. Indeed, as things at present stand in the airy preserves of the All-India Radio, Hindi-loving people cannot feel or agitate too strongly on this language question. Regardless of protests in the press and on the platforms and waiting of deputations the All-India Radio authorities stand unmoved, while every day Hindi language, literature and culture are being insulted, mutilated and literally murdered by the lesser fry of this department.

The controversy hitherto has centred round the language question, but there are wider and deeper aspects of the problem. Perhaps it is not necessary for me to dilate on the importance of Radio as a nation-building department at the present day. It is not merely a source of entertainment for the wealthy and the idle, or even a machinery for wider dissemination of news. It is something more. On the way in which it is used by those responsible for running it, will depend the future linguistic, literary, artistic and in fact the entire cultural development. It will gradually but irresistibly mould the tongue, the thoughts and the tastes of its listeners. When we will ponder over this aspect we will realise the immense importance of this question. And when we ponder over the policy being pursued by the All-India Radio under the direction of those who are in control, we wake up to the realisation that surreptitiously but persistently efforts are being made to strangle Hindi language, literature and culture, and to give a fillip to Urdu language and Islamic culture.

What Hyderabad (Deccan) did in a smaller way, is sought to be done by the A.I.R. in a much bigger way, though by both at the expense of the vast majority of Hindu tax-payers. In short, efforts are being made to make 'Pakistan' a greater reality than even the sponsors of that scheme could envisage.

In spite of vehement protests, the language used in the broadcasts and announcements from the Radio stations of Delhi, Bombay and Lucknow, not to speak of Lahore and Peshawar, continues to be Urdu, and the most intriguing part of the affair is that this language is obstinately paraded under the name of Hindustani. The inference is obvious, *viz.*, that the intention is to make Urdu synonymous with Hindustani. An unwary announcer of the Bombay Radio station, let the cat out of the bag, when he told the listeners the other day that the A.I.R. was issuing three journals, one in English called *Indian Listeners,* one in Hindi called *Sarang* and one in "Hindustani" called *Avaz*. Was it just a slip, or part of the deliberate policy of the A.I.R.? Recently the Lucknow Radio station announced a forthcoming 'Kavi-sammelan,' and the obliging announcer took the trouble to explain it to the listeners as *Hindi zuban ka mushaira,* and went on to add "*is sher-o-sukhun ki mahfil men sare Hindustan ke mashur shora hissa lenge.*" This is simply blasphemous.

Of late, an attempt has been made to sprinkle a few Hindi words here and there in the announcements and broadcasts, as an eyewash, but the attempt has necessarily been clumsy, and it has been rendered more clumsy at the hands of the announcing staff, which seems to consist overwhelmingly of Muslims. Multiplying instances will make this article endless and so I have to content myself with just a few. Formerly 'Foreign Minister' used to be translated as 'Wazir-a-Kharija' in Hindustani news broadcasts, but of late 'Videshi mamlon ke wazir' has been substituted, but the announcer can never get over the habit of pronouncing *videshi* as *wadeshi,* as also he pronounces *prem* as *parem, kripa* as *kirpa* and *Dropadi* as *Daropdi* and so on. This murder of Hindi words reached disgusting proportions in the broadcasts of Hindi dramas like *Shakuntala* and *Geeta-Jayanti* programmes, and all this is due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the staff and permanent "artists" of the A.I.R. are not only Urdu-knowing but Muslims. The Controller of Broadcasting pleaded helplessness in this matter before a deputation which waited on him

recently at Lucknow, but went on to tell that the staff will henceforth be subjected to a departmental test in Hindi, in which, however it will not be compulsory to pass. What fun is there in holding the test at all ? And above all, what were the circumstances which led to this state of affairs with regard to the staff and permanent artists ? How lightly this question is taken by the department is evidenced by a reply which the Controller of Broadcasting gave to the deputationists. Asked why even Hindu religious programmes were broadcast through Muslim announcers and artists, he said that this was done with a view to promote inter-communal harmony! I do not know whether to put this down to his sense of humour or to his sense of malice. Further asked why Muslim religious programmes were not for similar reasons broadcast through Hindu performers, he turned the topic. Shri Sampurnanandji recently laid stress on a very poignant feature of this question, *viz.*, that the programmes are always started and closed with *adab-arz,* the Muslim form of salutation, and devout listeners must have felt scandalized on being greeted with *adab-arz,* at the end of 'Geeta-Jayanti' programme one night lately.

The conditions described above are serious enough. But this is not all. The policy of discrimination in favour of Urdu and Islamic culture does not stop at this. It is not insignificant that in children's and ladies' programmes the leading characters are always 'Mamoon-jan,' 'Appa-jan,' 'Apa-shameem,' 'so and so Mian,' etc. Amateur performers, youngsters no less than grown-ups, as well as listeners, must thus imperceptibly get into the habit of using Muslim phraseology. The deputation referred to above also drew the attention of the Controller of Broadcasting to the fact that too much patronage is extended to prostitutes, whereas every possible encouragement should be given to respectable amateur artists. The Controller replied that they are solely guided by the popularity commanded by the various artists. That is at best a fallacious argument, but at any rate the practice of associating prostitutes with young boys and girls in children's and ladies' programmes is intolerable.

A study of the Radio programmes throws further light on the partiality of the department. For too many talks, stories, sketches, plays, etc., are in Urdu, and by Urdu writers and in fact, Muslim writers, and depicting Muslim life; Hindi writers do not receive the same hospitality. Similarly there have been more *mushairas* than kavi-sammelans and even the few *kavi-sammelans* have been allowed smaller time, individually as well as in the aggregate. As if all this were not enough, payments made to Hindi writers and poets are not on a par with those made to Urdu writers. The Controller all but admitted this, but tried to explain it away by saying that it was a matter of bargaining. The fact that Urdu writers are always able to strike better bargains with A.I.R. would require better explanation than has been vouchsafed by the Controller.

One could go on writing in dealing with the doings of this Pakistani department, but it is time to close this article with just one more glaring instance. For this I would invite a comparison of the programmes of Hindu and Muslim religious festivals. A glance at these programmes will reveal that, for instance, the Moharram, Idul-fitar, Id-uzzoha, Shab-e-barat and Bara-wafat programmes are much bigger and much more elaborate than those of Holi, Diwali and Dashera. These all important Hindu festivals have received scant attention from the A.I.R., while other important festivatls have altogether been ignored.

The above should be enough to show that there is something very much wrong in the state of A.I.R. and it is high time that the Hindus awake to the necessity of effective agitation before the mischief has done its work. Men who count, public men who owe a duty towards the people on whose suffrage they enjoy their leadership or seats in the legislatures, have yet to do their duty in this matter. Will our representatives in the Central Assembly, utilize their opportunity in giving vent to our grievances and asking for redress ?



ARABICISATION OF SINDHI: THE LINGUISTIC PROBLEM OF SIND

By Swami JAGADISWARANANDA

It was Sir Charles Napier who annexed Sind to the Bombay Presidency in 1847. There is in the city of Karachi a road named after Napier. About five years ago Sind was made a separate province and its first Governor Sir Lancelot Graham has just retired and his successor Sir Hugh Dow has lately assumed his office. Sind is a small province divided into six districts. According to the census of 1941 the population of Sind has swelled to about forty-five lakhs from thirty-five lakhs of the last census. Of all the three Indian provinces having Muslim majority, Sind ranks highest. Hindus are about fifty per cent in Bengal, about forty per cent in the Punjab and only twenty-five per cent in Sind. Besides more than a lakh of non-Sindhi Hindus of this province, the number of Sindhi Hindus lies in the vicinity of a million. Sind has therefore the lowest record of Hindu Minority.

From *Chach-Namah*, Sind's earliest historical record written in Arabic in the eighth century A.D., we find that Hinduism and Buddhism were the dominant religions of this desert tract of North-Western India in pre-Mahomedan period. It is Mahomed-bin Kasim who first invaded Sind in 712 A.D., with a small band of soldiers. Since then this province has been under the supremacy of Muslim religion, culture and language. On account of Muslim oppression and tyranny in pre-British days, Hindus had fled to Guzerat, the Punjab and other adjoining provinces. Hundreds of Hindu women were taken away to Arabia by force. Being under Muslim influence for over twelve centuries Sindhi Hindus are the most Muslimised of all Hindus of other provinces.

Guru Nanak, who effectively checked the tide of Muslimisation of Sindhi Hindus, is their true saviour. Hence they are devout followers of Guru Nanak and his religion and study more the Granth Sahib of the Sikhs than the Gita or any other Hindu scripture. In many domestic and public shrines of the Sindh Hindus the Granth Sahib is installed and worshipped. It has been rightly said by a modern thinker that a Sindhi Hindu is more a Sikh or a Sufi than a Hindu, and Hinduism in Sind is a mixture of Sikhism and Sufism. Though Hinduism has derived its name from the Sindhu and Hindu culture had its birth in the Indus valley, the purest form of Hindu religion and culture is unfortunately not to be found in this province. Hindu customs and traditions which are the carriers of true faith are also very rare here. Sindhi Hindus are badly in need of re-Hinduisation.

Besides Urdu, which is spoken mostly in the Punjab, Sindhi is perhaps the only language in India which is spoken by the Hindus, yet written in the Persian script and Arabic method from right to left. In 1857 the Persian script was adopted by the Sindhis with the assent of the Amils, a section of the Sindhi Hindu who served under the Muslim Mirs. Before that Devanagri alphabets were used. Even now old Sindhi books printed in Nagari script are found, preserved in the libraries of Karachi, Hyderabad and other towns of this province. Sindhi spoken by the Hindus is called Hindu Sindhi, whereas Sindhi spoken by the Muslims is called Muslim Sindhi. Hindu Sindhi has a preponderance of Sanskrit words and Muslim Sindhi has got a majority of Arabic and Persian words. A great Hindu poet of Sind, Swami, has incorporated the great ideas of the Gita, the Upanishads and other Hindu scriptures in his inspiring Sindhi poems which are recited by the Hindus of this province. Even Shah Abdul Latif (1689-1752) who is the greatest Sindhi poet and is said to be the Shakespeare of Sind, has used Sanskrit words profusely in his famous *Risalo* (poetical works.) It has been calculated that out of 20,000 words used by Shah Latif in all his works, more than twelve thousand words are Sanskrit.

A vigorous attempt at Arabicisation of Sindhi, like Bengali, has been on foot and Dr. Daudpota, the present D. P. I. of Sind, who is a Muslim, has taken up the work in right earnest. Daudpotisation is the new word coined by the Sindhi Hindus for Arabicisation. As the Bengali Muslims are trying to Arabicise Bengali by the arbitrary introduction of Arabic and Persian words into the Bengali language, so Dr. Daudpota and his hench-men in Sind are about to Arabicise Sindhi by making changes in the orthography. A Sind-wide agitation has been afoot to protest against this attitude of the D.P.I. Professor Jethmal Parasram of the National College, Hyderabad (Sind), as the leader of this movement is busy in travelling all over the province and mobilising public opinion against the proposed murder of the Sindhi language. Recently a Sindhi Sahitya Sammelan was orga-

nised on a very grand scale in Karachi to lodge a collective protest against this move. The Sammelan was attended by almost all the Sindhi Hindus of light and leading including the two Hindu Ministers of the Sind Assembly, namely, the Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas Vazirani and the Hon'ble Mr.. Gokaldas Mewaldas. An exhibition of ancient and modern Sindhi books and manuscripts was also opened on the same occasion by the Hon'ble Mr. Nihchaldas the Revenue Minister. Mr. Kishinchand Bewas, who is the greatest living Sindhi poet, presided over the Sammelan and emphatically protested against the newly introduced changes in pronunciation and orthographical signs of all Sindhi text books. In reply to their protest the Sind Government issued a Press Note upholding the action of the Muslim D. P. I and warned the Hindus not to place these academic matters before the public. Arabicisation of Sindhi, opines a Sindhi scholar, is the most burning question of the day for the Sindhi Hindus. The present-day Sindhi, remarks Mr. Kishinchand Bewas, is like a big river in which meet and merge a number of tributaries —Sanskrit, Prakrit, Persian and English. This meeting can, reiterates Mr. Bewas, enrich it and enhance its splendour or it may destroy its originality and genius. This depends on how words and idioms from other languages foster the freedom of Sindhi.

The said Sammelan condemned the action of Dr. Daudpota as 'literary vandalism' and unanimously passed a resolution requesting the Government not to destroy the beautiful structure of Sindhi by Arabicisation. Literature of Sind has been a shrine at which both Hindus and Muslims have worshipped, in which both have sat together forgetting their differences. It is the authoritative opinion of the Hindu scholars of this province that the linguistic structure of Sindhi that has been in vogue for generations is more natural, more scientific and more convenient for reading, writing and printing. Dr. Daudpota's fad of Arabicisation will not only disturb the musicality and metrical scales of Sindhi language but also will kill its vitality. The D. P. I. however thinks that the changes he is making in Sindhi are only corrections and will do no harm to it. The so-called corrections, according to the expert opinion of the Sindhis is nothing but an attempt at distortion and disfiguration of Sindhi. The Sindhi Hindus believe that Arabicisation of Sindhi means for them more Muslimisation under which they have been groaning for ages. Prof. Jethmal Parasram, who is a distinguished Sindhi Hindu scholar, asserts with authority that eighty per cent of the Sindhi words are Sanskrit and that Sindhi of all Indian vernaculars is nearest to Sanskrit. An Indian savant remarked some years ago that Sanskrit being the mother of all Indian languages, Sanskritisation is the real solution of the linguistic problems of India. Sanskritisation has led to the modern revival of all Indian vernaculars. Tamil, a very ancient language of South India, which is in many respects different from other sister languages, has had to absorb a good stock of Sanskrit words for a rejuvenation. Hence it is but natural that Sindhi Hindus prefer Sanskritisation to Arabicisation of their mother-tongue.

A young Brahmin scholar of Hyderabad (Sind) who has recently translated into Sindhi the great Ayurvedic Shastra of Bagha Bhatta has recently brought out the fruits of his study and research in the ancient Sanskrit literature about the place which Sind occupied in ancient civilisation historically, socially, linguistically and culturally. Sindhu in the Rig Veda is known as the "Bride of the Ocean" and the Padma Puran speaks of Sind as "Sindhu-Sagar-Sangam," the confluence of the river Indus and the Indian Ocean. On the two sides of the latter stand India and Arabia. It is at this confluence that the Rishis sang the glorious mantras describing the lights and the twilights of the rising and the setting sun. It was at Tatta (Deval Bander) of Sind that Deval Rishi wrote his Deval Smriti which as well as Agni Puran permits reconversion in Hinduism and this was followed till the tenth century A.D. In the eighth century when Sind was captured by the Arabs, Hindu thinkers under the influence of Deval Rishi created this new Smriti to meet the new situation. Converted Hindus including pregnant women were, in accordance with the injunctions of this Smriti, reconverted into Hinduism. Al Biladuri, a Muslim historian of Sind, also admits that in the eighth century when Muslim influence was at an ebb, coverted Hindus became Hindus again. It was in the river-forest of Sind, says a Sanskrit commentator, that Vyasa recited the Srimad Bhagavat. Some of the greatest pilgrimages as famous as that of the present Kumbha Mela, existed in Sind. It is said that the great Ayurvedic system was founded in Sind and its writer Bagha Bhatta was a Sindhi. It was in Sind, as given in the Rig Veda, that many valuable and beautiful articles were produced and splendid horses bred. The young Brahmin scholar referred to above, has also found out interesting details about Sindhi and its connection with the ancient Vedic language. In one chart he shows significant words which are to be found in the Rig Veda, not found in later Sanskrit

literature but found even today current in the Sindhi language. He also traces the development of Sindhi from the Mohen-jo-Daro picture-language by quoting authorities and showing the origin of Hindu Sindhi, the much derided current writing of the commercial community of Sind. In another big chart he shows the affinities of this Hindu Sindhi script with Pali.

Threat of Arabicisation of Sindhi has been a blessing in disguise for the Sindh Hindus to whom its reaction has been a powerful urge to learn Sanskrit and Hindi. Many Headmasters of high schools are now seriously thinking of introducing Sanskrit in their schools. The Hindi Prachar movement sponsored by the Congress has penetrated into distant villages. Many middle and high schools have already introduced and some have made compulsory the study of Hindi in the lower classes. Till now Sindhi Hindu boys and girls used to take up Persian instead of Sanskrit as second language in schools and colleges as the script of both Sindhi and Persian are identical; that of Sanskrit being different. Popularity of Hindi is now driving that script-phobia away from the mind of the students. Improved primers for picking up elementary Sanskrit have been published and some Sanskrit schools have been started in many towns of the province. The Ramayana, Mahabharata, Gita Bhagavat and other Sanskrit scriptures have been translated and published in Sindhi. Arya Samaj, Ramkrishna Mission and Brahmo Samaj are doing their level best to revive and spread Sanskrit learning among the Hindus of Sind.

However much Dr. Daudpota and the Bengal Premier may try to Arabicise Sindhi and Bengali respectively, scholars are of opinion that their efforts will prove abortive. Arabicisation of Sindhi or Punjabi or Bengali is an impossibility. Arabia cannot be transplanted into India and vice versa. Christian missionaries also attempted in vain to Romanise Assamese and other Indian languages. Arabicisation will only stunt the natural growth of these great flourishing languages but Indianisation will enrich and vitalise them. Bengali which is now the seventh or eighth richest language of the world, and which is the best language of the East and the second greatest language of the British Empire, has become so rich owing to Indianisation. Arabicisation means first alienation, then isolation and finally inanition for either Sindhi or Bengali. Inanition is another name for atrophy. Language is like a living organism. One cannot dictate terms as regards its growth. Its evolution, like that of a plant, is spontaneous. Any outside interference is a hindrance to its growth.

The greatest Sindhi poets both Hindu and Muslim were Sufis. The very air of Sind is full of the mystic fragrance of these flowers of Sufism, Inayat, Sachal, Rohal, Dalpat, Bedil, Bekas, Swami, and Shah Latif. For centuries the Sindhis have listened to their rapturous outbursts and sung their songs to the accompaniment of musical instruments. These inspired Sufi poets who were real messengers of peace and harmony, amity and unity, have brought home to Hindus and Muslims alike the essential identity of Rama and Allah. So it is not uncommon in Sind even now to find Hindus bowing in reverence before a Muslim shrine or Muslims bowing before a holy place of the Hindus. The water-god festival is common to the Hindus and the Muslims in Sind. There existed great friendship between the Muslim saint Jamali Sultan and the Hindu saint Dayal Bhaban of Girot. There was in Central India a Muslim saint named Mahomed Shah Dulla who compiled a book made up of selections of passages from both the Hindu and the Muslim scriptures. Though he had been born a Mahomedan, he adopted as his supreme Diety the Hindu god Vishnu. Thus Arabicisation of Sindhi is sure to estrange the feeling of the Hindus, throwing the apple of discord before both the communities.

The linguistic problem of Sind or Bengal, I repeat, will not be solved by Arabicisation but by Indianisation. If Dr. Daudpota is bent upon Arabicising Sindhi let the Sindhi Hindus like the Sikhs and Hindus of the Punjab adopt either Gurmukhi or Devanagri script for their language. This sound advice was given by Master Tarasingh to the Sikhs and Hindus of Sind in his presidential address to the All-Sind Akali Conference recently held in Karachi. Sindhi Hindus should establish closer relation between Sindhi and Sanskrit. The other day Dr. Thomas, Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford University, while presiding over the All-India Oriental Conference in Travancore pleaded for the revival of Sanskrit as a spoken language. While I was at Colombo about a decade back, Dr. Waldsmith, curator of the Indian section of the Prussian Museum of Berlin paid a visit to our Ashram on the Colombo Beach and began there to talk with me in Sanskrit saying, 'I wish to speak with you in Sanskrit as your civilisation and culture is embedded in Sanskrit.' He remarked during his conversation that a Hindu who does not know Sanskrit is not a Hindu. Sanskrit being the repository of all Indian wisdom, chairs have been founded for it in many distinguished universities of Europe and America. Hence Sanskritisation of our language and literature is the only antedote to Arabicisation which is eating into the vitals of Sindhi and Bengali.

THE CANDRA-DUTA-KAVYA OF JAMBU KAVI

By Prof. J. B. CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London)

The Dūta-kāvyas form an important branch of Sanskrit Literature. They are more or less composed after the model of Kālidāsa's Megha-dūta. The central theme is always the same, *viz.*, a messenger is sent by one party to another, although all sorts of subjects have been chosen, such as, love, religion, philosophy, etc.; also, all sorts of messengers, animate and inanimate, such as the moon, the wind, the swan, the tulasī-leaf, etc.

In this short paper we shall deal with an unpublished Dūta-kāvya, called Candra-dūta, by Jambū Kavi[1] or Jambū-Nāga Kavi. This work is important from two points of view, chronological and rhetorical. Chronologically, it is an earlier work than Dhoyī's Pavana-dūta, generally believed to be the earliest extant Dūta-kāvya in imitation of the Megha-dūta. There is, however, another complete Dūta-kāvya, at least contemporaneous with, if not earlier than, the Megha-dūta, *viz.*, the Ghatakharpara-kāvya, attributed by some to Kalidas himself, by others to Ghatakharapara, traditionally, one of the nine jewels of the court of King Vikramāditya. Rhetorically, the Candra-dūta represents the various forms of the Yamaka.

Authorship of the Candra-duta

There are several manuscripts of Jambū Kavi's Candra-dūta kāvya : (I) the MS. belonging to Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, No. 176(iv) of Bhandarkar's Collection A of 1882-83 (New No. 258 of Gode's Catalogue, 1940, p. 314); (2) that belonging to a private library at Ahmedabad, as noted by Peterson in his Third Report of Operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle, April 1884-March 1886 (p. 292), no particulars about the library, however, being given; (3) that belonging to the *Badā* Bhāndāra of the Saṃbhavanātha Temple at Jaisalmere, as noticed by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar in his Report of Sanskrit MSS. in Rajputana and Central India in 1904-1905 and 1905-6 (p. 25); (4) that belonging to the *Badā* Bhāndara at Jaisalmere, noticed by C. D. Dalāl in his Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jaina Bhāndāras at Jaisalmere, Baroda, Central Library, 1923 (p. 43), No. 345(I), and containing, in 18 folios, probably, the commentary of Sānti Sūri as well on the same. As the original text consists of 23 stanzas only, 18 folios would hardly be needed for it alone. The Catagolue of Jaina MSS., compiled by Hamsavijaya, notices a MS. of the Candra-dūta with the commentary of Sānti Sūri. Probably, it is identical with this. This MS. is not the same as the Manuscript No. 3 above, as it does not bear the name of the author or the date as No. 3 does; (5) that belonging to the Pattana (Pātan) Bhandāra No. I, as noticed in the Jaina Granthāvali, compiled by the conveners of the Jaina Svetāmbara Conference, Bombay, 1909, p. 319, No 5. We are not sure whether this MS. is identical with that noticed by Peterson in his Third Report.

There is another anonymous Candra-dūta belonging to the same *Badā* Bhāndara as the MS. 4 above, recorded by Dalāl in the said Catalogue under 198(5), p. 23. It is stated in the colophon that in Samvat 1343, *i.e.*, 1287 A.D. Khetasimha of Chitor again purchased the MS. The word 'again' is significant, as it indicates that the MS. was copied earlier than 1287 A.D. The MS. being unavailable and no other evidence being at hand, it is not possible for us to assign it to Jambū Kavi definitely.

Of these MSS., only the first one is available, and was kindly lent for my use by Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the said Institute. Unfortunately, however, the other MSS. could not be availed of. The library to which the second MS. belonged could not be traced, and no reply from the custodians of the third and the fourth MSS. of the *Badā* Bhāndara at Jaisalmere was received in spite of repeated requests.

The first MS. does not give the name of the poet in the colophon or anywhere. The colophon to the second MS. also, as quoted by Peterson, does not contain the name of the poet, but as Peterson records it explicitly under the name of Jambū Kavi as the author, there is no doubt that either he actually got the name of the poet somewhere in the MS. itself, as it sometimes happens in the case of Sanskrit MSS., or that he had some other strong grounds for assigning the authorship of the poem to Jambū Kavi. So there can be no doubt that the Candra-dūta, the second MS., noticed by Peterson is by Jambū Kavi. The third MS. gives the name of the

1. This is being edited as Work No. 3 of my Series Saṃskrta-Dutā-Kavya-Saṃgraha.

poet as Jimbūnāga Kavi, which, evidently, is the same as Jambū Kavi, whether Jimbū be a misprint, or a misnomer or an alternative name. The fourth MS. is anonymous. The fifth MS. gives the name of the poet as Jambū Kavi. Now, we have to find out the authors of the two anoymous Candra-dūtas. As regards the Candra-dūta used by us, the first MS. as noted above, that its author too is Jambū Kavi can be definitely established. (I) In the first place, it has the same name and subject-matter as Jambū Kavi's Candra-dūta. (2) Secondly, the first verse of the Candra-dūta of Jambu Kavi quoted by Peterson, is exactly the same as the first verse of this anonymous Candra-dūta. (3) Thirdly, both the verses, the first and the last, of the Candra-dūta of Jambū Kavi, quoted by Peterson, represents a special kind of rhetorical device called the Yamaka; *i.e.*, one in which a group of letters, generally speaking, in some pāda or other is identical with those in some other pāda or pādas of the same verse in exactly the same position.[2] Now, as the last verse of the anonymous Candra-dūta is unfortunately missing, it is not possible for us to compare it directly with the last verse of the Candra-dūta of Jambū Kavi, although we have found, as noted above, that the first verses of these two Candra-dūtas are one and the same. But, as both the first and the last verses of Jambū Kavi's Candra-dūta represent the Yamaka, there can be no doubt that in the entire poem the very same rhetorical device has been employed, particularly so because in all the works together with which the MS. of this Candra-dūta is found, the very same thing occurs. Now, in all the verses of the anonymous Candra-dūta too the Yamakas are found employed, and as this MS. also is imbedded in the self-same series of works, all representing the Yamaka, the missing verses of this Candra-dūta must also do the same. Therefore, there can be no doubt that these two Candra-dūtas are one and the same. (4) Fourthly, the very same arguments apply as well with regard to the metre employed. The first and the last verses of Jambū Kavi's Candra-dūta, reproduced by Peterson, are in the mālinī metre; and all the fourteen verses of the anonymous Candra-dūta are in the same. Therefore, there is perfect similarity between the two with regard to the metre too. (5) Finally, both the MSS. of Jambū Kavi's Candra-dūta and the anonymous Candra-dūta are found in the very same series of works, *viz.*, the Vrindāvana-kāvya, the Meghābhyudaya-kavya, the Ghata-kharpara-kāvya and the Sivabhadra-kāvya.[3] Thus, as the Candra-dūta of Jambū Kavi and the anonymous Candra-dūta, the first MS., both have the same name, subject-matter, first verse, rhetorical device, metre and appear in the same series of works, it can be asserted without a vestige of doubt that the two Candra-dūtas are one and the same, and that the anonymous Candra-dūta is really by Jambū Kavi.

As regards the other anonymous Candra-dūta, the fourth MS. noticed above, its authorship too can be definitely assigned to Jambū Kavi. All the MSS. contained in Bundle No. 345 *viz.*, Candra-dūta-kāvya, Meghābhyudaya-kāvya, Vrindāvana-yamaka-kavya, Rāksasa-kāvya and Ghatakharpara-kāvya represent Yamakas, and therefore, this Candra-dūta is identical with Jambū Kavi's Candra-dūta, which also does the same.

DATE OF THE CANDRA-DUTA

The MS. of the Candra-dūta, belonging to the *Badā* Bhāndara of the Jains underneath the Sambhavanātha Temple in a dark underground cellar, is dated Samvat 1342, *i.e.*, 1286 A.D. Therefore, the date of the Candra-dūta cannot be later than the middle of the 13th Century A.D.

Sānti Sūri wrote a commentary on Jambū Kavi's Candra-dūta. Now Sānti Sūri flourished in the 11th Century A.D., as is evident from the dates of his Sisya-hitā and the commentary of Devendra Ganin on the Uttarādhyayana. He died about 1040 A.D. Thus, on this evidence, it can be definitely asserted that Jambū Kavi must have flourished prior to the 11th Century A.D.

There is a work called Jina-sataka, by one Jambū Kavi, also called Jambū Guru, belonging

2. *e.g.*, V. 3 of the Candra-duta :

अपरमपि श्रृणुत्वं सत्यवादी नतायाः
सितकर वचनं मे लम्भकं दीनतायाः ।
यदि कथमपि गच्छेकुपथं नाथकान्तः
क्षणमिदमभिधेयः सस्मितेनाथं कान्तः ॥

Here the last four letters in the first and second, and in the third and fourth, padas are the same. This is an illustration of what is known as अनियत-पादः-भागावृत्ति-यमक There are many other varieties.

3. The anonymous Candra-duta is found in a composite MS., *i.e.*, this MS. consists of five different works, *viz.*, (1) the Vrindavana-kavya, (2) Meghabhyudaya-kavya, (3) Ghatakharpara-kavya, (4) Candra-duta-kavya and the (5) Sivabhadra-kavya, the pagination being continuous as found in a single work and the scribe also being the same. Now, Jambu Kavi's Candra-duta, recorded by Peterson too, in Third Report, pp. 291-292, the same order stands in only the Ghatakharpara-kavya being dropped.

to the Candragaccha. Now this Jina-sataka was commented upon by Sāmba Kavi, also called Samba Sādhu and Sāmba Muni, in the Saka year 1025, *i.e.*, 1103-4 A.D., as is stated by the commentator himself in his commentary, the Panjikā.[4] It is clear from the concluding verses of this commentator that Jambū Kavi was not alive at the time of its composition and was held in high esteem by the commentator. The way in which the commentator refers to Jambū Kavi seems to imply that the latter flourished a good many years prior to the former. Therefore. the lower limit of the date of this Jambū Kavi may be concluded to be not later than the 10th or the 11th Century A.D.

It is possible, however, to fix the date of this Jambū Kavi precisely with the help of another work, *viz.*, Munipati-carita, or Manipati-carita, composed by him in 1005 Samvat *i.e.*, 949 A.D.[5] Thus, on this evidence, Jambū Kavi flourished during the first half of the 10th Century A.D.

This Jambū Kavi is, most probably, identical with Jambū Kavi, referred to by Pārsva[6] of the Candragaccha in his work called the Srāvaka-pratikramana-vritti, composed at the Jaina Temple in Gambhūkā, 24 miles from Pattana or Patan, during the Saka year 821 *i.e.*, 899-900 A.D. Jambū has been referred to here as a srāvaka, very learned and of much assistance to Pārsva in the composition of his Vritti. In 899-900 A.D. Jambū must have been very young, *i.e.*, he must have been born towards the end of the 9th Century A.D., as he composed the Munipati-carita 40-50 years later. He had already attained the status of a guru when he wrote the Jina-sataka.

Now, most probably, this Jambū Kavi, author of the Jina-sataka and the Muni-carita, and the assistant of Pārsva was no other than our Jambū Kavi, author of Candra-dūta. Both equally had the epithet ' Kavi ' explicitly attached after their names.

There is another fact that strongly supports the identity of these two Jambū Kavis. The style of both their works, the Jina-sataka and the Candra-dūta, is similar—rather heavy and artificial; and it is at once evident that their authors laid more stress on sabdālamkāras or mere word-embellishments, anuprāsa or alliteration in the first and yamaka in the second, than on thought or expression. As a result, in both the cases, genuine poetry has been sacrificed to artificial rhetorical devices. Thus, as both the poets have the same names with the very same epithets attached, and also the same style and the same strong leanings towards word-embelishments, we may reasonably conclude that they are identical.

It is a matter of speculation whether the fact of his belonging to the Candragaccha made the author fix upon the moon as the messenger, though, of course, it is not a matter of great importance. The subject-matter of the Candra-dūta is a light one, quite distinct from that of the Jina-sataka, and Munipati-carita but probably the author meant this as a specimen of his rhetorical skill, rather than as a work of mere poetry.

We know of another Jambū, but he cannot be identified with the above Jambū Kavi or Jambū Guru, for, firstly, this Jambū is always found referred to as Jambū Svāmin, never as Jambū Kavi, there being also no statements whatsoever about his literary activities and poetical gifts in the bibliographical treatises of which we possess not a few[7]; secondly, this Jambū Svāmin belonged to the Kharataragaccha, succeeding Sudharman, and not to the Candragaccha as Jambū Kavi or Jambū Guru did.

Thus, while on the direct evidence of the commentary of Sānti Sūri on the Candra-dūta, it can be definitely asserted that Jambū Kavi flourished prior to the 11th Century A.D., it can further be reasonably concluded that he, as identical with Jambū Kavi, the author of the Jina-sataka and the Munipati-carita, must have flourished towards the end of the 9th Century A.D., continuing his literary activities at least up to the middle of the 10th Century A.D. So he was earlier than Dhoyī, author of the Pavana-dūta, of the court of King Laksmana Sena (12th Century A.D.) by a couple of centuries. Hence, the date of the earliest extant Dūta-kāvya, so far known, in imitation of the Megha-dūta; is pushed back by two centuries, and the Pavana-dūta is no longer to be regarded as such, as supposed by some.

SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE CANDRA-DUTA

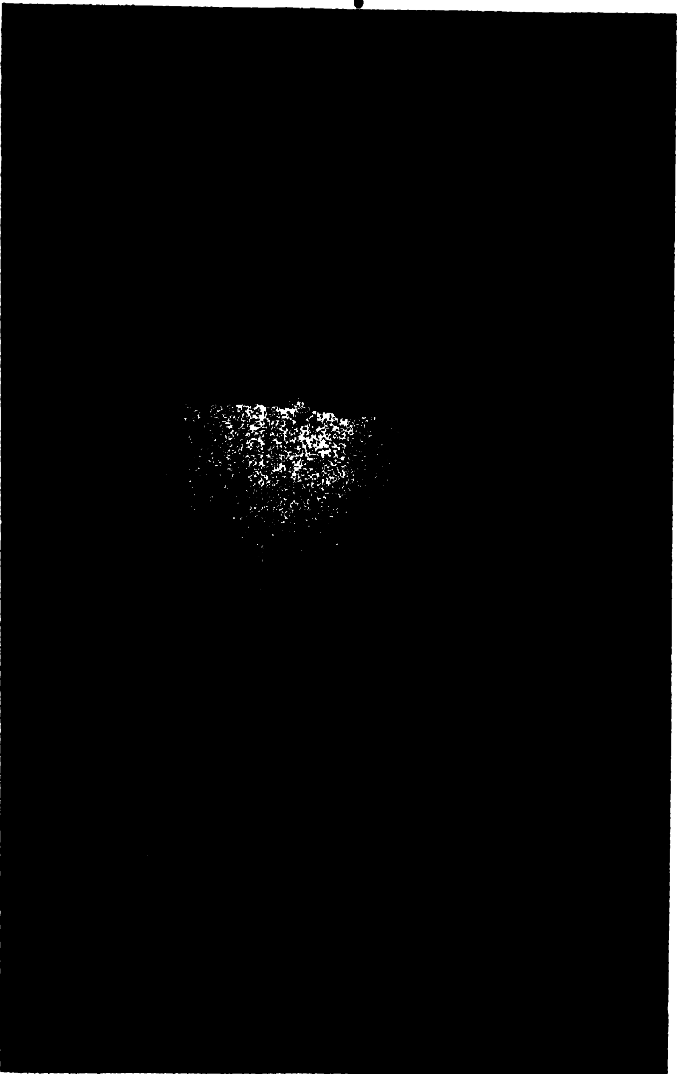
The MSS. of the Candra-dūta used by us is incomplete though the colophon indicates the

4. The Jina-sataka has been published in Kavyamata series, Saptama-gucchaka, fourth edition, 1926, pp. 52-71. There is another Bombay edition as well (1914). But the commentary of Samba Kavi is not, however, available in print. See Peterson's Fourth Report of operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay circle, April, 1886—March, 1892.

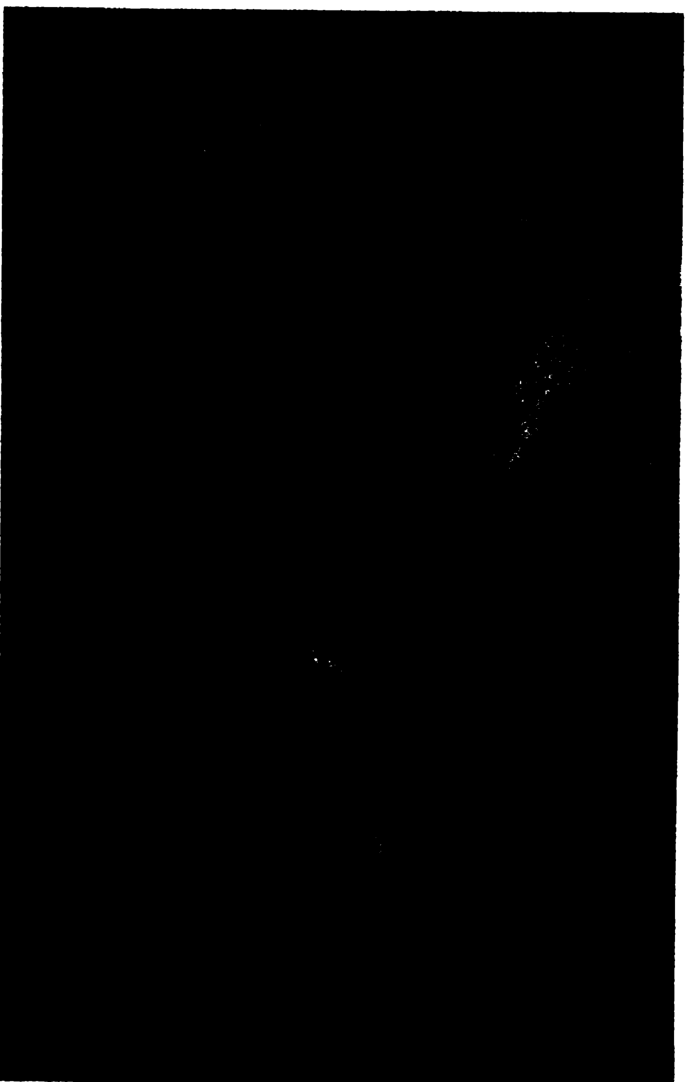
5. Jaina Granthavali, compiled by the conveners of the Jaina Svetambara Conference, Bombay, 1909, p. 229.

6. Patan Catalogue of Manuscripts, *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Vol. LXXVI, pp. 18 and 120.

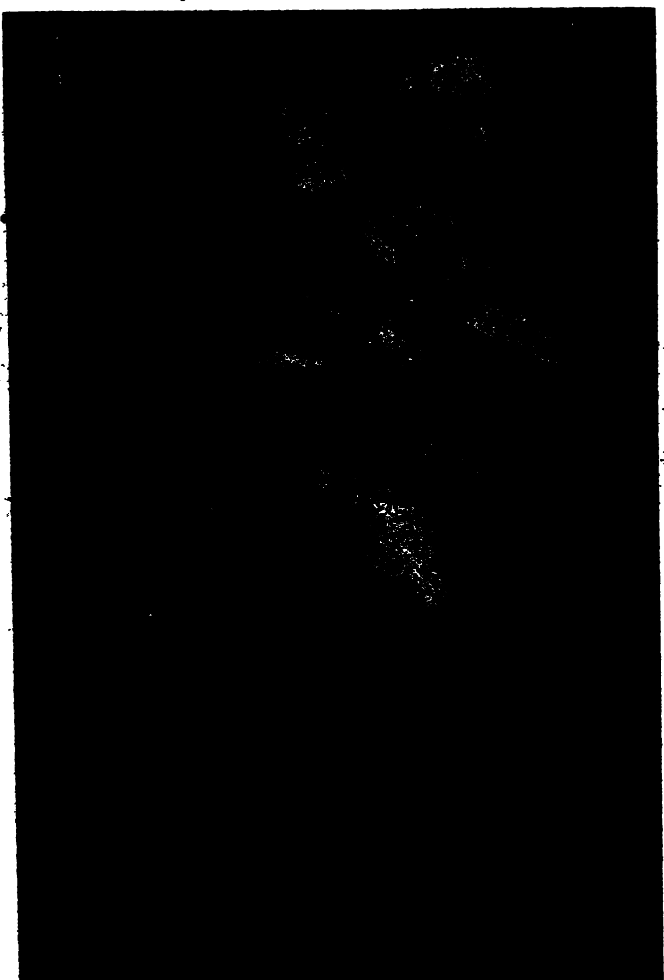
7. *e.g.*, Jambu-svami-carita by Jayasekhara Suri, Atmananda-grantha-ratna-mala, No. 21, etc.



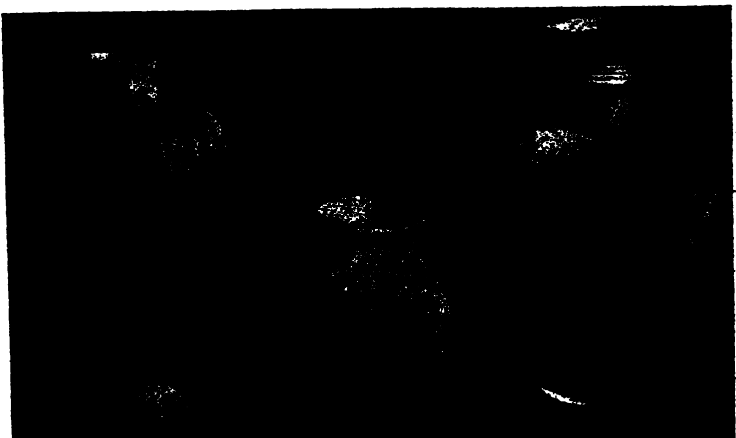
The Sun-rise
Photograph by S. B. Bhattacharyya

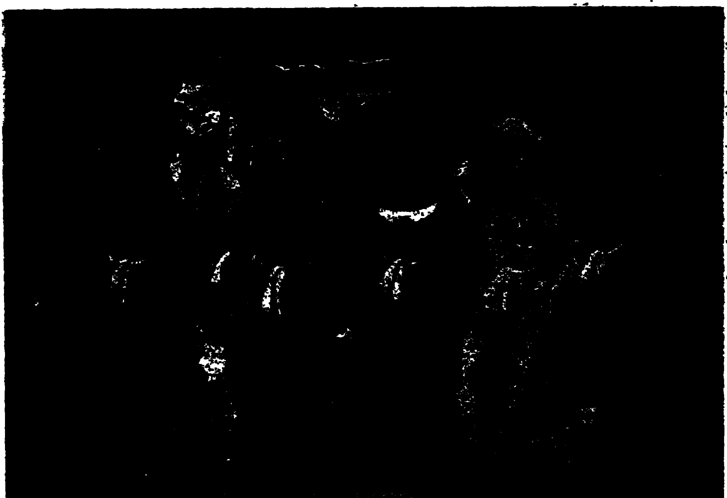


Clouds
Photograph by S. K. Mukerjee



Dancing girl. A terracotta figure unearthed at Tamluk, showing characteristics of Sunga Age but there are reasons to take it as pre-Maurya antiquity





Top : Vases unearthed at Tamluk with the sun, swastika, leaf and cater-pillar designs. The two long vases have no parallel in Indian archæology but have analogy with the vases of Minoan and Mycenaean origin

Bottom : Part of a scroll painting from Western Bengal, depicting

[Dutt's collection

completion of the work. The present MS. contains only 14 verses and it is clear from the last verse that the poem is not complete. This is also supported by the fact that the MS. of the Candra-dūta, noticed by Peterson in his Report, consists of 23 verses. Some of the verses of the MS. used appear detached from their original order. Until another MS. is available and some happier readings are found, if at all, and the real order is verified, thoroughly satisfactory interpretations are not always possible.

The subject-matter of the poem is an age-old one. Here the autumnal moon is sent as a messenger by a lady separated from her lover to her beloved. She asks the moon-messenger to inform him of her wretched condition even in the midst of autumnal gaiety all around and request him to return immediately. Then the moon sets as if to carry out her behest.

The verses are indeed interesting from the point of view of Yamakas. Thus, here we get illustrations of Niyata-pāda-bhāgavritti, Aniyata-pāda-bhāgavritti, and Pāda-vritti-sandastaka Yamakas.

Another characteristic feature of the poem is that it is written in the Mālinī metre and not in the Mandākrantā, employed in a large number of Dūta-kāvyas.

The poem cannot claim any originality of thought or sweetness of expression. On the contrary, as already noted, the easy flow sf poesy has all along been marred by the artificial rhetorical devices. In fact, it would be wrong to regard it as a piece of poetical composition pure and simple; but we should look upon it rather as an attempt, not very successful, to show off rhetorical skill, which, as pointed out above, was, most probably, the real intention of the author.

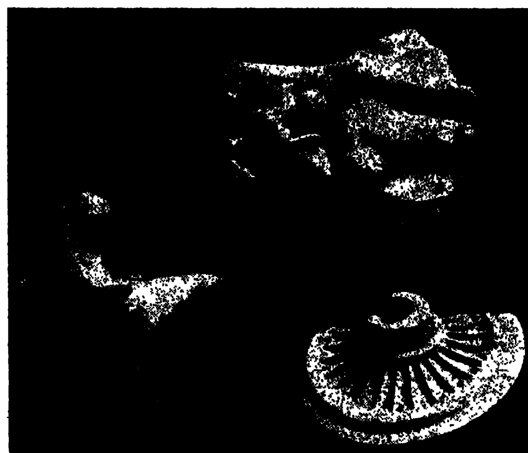
G. S. DUTT AND THE INDIGENOUS ARTS OF BENGAL

By SUDHANSU KUMAR RAY,
Curator, Bratachāri Janasiksha Pratisthan Museum

By the sudden death of Mr. Gurusaday Dutt, founder of the Bratachari Momevent, India has lost a pioneer of her rural reconstruction work as well as a worker in the field of women's welfare, and a well-known social reformer, but particularly Bengal has lost a real lover and rescuer of her rural traditions of arts and crafts, dances and songs.

The value of the folk arts and dances was first realised by Mr. Dutt in Bengal. I may quote here a few lines from Mr. R. Chatterjee's writings from which readers will understand how Mr. Dutt became a lover of his own national art :

"It was during Mr. Dutt's fourth visit to England in January, 1929, *i e.*, twenty-four years after his joining the Indian Civil Service, that he had an opportunity of witnessing the All-England Folk Dance festival at the Royal Albert Hall, London, and of observing how the movement for the revival of the well-nigh extinct folk songs and dances of England, started by Cecil Sharp, was being enthusiastically supported and followed by the most cultured classes in that country. The demonstration of the folk dances and songs vividly recalled to his mind the equally simple, beautiful and vigorous but more spiritual folk dances and songs of his native village and numerous other villages of Bengal. It had a magical effect on him. As he watched these simple demonstrations, he felt a sudden breaking within him of the heavy chain of inferiority complex with which the modern high school and university education of India had bound his soul. It generated within him a new respect for the living culture and traditions of his native land and a new spirit of self-respect which he had never felt before; and sitting there in that Hall in London, he formed in his mind a firm resolution to inaugurate on his return to India a similar movement for the conservation of the folk dances and songs of Bengal which, unlike the well-nigh extinct traditions of English folk dances and songs revived by the English



A few antiquities unearthed in Tamluk. Dutt's collection

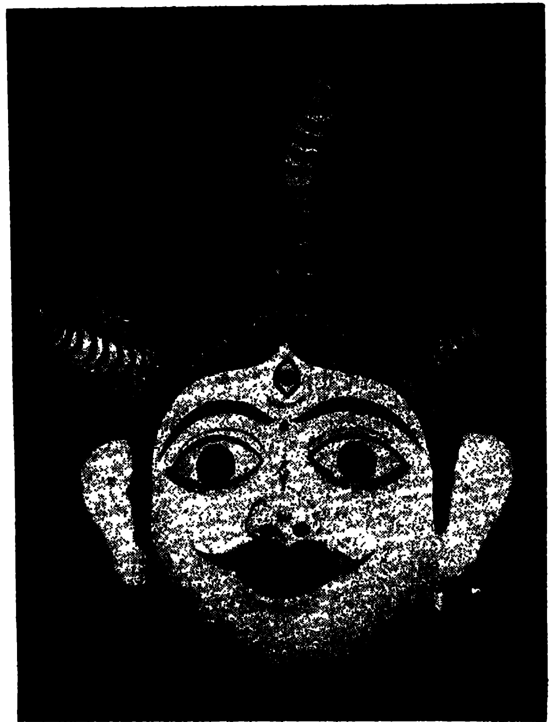
Folk Dance Society, were still vigorous living traditions practised by large sections of the village people." *

When he returned to India he came entirely as a new man, with a new outlook and a new determination.

In November, 1929, he had established at Mymensingh a society for the conservation of folk dances of Bengal. This Folk Dance Conservation Society developed in the year 1932 into the Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal founded by him. He was then convinced that in the folk dances which were still subsisting in a living form in the villages of Bengal are to be found, conserved through the centuries, the subtle essence of the spirit, character, and rhythm of the whole of the Bengalee people. The discoveries made by him in the villages of Bengal of the surviving folk dances and folk songs of the Bengalee people were closely followed by important discoveries made by him of valuable traditions in the field of folk art first in Western Bengal and then in other parts of the province and the result was an inner renaissance within his own self and a realisation of re-establishment of contact with the cultural soil to which he as a Bengali belonged, from which he had sprung, but from which the educational mill of our country through which he had passed had separated him during the years intervening between his childhood and this re-establishment of contact at the age of nearly fifty. As the first fruit of the work of the Rural Heritage Preservation Society of Bengal, whose object was to conserve and revive the practice not only of the folk dances and folk songs but of all branches of the folk arts of Bengal, a training camp was held at Suri, the headquarters of the District of Birbhum, of which he was then the District Officer, for imparting instruction in the folk dances, folk songs, folk sports and folk games of the province.

Superimposed human and animal motifs curved on a wooden panel of a Ratha (24-Parganas). Dutt's collection

After having made a large collection of interesting specimens of the folk arts of Bengal, he organised in March, 1932, a Folk Art Exhibition in Calcutta—the first of its kind in India, under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, and an attempt was made to explain their high aesthetic qualities as well as their national value as materials for the art education of the Bengalee people. Then, again, in April, 1932, and September, 1933, he delivered two lectures before the Calcutta University on Folk Art and its Relation to National Culture. Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore in course of his lecture in connection with the opening of Mr. Dutt's Folk Art Exhibition mentioned above, said :



Mask of Mahadeva (Siva) used by the dancers in Gambhira festivals (Mymensingh). Dutt's collection

" Mr. Guru Saday Dutt who is one of our respected pioneers in the collection and preservation of interesting relics of arts and crafts scattered in our villages, has

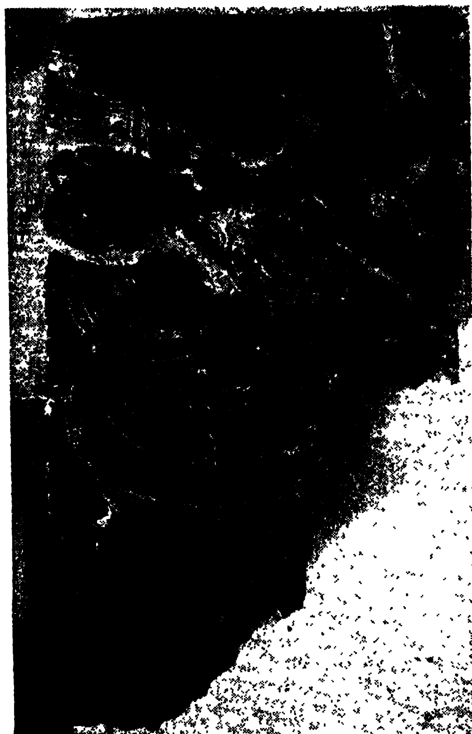
* *Bratachari Movement*, p. 13.

been able to make a good representative collection from village to village of paintings, wood-carvings, etc., which are here presented before us in this exhibition."

"These charming and valuable objects of art are most vitally related with the social life of Bengal, and any history of our social life, as well as of the arts and crafts of the province without them is incomplete. It is unfortunate that nowhere in Bengal is there a museum where the art-products of the province can be permanently housed for exhibition. There is indeed no knowing how many of our valuable relics of the past—wood-carvings, kantha-designs, pats, patas, etc., for example—are gradually perishing out of our reach for want of collectors and museums for housing the collections. Mr. Guru Saday Dutt . . . . deserves thanks and respect from us all, especially from the artists of our country."

Mr. Laurence Binyon, an undisputed connoisseur of Oriental Art, once observed :

"It seems to me that all over the world—of course, we feel it more in the West—with all our technical advance, we have lost sight somehow of life as a whole.



Terracotta, depicting Rama drawing a bow (Jessore). Dutt's collection

We have lost somehow the art of living." (Address delivered in the India Society, London, while presiding over Mr. G. S. Dutt's lecture on the indigenous arts of Bengal, *Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. X, No. 1, page 33).

And he explained that wholeness cannot be achieved while men whether in ordinary life or in the domain of art attempt to imitate or impose from above or outside instead of following unsophisticatedly the natural stream represented by their own regional tradition. So far as Bengal is concerned, Mr. Binyon pointed out that Mr. G. S. Dutt had rendered a national



Mask of Kali the Mother, used by the dancers in Gambhira festivals (Mymensingh). Dutt's collection

service by reviving her living traditions of arts, which have been handed down to us in an unbroken current from the remotest antiquity but were neglected and forgotten and which people had not even suspected to be works of art.

People had, in particular, no idea about the distinctive character of Bengali indigenous paintings. This was frankly confessed by Mr. Binyon in the address referred to above, after he had heard Mr. Dutt's lectures. Mr. Binyon said :

"When I was in the British Museum, collecting Indian paintings, I found it very difficult to ascertain from Indians where particular paintings came from. I fancy the tendency was to call everything either Moghul or Rajput, but I believe we have something there that really come from Bengal."

As a result of this ignorance and negligence, an eighteenth century decadent painting on a book-cover is representing Bengal (except steles of the Pala period) in an elaborate survey of Indian art by a scholar like Dr. Coomaraswamy. Undoubtedly it is a regrettable thing to us and the reason for this poor representation is that the people had not taken the trouble to find out

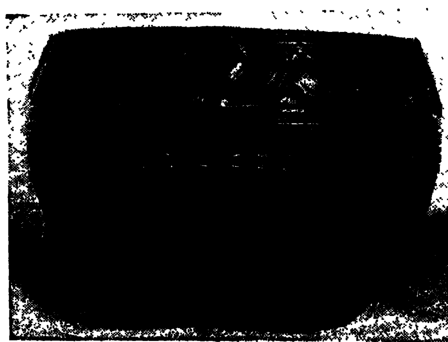
the Arts that are still alive and rooted in the soil of Bengal.

But we see that during the last 10 or 12 years at least one man was endeavouring his utmost to find out our forgotten or well-nigh forgotten art-treasures and today we are really proud of the effort of Mr. G. S. Dutt for the discoveries of Bengali traditional arts and crafts in all their manifold ramifications.*

Commenting on an old scroll-painting discovered by Mr. Dutt, Dr. Coomaraswamy remarked that it was the most important and interesting of all the Indian scroll-paintings hitherto discovered. "The surprising boldness of the line drawing and colour design of these paintings" (*London Times*) of Bengal were highly appreciated by Western connoisseurs. For a future surveyor of Indian Art, the art treasures of Bengal brought to light by Mr. Dutt's untiring efforts will be indispensable materials. No one can ignore a painting by a Jadu-Patua (magic-painter), a Krishna-lila scene from a scroll-painting by Patuas of Western Bengal, a Kānthā by a Bengali village woman, a painted Sara from the Eastern Bengal districts, a wood-sculpture from Birbhum and Bankura or a terra-cotta plaque from the Mathurapur monument, while surveying Indian Art in general.

In the year 1935, Mr. Dutt visited England for the fifth time to acquire further knowledge of the activities of the existing folk culture societies in Europe, specially of the work carried on by the League of Nations. Moreover, he worked for six months at the British Museum on the subject of the prehistoric arts and antiquities of India. As a result of this research





Two brass rice measures (Western Bengal). Dutt's collection

work, he was inclined to think that the present-day Bengali traditions of popular arts are the direct continuation of prehistoric arts and crafts of the chalcolithic age. His convictions were expressed in these few lines :

"1. While the Proto-Indian civilisation has not left any direct traces of its continued existence in the Indus Valley region or its vicinity, certain elements of it appear to have continued in an uninterrupted succession right down to the present day in the Bengal region in the form of beliefs, practices and traditional cult-forms and art-forms."

"2. The basic civilisation, culture and art-forms of Bengal furnish a key to the understanding of many of the objects found among the Indus Valley relics, the significance and meaning of which have hitherto proved either difficult or impossible to comprehend."

"3. Conversely, the rudiments of the various aspects of the basic Hindu culture of Bengal are found to have actually taken shape in the Proto-Indian civilisation discovered in the Indus Valley region."

In two issues of *The Modern Review* he put forward his thesis.† Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director of Archaeology in India, in connection with a lecture at the University of Calcutta, mentioned the importance of Mr. Dutt's valuable researches in this direction.

In the field of archaeology his discovery of antiquities from Tamluk (ancient Tamralipti) throw new light on the past history of Bengal.

* (1) Painting (see the *Journal of the I. S. O. A.*, June, 1933; *Modern Review*, May 1932 and November, 1933; *Ruplekha*, No. 12, 1932). (2) Wood-sculpture (see the *Journal of the I. S. O. A.*, June, 1937; *Studio*, August, 1933). (3) Cottage Architecture (*Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1936). (4) Pottery (*Vichitra*, 1939 B. S. Aghn.). (5) Painted Saras (see the *Journal of the I. S. O. A.*, June, 1934). (6) Kantha (Coloured embroidery, *Modern Review*, October, 1939; *Vichitra*, 1939 B. S. Aghn.). (7) Clay Modelling (*Modern Review*, December, 1934). (8) Chalachitras (*Modern Review*, November, 1932). (9) Dolls and Figure Toys (*J. A. C.* July, 1938). (10) Alpanas (*Bangalaxmi*). (11) Moulds of Sweetmeats. (12) Temples and Terra-cottas (*Modern Review*, March, 1934. *Journal of the I. S. O. A.*, June, 1938), etc., which "had been a revelation to most of us."

† *The Modern Review* for November, 1939 and February, 1940.

Mr. Dikshit wrote a letter congratulating him for his discoveries at Tamluk of prehistoric vases which bear analogy to those of Minoan and Mycenian origin of 4000 years old.

A year before his death Mr. Dutt discovered two miles long ruins of a city at the sea-coast in the Sagar Island and unearthed very rare antiquities of historic and prehistoric times which are now under the inspection of the Archaeological Department, Indian Museum.

We are glad to find that Mr. Dutt's invaluable discoveries of the indigenous arts of Bengal have furnished creative inspiration not only to the artists of India but also to professors and students in the Indian universities who are engaged in art study and research and that as a result what has been hitherto contemptuously referred to as "folk" art is finding a place of honour in the portals of the Calcutta University. Bengal will never forget its debt of gratitude to Mr. Dutt for the pioneer work he has done in discovering and creating interest in her indigenous arts and in restoring it to its rightful place in the domain of art throughout the world.

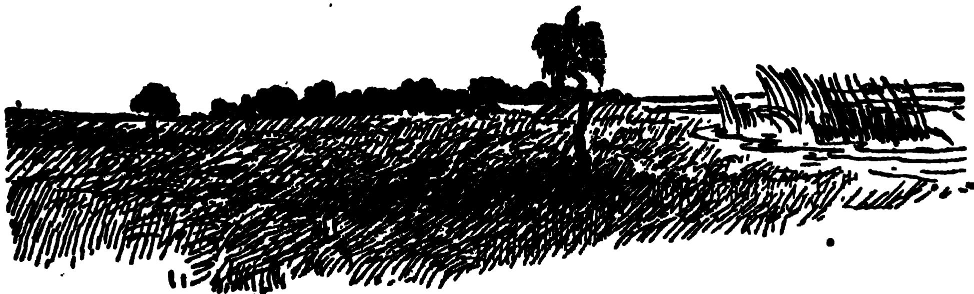
Before his sad death Mr. Dutt, Founder of the Bratachari Movement, presented his entire collection to the Bengal Bratachari Society, who are making necessary arrangements to conserve and exhibit them in a museum at the Bratacharigram in the district of 24-Parganas.*

In conclusion I appeal to the public and to the Government of Bengal and India and specially to the authorities of the Department of Archaeology in India for favour of every possible help in bringing out Mr. Dutt's dreams of a Museum of popular Bengali Art into a reality for understanding our national traditions of arts and crafts, dances and songs. Mr. Gurusaday Dutt, has been chiefly responsible for its phenomenal growth; but the time has now come when, we think, the people should take it up and expand it in the cause of national regeneration.



A Piri-chitra (painted wooden board) by a village woman of Khulna. Dutt's collection

* The Bengal Bratachari Society has drawn up a comprehensive scheme for establishing an educational and cultural centre "for giving simultaneous physical, moral, literary, craftual and cultural training as well as training in manual work, social service and rural reconstructional activities to the people of Bengal," under the name of Bratachari Janasiksha Pratisthan. For this purpose the Society has acquired through the Government a plot of 100 bighas of land on Diamond Harbour Road near Thakurpokore station on the Kalighat-Falta Railway, in an essentially rural area but only within 8½ miles from the centre of Calcutta. This plot of land has been named *Bratacharigram.*



GURU SADAY DUTT

By S. R. VENKATARAMAN, B.A., B.L.,

Member, Servants of India Society, Royapettah, Madras

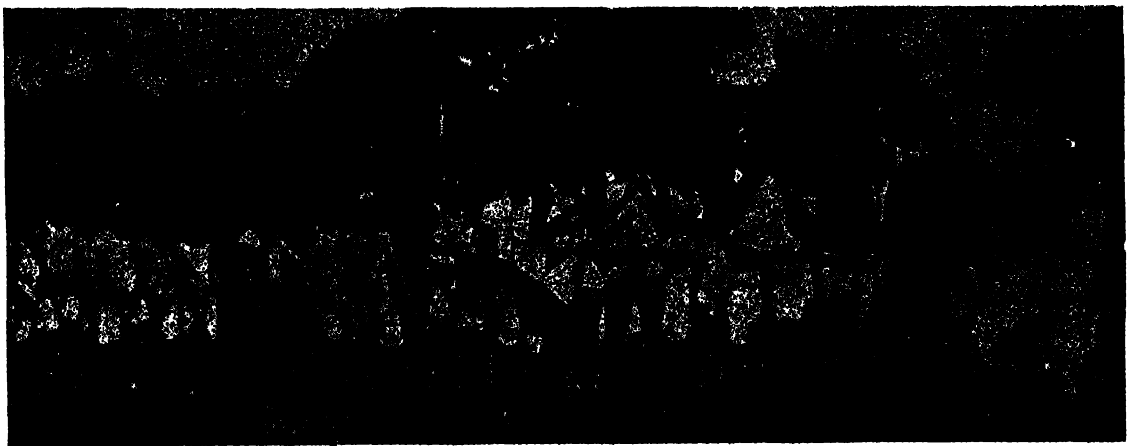
Mr. Guru Saday Dutt is no more. He was a great builder of the manhood and the womanhood of India. In South India Mr. Dutt is known only as the Founder-President of the Bratachari movement and the supporter of the great movement started by his noble wife Saroj Nalini for the uplift of women in Bengal. Outside Bengal it is not generally known what a great authority he was on the folk art and culture of Bengal. It found in him a great champion and supporter. He was perhaps, the first person in India, long before any one began collecting folk songs, to collect the folk songs of Bengal and perhaps the Calcutta University is the first of its kind in India to publish a volume of the folk songs of Bengal, collected and edited by Mr. Dutt.

He spent his life's savings, his energy, time and learning in supporting and spreading the Bratachari movement, the women's movement in Bengal and in collecting at a very heavy cost some of the finest specimens of the folk art of Bengal. Perhaps there is not a more representative collection of folk art of Bengal anywhere in India. To see them is education itself.

It was his life's ambition to make the Bratacharigram founded by him last year on a plot of ground measuring about 40 acres in Thakurpukur near Calcutta, the centre for the revival and the teaching of the folk art and crafts of Bengal and of the other provinces in India and make it a live centre of cultural and educational activities.

His aim in life was to harmonise the diverse elements in the Indian social life. He was above all communal feeling or antipathy. When I was in Calcutta last December, he introduced to me a gentleman and said that he was his cousin. From the name I understood his cousin to be a Muslim. This gentleman was staying with Mr. Dutt at Calcutta at the time and was treated by Mr. Dutt as a near and dear kith of his own. This gentleman had come from Sylhet, the birth place of Mr. Dutt, for medical treatment to Calcutta and was staying with Mr. Dutt. Later, I understood that about 200 years ago one of Mr. Dutt's ancestors embraced Islam and this Muslim gentleman was his descendant and that in spite of this change of faith, Mr. Dutt's and his Muslim cousin's families were on friendly terms attending all the social and religious functions in each other's household. When this Muslim cousin of Mr. Dutt came to Calcutta, Mr. Dutt not only gave him shelter in his house for several months but also gave him all the help that he needed and treated him with all the cordiality and affection due to a brother.

Mr. Dutt was a great exemplar of what he preached. May his soul rest in peace and may the institutions that he had founded and supported prosper and grow from strength to strength breathing the same vigour and dynamic force they did during his life time enriching the great stream of national life of India.



Bratacharis marching in accompaniment of national songs, drums, etc., led by Mr. G. S. Dutt

A VISIT TO ICELAND

By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

The present war has brought the name of Iceland—the land of volcanoes and sagas, geysirs and ice-fields—into prominence in the columns of war news in the press. While residing at Sweden I became interested in that country on reading the interesting Icelandic sagas and in particular —the Heimskringla—a history of the Norse kings from the mythic times down to about 1180, written by the great Icelandic author and historian Snorri Sturluson. My interest brought



A statue by Einar Jonson, the famous Icelandic sculptor

me in touch with Mr. Thorbergur Thordarsson. the well known present-day author of that country. On 11th April 1935, I got into the steamer *S. S. Lyra* at Bergen bound for Reykjavik—the Capital of Iceland. On our way, the *Lyra* touched Thorshamn of Faroe Islands and stopped there for a while. On 15th April in the morning, the snow-clad peaks of Icelandic mountains became visible and the same evening the *Lyra* reached the harbour of Westman Islands. It is a group of islands, rising almost perpendicularly from the sea to the height of several hundred metres. While observing the sea-birds, hundreds of thousands of



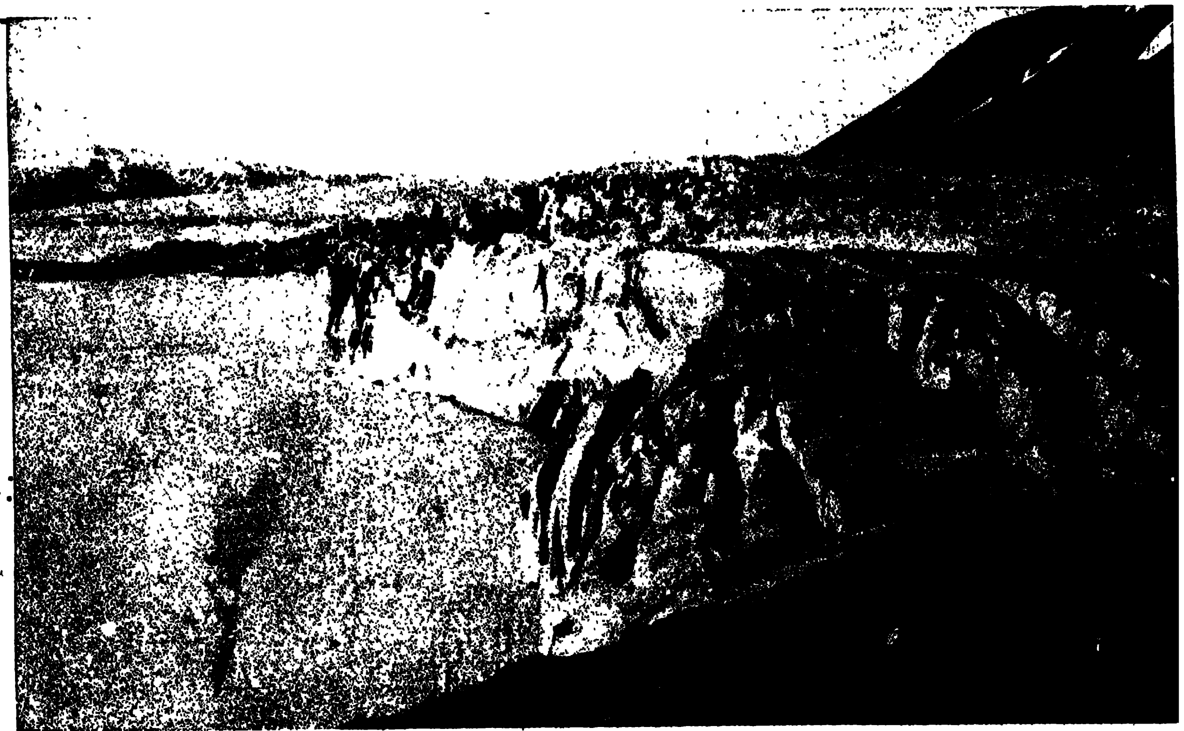
Reykjavik : A view of the harbour

them fluttering about the rugged cliffs, I came to know from a fellow-passenger that the inhabitants of Westman Islands use rain water for drinking purpose, as drinking water is not otherwise available. On 16th April, early in the morning, we landed at Reykjavik. the capital of Iceland.

Iceland lies just south of the Arctic circle and is situated between lat. 63° 24′ to 66° 33′ north, and from long. 13° 30′ to 24° 30′ west. Its greatest length from east to west is 500 kilometres, and from north to south is 317 k.m. The country is about 550 nautical miles north-west of the British Islands, 200 miles east of Greenland and 600 miles west of Norway; its area is about 105,000 sq. kilometres, *i.e.*, it is about half the size of Great Britain. The country as it appears in the map, is deeply indented with bays and fjords on all sides except the south. Only some 15 per cent of the island of 105,000 sq. kilometres are lowland—divided into cultivated grass land, mowable meadowland and pasture land. The rest is for the most part uninhabited tableland broken here



Map of Iceland



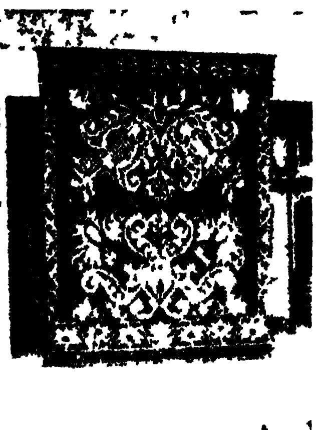
Langjokul Glacier



Mr Thorbergen Thordarson and his wife



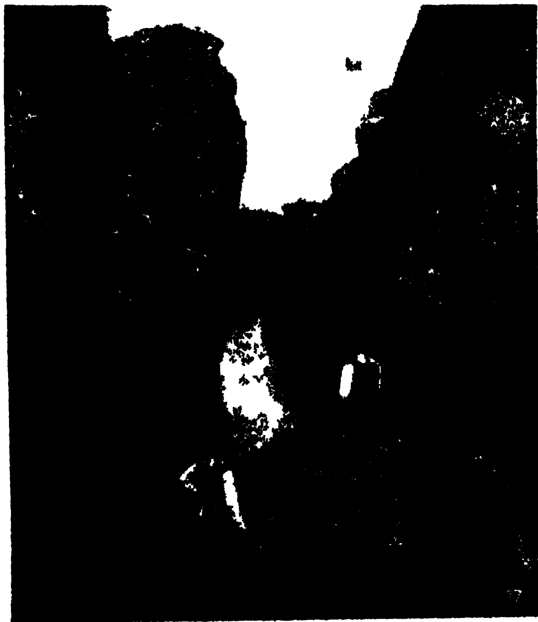
The writer on way to Snorri's place



Handmade carpet of 16th century

and there on the outskirts by valleys and fjords. This great plateau rises to 600 metres, on the average, above the sea level and is covered with vast expanses of both pre- and post-glacial lava, sand deserts, stretches of morasses, moorlands and lakes. High mountains are usually covered with perpetual ice and snow.

The unusually clear atmosphere of the country impressed me much just on landing. It



A rift filled with transparent water, Thingvellir

is very difficult, indeed, for those not used to it, to judge distances in Iceland. The clarity of the atmosphere tends to make objects and places appear much nearer than they really are. In the absence of woodland, wherever one looks



Njall's place of famous Story of Burnt Njall

at, one finds only bare nature. When I visited Hafnar fjordur, a small town and a fish-curing centre, about ten miles from Reykjavik my friends promised to show me a forest there. After seeing the fishing harbour and fish-curing by womenfolk of that place, I was taken to a natural park where at the foot of a hillock stood the promised forest of eleven birch plants—say about 8-10 ft high. It is, however, a fact that when the first settlers came, far larger areas of the country were covered with forest

than is the case at present. The using of forest for fuel during centuries and grazing of sheep proved greatly harmful to vegetation. Volcanic eruptions from time to time are also responsible to some extent for this state of things.

There are more than one hundred volcanoes or places where volcanic eruptions had taken place. The most known volcano is Mount Hekla, which is credited with eighteen eruptions since 1104. There are, however, other volcanoes far more interesting than Hekla, in many respects. Amongst them the Askja and the Laki are two volcanoes well known for the amount of lava they ejected. The former has a crater of immense dimensions, covering about 50 sq. kilometres. Very little was known of Askja prior to the terrible volcanic explosion in 1875, when the pumice and ashes ejected were carried as far off as Norway and Scotland. The crater thus formed is now filled with water forming a big lake. In 1921 and again in 1926, eruptions of lesser degree took place in Askja. When I expressed my intention of visiting Askja, I was told many stories and my friends and guides actually dissuaded me from doing it. People who went there on scientific expedition had had most uncomfortable experience—some even lost their life—some went mad. Laki has craters numbering over a hundred. It is famous for the "magnitude of lava issued at one outbreak in 1783,—the lava flood during the period of about five months has been calculated to amount to 400 thousand million cubic feet, to which must be added about one-fourth more ashes and scorie."



A view of Reykjavik in 1735



Icelandic ponies carrying hay after harvest

There are a good number of lava fields in Iceland. The lava ejected from the hundreds of post-glacial craters, covers about 12 per cent of the whole area of the country. The lava fields have been rightly described as a "picture of erratic ruin where the entire district looks as if it had been baked, broiled, brunt and boiled by some devish hand until its chemical soul had fled, and left nought behind save a grim grey shroud of darkness and despair."

The census, taken in 1929 showed the population of Iceland as 106,000, less than half of which are at present occupied in farming. During 9 years (1920-29) the average annual increase of population had been 1·26 per cent. That the country is very thinly populated, can be explained by the fact that almost four-fifths of Iceland are unihabited and for the most part uninhabitable.

The Icelanders belong to the Teutonic branch of the Aryan race and to that particular division of this branch which comprises the Scandinavians, *i.e.*, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians and Faroese, whose nearest relations they are.

Reykjavik is the seat of the Government of Iceland. The first Scandinavian settler Ingolfur Arnarson took up his residence in Reykjavik in

deference, as he believed, to the will of his gods. The present population of the capital is 26,500, *i.e.*, about one-fourth of the whole island. Some forty years ago the inhabitants of the capital numbered not more than some 5000. Since the last war, all the newly built houses are constructed of reinforced concrete, but a few pre-war houses of wood and covered with corrugated iron are still to be seen there.



The writer visiting a fish-curing centre at Hafnarfjordur

In Reykjavik, I had been introduced, thanks to Mr. Thorbergur Thordarsson, to home circles as well as to many Icelandic personalities, including the Prime Minister, who kindly put his car at our disposal. In it, we made several trips to the fish-curing stations in the outskirts of the capital and in the outlying districts, including one to Reykolt, where lived the famous Snorri Sturluson and where he was also treacherously murdered in 1241 by the order of King Haakon of Norway. Snorri's bathing place—circular in form, about 4 metres in diameter,



A view of Thingvellir—the Plain of Parliament

built of stones cemented together, still remains. It is supplied with water from one of the many hot springs in the neighbourhood. It was one of his habits to enjoy the luxury of hot baths in the company of his friends, discussing philosophy, politics, history, etc.

Fish, the chief produce of the country, plays an important role in her economy. During the last war (1914-18), Iceland made enormous profit by exporting fish and fish-oil. The total quantity of fish exported in 1927, was 100,402 tons, valued at 45·2 million kronur. The total quantity of cod-liver oil exported in the same year was 5,196,000 kilos, valued at 3,620,800 kr. Besides, cod's roe yielded 266,000 kr; swims 83,000 kr; and guano 5,510,000 kr. in that year. No less than 85 per cent of the total annual exports of Iceland are represented by fish and fish products.

In Iceland, I have seen her great ice-fields, waterfalls, a good number of Geysirs—the thermal springs either of boiling or tepid water and they are all wonderful marvels of nature but more wonderful is Thingvellir—the Plain of the Parliament. I had been there thrice but it was not enough to see and learn all about the greatest of all wonders in Iceland. It is a spot of exceptional interest both from geological and historical points of view. On Thingvellir writes an Icelander :

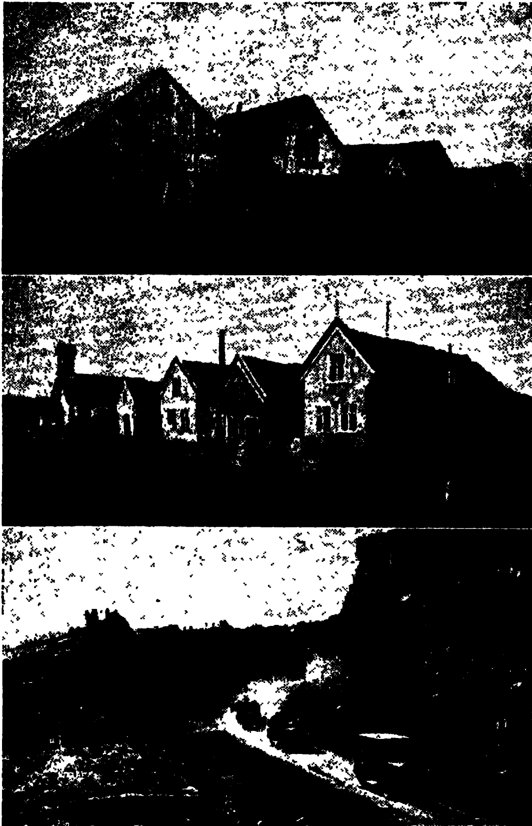
"Many of the mountains that can be seen miles away to the north are old volcanoes from which—thousands of years ago—streams of molten lava poured,



A view of modern Reykjavik

one after another, and in the course of a long period formed an expansive and enormously thick lava field. Then, after a lapse, the length of which is uncertain, an earthquake is believed to have caused a portion of

this lava field to subside, making a drop of more than a hundred feet, leaving on each side, some three miles apart, the sheer rock walls of the two rifts, running



Top : The writer in a farmer's home
Middle : Typical Icelandic Village
Below : Almannagja of Thingvellir—the eighth wonder of the world

upwards, and almost parallel. These are known as the Almannagja and the Hrafnagja. The surface of the subsided land between these two great rifts is rent with minor rifts and fissures, some of which are half-filled with deep blue, transparent water."

There is a mountain stream running across the Parliament Plain and flows into the great lake Thingvallavatn. On both sides of the river, there are to be seen inside the Almannagja itself, the ruins of many of the booths occupied by some of the famous Icelandic leaders of ancient times and their successors.

Among the many rocks forming the eastern wall of the great rift Almannagja is the famous Logberg which means the Rock of Laws. From this the speaker or the president of the assembly proclaimed the existing laws and it was from there, all other important declarations were announced. For about nine centuries, all the laws of Iceland were passed at this assembly. It was in this place in the year 930 A.D.—that parliament was first established and the commonwealth of Iceland organised.

The colonization of Iceland took place in the years A.B. 874 to 930. Most of the first settlers came from Norway, being unable to endure the severe cold of Haraldur Fairhair. In 930 these men and their sons organised the Icelandic Commonwealth at Thingvellir mentioned above. The descendants of these liberty-loving Vikings maintained their political liberty until in 1262, when after a long period of civil strife, they were compelled to submit to the king of Norway. In 1380, Iceland along with Norway came under Danish rule. In 1874, the Icelanders obtained their first constitution. In 1904 they acquired a form of Home Rule. Since 1918, Iceland has, however, been an independent sovereign state, united to Denmark only by the fact of having the same king.

In the present year, Iceland declared complete independance severing that only connection with Denmark. What next ?

Iceland is a country still in the making.





The mechanical harvesters at work on the wheat fields of the U. S. S. R.

RUSSIA IN THE TOILS

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

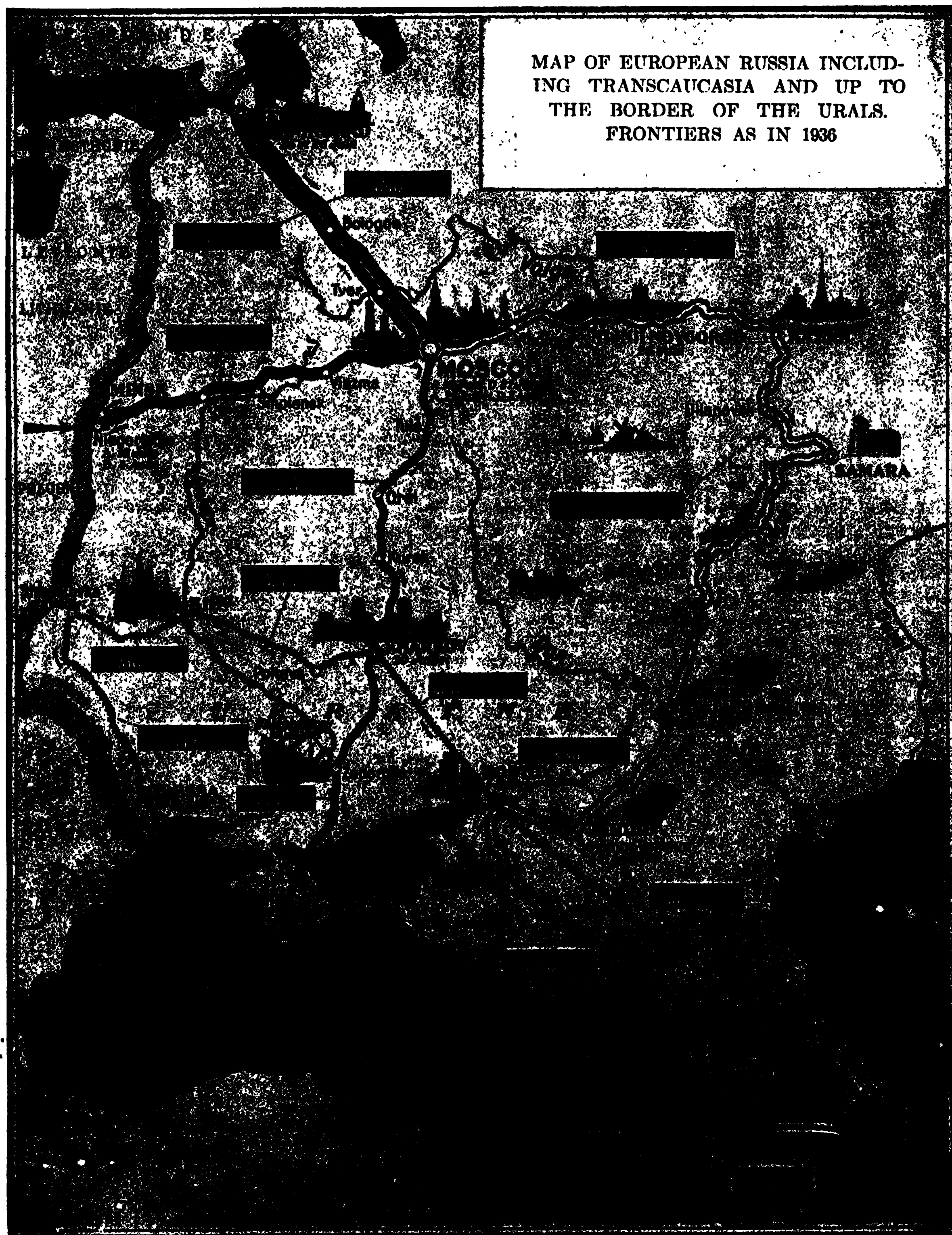
It is just a month since the blitzkrieg was launched against the Soviets, and yet the issue is by no means clear. It is true that the German gains have been tremendous if the area of territory wrested from the Soviets and the losses inflicted on the Russian armies be computed against the time factor. But if the more sensational parts of the news be reduced to the proper perspective of the history of a campaign, it will be seen that the armies of the Soviets have up till now fully justified their much challenged reputation of vast defensive strength and tremendous fighting power. Further, if the associated elements of surprise, completion of mobilisation and organisation of the campaign be taken into consideration, it must be admitted that the proletarian led and manned forces of the Soviets have so far made a far better showing than what the armies of the democracies—organised, directed and led by military "caste" men—did in the West, and in the actual fighting in the East they can as yet lay equal claim to the honours of war. Let us consider the facts.

The German attack was made with the suddenness of a bolt from the blue. Only in the attack on Norway the element of surprise was nearly as much in favour of the attacker, in Crete it was much less so and in the other campaigns it hardly existed. The assault was planned and fully organised on a scale so titanic that it must have confounded the most imaginative of military experts outside Nazi Germany, and it was delivered with a momentum that surpassed by far anything that the allied forces have had to face elsewhere. The German mobilisation was absolutely complete and their plans organised to the last detail and their forces were marshalled and led by experts versed in modern warfare to the last technical detail. And further, these forces—on land or in air—were armed with weapons of traction and destruction that were of the very latest. In short the





Girl factory workers of the Soviets



European Russia with Trans-Caucasia. Showing all the objectives of the present German campaign

Germans had the fourfold advantages, of initiative, of organisation of strategic skill and of technical superiority in destructive power, to the fullest degree. Indeed in the first three of these



M. Stalin

they enjoyed a superiority over the Russians to a much greater degree than they ever had against the allies in the West.

Now what about the Russians ? There can be no doubt that they were not prepared for this assault. It may be true that they were preparing for war, but the very fact that such great numbers of their air-planes were caught unawares and destroyed on the ground proves beyond all doubt that they thought war was still some distance beyond the horizon. German claims of capture of enormous booty in the first week of war and Stalin's broadcast instructions for the " Scorched earth " procedure, *issued after the campaign had begun,* all go to prove that the Russians were caught unprepared. Russian mobilisation is proverbially slow and their organisation—specially with regard to transport—admittedly defective, and so it is doubtful whether even now they have been able to marshall their forces to the fullest extent against the Germanic armies. It is evident from the Moscow broadcasts that the Soviets are straining every nerve as yet to make up for the time gained by the Germans. For, time is of the essence in modern warfare, in mobilisation, in the carrying out of strategic plans and in the crippling of the opponent through the destruction of his forces and his technical equipment at a higher rate than his capacity for production and transport. Germany's major advantages lie in these time factors of production and transport which explains the tremendous magnitude of the far-flung battle-line in the East and the relentless fury of the assault in so many sectors of the front.

In the matter of technical equipment the Russians are obviously in a better position. Unit to unit the German equipment is undoubtedly superior but in numbers, both of machines and men fully trained in the use of them, the Russians possibly have an advantage. Indeed in this mechanisation of the armed forces and in several other details, the " crude rude proletarian " high command of the Soviets seem to have had a far better idea about the requirements of modern warfare, than had the high " caste ", highly trained directorate of the democratic fighting forces. If only their organisation and speed of action were anywhere near the standard of the Germans—but what is the value of " if " in this war ?

But in spite of the great advantages that the Germans enjoy and in spite of all the shortcomings of the Russians, the fact remains that their forces are as yet fighting with unbroken front and with undiminished valour and energy. A month has gone since the most tremendous assault in the world's history was launched against Russia. Appalling destruction and damage has followed in the train of the mightiest war-machine ever got together by man. And as yet the Red army with its proletariat high-command is facing it resolutely, giving and taking tremendous blows, despite losses the measure of which cannot even be realised excepting by a very few. This is the first time that the Germans have failed

to achieve their objectives in one sustained assault. For there is no doubt that the Red army fought this assault to a standstill before Smolensk about the 11th of July. This in itself is no small achievement whatever may happen in the future, now that the Germans have resumed their advance.

The Russian certainly have the advantages of stationery defences and evidently these were far better planned to meet the requirements of



The grain fields of Ukraine

modern warfare than the much vaunted Maginot lines. Further they have the advantages of unlimited terrain for manouvring and immense reserves of men trained to warfare. But these the Germans are now attempting to offset by the speed and magnitude of destruction of their engines of war, which are striving to weaken the Russian opposition by surpassing the replacement capacity in an increasing degree and are trying to get into position to deliver a final paralysing blow at the very nerve-centres of the Soviet forces, the industrial areas from which proceed all the innumerable vital necessities of an army engaged in modern warfare.

In this matter also the Russians seem to have realised that mechanisation has shortened distances. They had planned the organisation of industrial centres located at very considerable distances from the frontiers. How far their plans have been carried out we do not know, but even if a substantial foundation has been laid then Russian resistance will continue unbroken, for the further the German war-machine moves away from its home-land, the more difficult it would be to feed and maintain with efficiency.

For the present it can be said that as yet, though the Germans are in a position of advantage all over the front, the Russians have not suffered any mortal blow, though their losses have indeed been grievous. The Germans have not been able to break the Russian line, and as yet the main centres of Russian industry are covered by the Soviet forces.

In European Russia these nerve-centres—the vital sources and focii of production, supply and transport—were concentrated in the first five year plan in six industrial and productive areas. Of these the Leningrad district in the north and the Ukraine in the south are the most exposed to the present German thrust, the Moscow area is still some distance away. The Donetz basin, adjoining the Ukraine area and the Baku area of the Trans-Caucasus are as yet a long way off as is the great Ural industrial region, which is the best protected of all.

Moscow, as the headquarters of the Soviet high-command naturally is the focus of all the German thrusts in the north and in the centre. But apart from being the capital—which in itself has little significance in these days—it is also the pivot on which turns the entire supply and transport system of European Russia, and further it has valuable industrial organisations dealing with machine-building, metal-refining and engineering. But far more vital on the score of production only are the great industrial regions of the Ukraine and the Donetz. The Ukraine area contains the largest part of the heavy industries of the U. S. S. R. and most of the coal-output is also obtained from the Donetz Basin. Coal, iron and steel and wheat are produced in vast quantities in this area and as such the German thrust towards it is far more dangerous to the Soviets than those directed against Leningrad or Moscow.

The U. S. S. R. made plans for the establishment of great industrial centres further away from the frontiers and of these the great Ural industrial region has been fairly well-developed. Of the others, little is known definitely to the outside world but it is possible that intensive work has been done on them during the last two or three years.





The Winter Palace, Leningrad. This was the Ministry during the Tsar's regime



The Palace of State Industries. Kharkov



The Volga and the Volga boatman at Nijni-Novgorod



Folk dancing *en masse* in the Moscow Cultural Park



Book Reviews



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ENGLISH

ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIAL LIFE UNDER VIJAYANAGAR: *By T. V. Mahalingam, B.A. (Hons.). Madras University Historical Series No. 15, Madras. 1940. Pp. 476.*

Much water has flown down the Tungabhadra river since the days when Sewell referred to Vijayanagar as a "forgotten empire." Many scholarly works about it have been published during the last quarter of a century, and we possess today a fair amount of reliable knowledge concerning an empire which during the three centuries of its existence (1336-1650 A.D.) covered at its greatest extent practically the whole of the modern Presidency of Madras, and may be said to have marked the culmination of the political and cultural achievements of South India.

It is in the fitness of things that the University of Madras should make the study of this subject its special concern. The volume before us, is the work, presumably, of a young research scholar, but it may justly be regarded as a worthy continuation of the series inaugurated by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, the first Professor of Indian History in the University of Madras. A general idea of the field covered by the author would be evident from the following titles of chapters into which the book is divided: Central Government, Revenue Administration, Law, Justice and Police, Military Organisation, Provincial Government, Local Government, Society, Religion, Education and Literature, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting.

The author has brought together a mass of relevant information on each subject, and cited authorities for all important statements. His method is strictly critical and objective, and his style is concise and simple. In a book of nearly five hundred pages, full of detailed information, it is not difficult, perhaps, to specify errors or mistakes, here and there. But we are deeply impressed by the industry, sincerity and honesty of the author who has tried to depict the administration and social life of Vijayanagar in a scholarly and interesting manner. We commend this book to all who are interested in the history and culture of mediaeval India.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY: *By Lootfy Levonian. Messrs. George, Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 158. Price 6s.*

Relations between Islam and Christianity have been generally vitiated by fanatical antipathies and political antagonisms since a very remote past. The spirit of the Crusades still lingers in the Near East where the impact of these two religions has had the most far-reaching consequences on their mutual relations. The author of this monograph, however, approaches the subject from a fresh angle of vision and studies Muslim-Christian relations mainly from the psychological point of view. Several things in Islam are clearly repugnant to Christian ways of living. Christian writers had taken these things for granted rather than analysed them with an impartial outlook. Even so authoritative a writer as Sir William Muir, for example, closed his *History of the Caliphate* (London, 1891) with a chapter in which he asserted that Islam cannot alter its system in many important respects. "The Islam of to-day," he maintained, "is substantially the Islam we have seen throughout this history. Swathed in the bonds of the Qur'an, the Muslim faith is powerless to adapt itself to varying time and place, keep pace with the march of humanity, direct and purify the social life or elevate mankind. Freedom, in the proper sense of the word, is unknown; and this, apparently, because in the body politic, the spiritual and the secular are hopelessly compounded . . . . nor there has been any change in the conditions of social life. Polygamy and servile concubinage are still as ever the curse and blight of Islam." Even so authoritative an historian as H. A. L. Fisher has made certain references to Islam and particularly to its Prophet in his *A History of Europe*, (London, 1936, pages 139-40) that would easily rouse the idignation of the adherents of that faith. Prof. Fisher's analysis of Mahomed's character in the pages referred to above is, to say the least, lacking in moderation and uncontested historical truth. Such an approach to the study of Islam is what Levonian characterizes as more psychological than scientific. Muslim writers as well have often derided the story of the Virgin Mother and other popular articles of Christian faith. Levonian recognises, however, that Islam is not as changeless as depicted by Christian writers, and in spite of the great tradition of the Cairene University of Al Azhar where "groups of white-robed students seated on the floor, swing back and forth in a mood of fanatical ecstasy, as they intone the sacred words of the . . . . Prophet to whom all wisdom and all modern science were miraculously revealed" (Fisher *Op. Cit.* p. 141), there is the Egyptian National University which is rapidly becoming a centre for progressive thought. Besides, evidence of national transformation is noticeable in many Moslem States of the Near East, in Kemalist Turkey, in Pehlavian Iran and in modern Egypt.

The author analyses the Moslem mind and concludes that it has a tendency towards concretising and

is materialistic in outlook. It is difficult to agree with the author's viewpoint in this respect, since there is even in Islam a body of mystical literature, which in the purity of its religious emotion vies with the spiritual masterpieces of Jewish or Christian faith. The author concedes, however, that Christianity itself is in need today of being awakened to the reality of the spiritual. He closes his book with an appeal for conciliation between international Christianity and international Islam on the basis of a true evangelism. The book is informative and pleasant reading.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

CIVILIZATION IN EAST AND WEST: *By H. N. Spalding. Published by the Oxford University Press. 1939.*

Encyclopædic reading has gone into the making of this book in which the author ranges over the whole field of civilization all over the world from the primitive to the present stage. He speaks of the Materialist State, the Moral State, the Moral-Spiritual State and the Spiritual State and the Coming of the Kingdom, the Kingdom of God. He pleads for the synthesis of civilizations so that there will be, "though infinitely diverse, one civilization and not many: a civilization without barbarians or Gentiles or foreigners: a civilization in which that competition alone will be respected that serves, or at least does not injure others; a civilization, consequently, in which the things of the spirit flourish and the things of the body are not disregarded; in short, a civilization which understands and respects and is guided by that greatest of all practical principles: 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His Righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you!'"

P. KODANDA RAO

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC, PART II, BURHAN'S *TUZUK-I-WALAJAHI* (SECOND PART). *Published by the University of Madras. 1939.*

Burhan Ibn Hasan was a court historian of the Nawabs of Arcot, Nawab Anawaruddin and his son Muhammad Ali, whose claims to the Carnatic were backed by the English during the Carnatic Wars. It was under the patronage of Nawab Muhammad Ali that Burhan wrote his Persian chronicle *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*, mainly devoted to the career of his sovereign. Though we have a vast literature on the Carnatic Wars in English and French, Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary and Burhan's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi* are the two indigeous sources of great interest. Burhan was intimately acquainted with contemporary events partly through personal knowledge but mainly through official archives of the Arcot Darbar; and his account—except what concerns the character of his master, and his share in the English success—generally agrees with what we learn from other sources. Even the literary skill and irritating flattery of Burhan could not make much out of a worthless hero of his book, Nawab Muhammad Ali.

In the *Daily routine* of Muhammad Ali we are told that the Nawab used to get up at 3 p.m., answer two calls of nature and eat two meals during twenty-four hours, devote six hours to state business, and the rest to prayers and sleep. Burhan naturally treats the Nawab as the principal and the English as his subordinate allies during his struggle with Chanda Sahib, which is perhaps perversion of history. The author gives incidentally an account of the low origin and treacherous acts of Hyder Ali of Mysore who ousted Kalachuri Nand Raj from power. Burhan's history is eminently readable, and it bears the stamp of the age in which it was written—Indian beliefs and superstitions, miracles and miraculous cures. Nawab Safdar Ali Khan, and a friend of his, Muhammad Taqi Khan, Qiladar of Wandiwash, were suffering from loss of appetite, one for food and the other for sex. One *Bairagi* gave two packets of medicine for their cure with the result that Safdar Ali began to eat five seers of *palaw*, two seers of bread, roasted flesh of one goat, besides fruits and thick soup of one goat every night! the other patient became a veritable stud bull collecting one thousand women of every community in his harem and raising a crop of two hundred children in a short time! We are told that the headless trunk of Husyn Dost Khan (Chanda Sahib) migrated mysteriously from the grave in conformity with the beliefs of the Imamiyya sect.

Dr. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, has rendered a valuable service by publishing a lucid and very faithful English translation of Burhan's *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*. He has added copious extracts from English Records to enlighten the text here and there, and given a useful glossary of Persian words. This translation is a much needed contribution to historical literature of South India from 1749 to 1761 A.D.

K. R. QANUNGO

MARXISM AND THE INDIAN IDEAL: *By B. K. Roy Chowdhury. Published by Thacker, Spink & Co., Ld., Calcutta. Pp. 65. Price Rs. 3.*

WHITHER INDIA: A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF HINDU SOCIO-POLITICAL SYSTEM: *By Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury. Published by the author at Sylhet. Pp. 163. Price Re. 1.*

Both of these bookes have a certain similarity of outlook, maintaining as they do that the cults imported from the west and haphazard experimentation with them should be given up by Indians and an attempt made to shape the destinies of the country on the traditional lines of Hindu civilisation. The thesis, of course, is not new and raises fundamental issues of policy and programme.

The small, well-got-up brochure by Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury is a general consideration of the merits of Marxism and Sovietism with a view to emphasize the "Spiritual Basis of Society," which he considers to be "the" Indian ideal. The author tries first to rehabilitate the place of religion in the socio-political order and then to distinguish between the Indian and European outlook in politics, and falls into those pitfalls, where attempts at such broad generalisations must lead an unwary author. He is more superficial in his interpretation of Communism, Fascism and Nazism, all bumped together as forms of socialism, which he dislikes as materialistic, and even goes to the length of predicting that "religion will make an end of the Soviet." The concluding chapter on "the Indian ideal" consists, but for an introductory paragraph, wholly of a series of paragraphs culled from a book by Sri Aurobindo. In fact, about two-fifths of this slender book consist of quotations from others, 16 pages being from Sri Aurobindo alone. The brochure might appeal to those who have strong reactions against modernism, especially communism, in India.

Sj. Brojendra Narayan Chaudhury's book is more substantial and telling. He has definite likes and strong dislikes and marshals facts as well as arguments in support of his views. The author's scholarship and experience of public life are reflected in the pages of the book, and his plea for a thorough and comprehensive study

of Hindu institutions "from the Hindu standpoint" before piecemeal reforms are introduced, should secure support. The chapters on Indian economic problems and his thrust at half-baked doctrines of Indian socialism are original and readable. The author's remedy for the evils besetting Hindu society and also the crucial problem of India's defence lies in the revival of the true meaning of Power-worship, "not to subjugate fellow-citizens and aliens but in order to serve better."

Can civilisation be borrowed?—asks the author. Possibly not, because borrowing raises the question of repayment also. But civilisation is a complex development and Indian civilisation can not be equated with Hindu civilisation only. Reformers, revolutionaries and radicals would do well to go through these two books for all antidote to their uninformed zeal and their insufficient appreciation of the forces which maintain and sustain the existing structure of Indian socio-economic life.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

THE RHYTHM OF LIVING: *By Sir Albion Rajkumar Banerji, M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E. Published by Rider & Co., London, E.C.4. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 6.*

This is a nice little book written in an elegant style. No new thesis is put forward here: the same old idea that "man is a composite animal with physical, mental and spiritual desires," and that he "can only achieve happiness if he satisfies all these desires, and all the unhappiness in life arises from the gratification of one set of desires at the expense of the others" is expressed in the book. It has been abundantly shown that rhythm or harmony is the most essential thing for a happy life. The author discovers want of harmony in most of the aspects of modern civilisation and advocates the Hindu view of life as the best solution of some of the problems of the modern age. It is doubtful, however, whether the author is acquainted with the principles underlying the Hindu practices which he mentions superficially in some places. In page 43, he says "for instance, not even one in ten knows that we cannot breathe simultaneously through both the nostrils." Evidently he does not know that when *sushumna* opens, we do breathe simultaneously through both the nostrils. Again, in the same page, he says that "certain people in India have a superstition . . . . and they have the intuitive feeling, so to speak, that it is when the right nostril is free you should attempt anything worth achieving." It is neither a superstition nor an intuitive feeling, but it is laid down by the Hindus science dealing with the subject.

N. K. BRAHMA

WHY SWADESHI?: *By M. R. Agarwal. Published by the Hindusthan Emporium, Benares. 1940. Pp. 120. Price annas twelve.*

The author, a professor of Electrical Engineering at Benares, attempts to analyse *and solve* the problem of the "economic disorder" of the present-day world. His remedy is one-hundred per cent *swadeshi*—a remedy that, in his opinion, keeps the country's money within the country. Some of the chapters are no doubt well written; but the main thesis, as can be expected, has been marred by that irrationality which is the inevitable result of a fusion between good sentiments and bad logic.

BHABATOSH DATTA

MODERN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS: *Edited by Prof. Baljit Singh. Published by the Economics Club, D. A. V. College, Cawnpore. March, 1941. Pp. 171. Price Rs. 2.*

This volume comprises fifteen papers read and discussed at the Economics Club, D. A. V. College, Cawnpore. The title of the publication is misleading in view of the fact that many of the subjects handled are local and so the word "Indian" should have found some place in the title. Amongst the contributors are Mr. S. Hasan of the Indian Civil Service and Mr. Nayar of the Instiute of Sugar Technology, Cawnpore, and the subjects vary in interest—from "Static and dynamic views of economic phenomena" to "Provincial finance under autonomy." The get-up of the volume is quite good.

The reader would naturally take up the volume with some prejudice as it was the proceedings of a college economic association, presumably rushed to print. Suppose every college in India resorts to similar publication of college association proceedings, what a stupendous waste of effort and paper would follow! But even a hurried glance through the pages reveal the fact that the papers are of a high order. The papers and the discussions bring home to the mind of the reader the potentialities of the hundreds of affiliated colleges we have in this country—leave alone University colleges rather often trumpeting from University turrets bombastically. In fact, this volume should tickle the pride of the majority of our modern universities which profusely take shelter behind galaxies of British publications compiled in their calendars!

A second thought is irresistible. From the same Province, the U. P., the *Quarterly Journal of Indian Economics* is being issued for about 25 years now, but how tubercular is its contribution to Indian economic thought and study? Not that we cannot do much better. If an affiliated college in the same Province could bring out such a lively volume as the one under review, surely the *Indian Journal of Economics* could be easily developed into a first class world journal, but what is lacking is application and proper utilisation of talent.

Prof. Baljit Singh deserves our hearty congratulations as he is the steam engine in the move, and we hope that the standard will be maintained and improved: of course we presume that the series will not be dropped as has happened in many cases in the past. The individual papers do not admit of detailed examination in these colums: it would be more in place in an economic journal. But we do recommend that every college in India should get at a copy of this publication and benefit by the example set.

S. KESAVA IYENGAR

THE TRAVANCORE TRIBES AND CASTES. VOL. III—THE ABORIGINES OF TRAVANCORE: *By L. Krishna Iyer, M.A., Trivandrum. 1941. Pp. xxiii +176+x+3 charts and 62 plates. Price not mentioned.*

This is the third volume of the author's Travancore Tribes and Castes, in which he has presented us with a generalized account of the aboriginal inhabitants of the State. The following chapter-headings will show how the matter has been treated: General, Traditions, Racial Affinities, Megalithic Monuments, Domestic Life, Exogamy, Marriage, Taboo, Inheritance and Social Organisation, The Disposal of the Dead, Religion, Occupation and Clash of Culture.

The book abounds in materials of great interest to students of cultural evolution in this part of India. There are traces of couvade and a well-developed system of matriarchate among many of the tribes dealt with in the present volume. Some of the tribes are hunters

and collectors; while others have taken to the predatory as well as the wet form of cultivation. Their cultures, moreover, show evidence of a large amount of change brought on in the material, social and ceremonial aspects by the politically dominant culture of the Brahminical peoples inhabiting the plains and lower valleys.

The entire field covered by the book is thus of supreme interest to anthropologists of all schools. But the data has been presented in a manner which fails to satisfy the more fastidious type of student. If the author had chosen, not Risley or Thurston as his models, but followed the plan of Krober in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*, the data would have been more readily available to future workers for use.

One particular feature of the book strikes a jarring note where one should have expected it the least. The book bristles with quotations from numerous authors, and the author has, very often, tagged on his own valuable observations by way of illustration to the previous quotations. If he had, however, limited himself to recording his own observations made in the field, and drawn whatever conclusions were worth while from them, the book might have lost much in volume, but would surely have gained immensely in quality.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

INDUSTRY YEAR BOOK AND DIRECTORY, 1941 : *Published by the Industry Publishers Limited, Keshub Bhaban, 22, R. G. Kar Road, Shambazar, Calcutta. Pp. 1339+2 coloured maps. Thick card-board cover. Price Rs. 8.*

In spite of various handicaps, during recent times, especially since the period of the last great war, Indian industries have undergone an expansion. Although still predominantly an agricultural country many important industries have grown up mainly through private enterprise and in spite of Government apathy. The present war conditions while opening on the one hand new vistas for Indian industries, have on the other hand laid bare India's weakness in industrial production. However, in spite of this backwardness one need not be despondent altogether from the fact that at the end of 1938, the number of factories in India actually working was 9,743. Not only large-scale industries but indigenous cottage industries have in many places been revived and given a fillip. Anyone turning the pages of this handy Year Book cannot fail to read the story of this progress in the various sections, giving graphic surveys of trade and industries, banking, insurance, cotton mill industry, jute mill industry, Indian sugar industry, iron and steel industry, agricultural and mineral resources, with up-to-date data.

Detailed up-to-date information of the market places of the presidencies in British India and Indian States, Burma and Nepal, with important up-to-date facts and figures relating to trade, industries and agricultural and cattle fairs; the various important information in the Directory section, including a list of agents and distributors of foreign goods in India has been revised and enlarged. One will also find in it various information about the technical institutions in India; classified list of trades and industries, newspapers and periodicals of India, Burma and Nepal, etc., etc.

The present edition (thirteenth) is a distinct improvement upon its predecessors. Every attempt has been made to make it as comprehensive as possible by the inclusion of useful information on such topics as, procurement of supplies by the Central Government, provisions under the Excess Profits Tax Act, Indian Sale of Goods (Amendment) Act, Indian Coffee Market Expansion Scheme, a broad view of the Central and Railway Budgets, Foreign Trade of India during 1939-40, a brief account of the new Indo-Burmese Trade Agreement, income tax rates, tariff schedules, stamp duties, the money market, provisional figures of the last (1941) census, labour and commercial laws, a list of enemy firms, etc., etc. Two coloured maps of India have also been included.

In fact the publishers have spared no pains to make this compilation as comprehensive, up-to-date and accurate as possible and we are sure, business-men, students of economics, statesmen and journalists will find the book quite useful and handy for constant reference.

SOUREN DE

THE INDIAN SUGAR INDUSTRY (1940 ANNUAL) : *Publishers Messrs. Gandhi & Co., 14/2, Old China Bazar Street, Calcutta. Pp. 350. Price Rs. 4-8. Foreign edition 12s.*

Few industries in India have received greater attention in recent years than the Sugar industry and this is because of its overwhelming importance to the agricultural and industrial economy of the country. At a modest computation the industry gives employment to 2,500 educated young men, 1,00,000 skilled and unskilled labour and provides sustenance to 20 million cultivators who received about Rs. 15 crores in 1939-40 on account of cane produced and supplied by them. It represents investment of capital to the extent of Rs. 32 crores, the bulk of which is Indian, and the total annual value of sugar and *gur* produced in India is not less than Rs. 75 crores. India can now claim to be fully independent of other countries in the matter of supply of sugar and a sum of Rs. 16 crores, which represented her import bill of sugar, is retained in the country. The progress of the industry has, indeed, been striking in spite of all the defects, drawbacks and handicaps, and fully justifies the protection granted to it in April, 1932. There is, however, a keen controversy as to whether the development has taken place along right lines and according to carefully planned schemes and if it was not time that consolidation and not expansion should be the policy to be rigidly followed. Such controversy has in certain instances originated from a genuine anxiety for the future of the industry but in other cases one would be justified in presuming that it was sponsored by vested interests to safeguard themselves. Without, however, pretending to judge the merits of these contentions, it can be said with emphasis that the industry has of late exhibited symptoms which shows that all is not well with it and that the enterprises have not always been started on rational principles. Over-production and under-production have been almost a cyclical feature of the industry indicating lack of balance and co-ordination in organisation and a deplorable spirit of competition. Steps have, of course, been taken by the formation of legislative measures and formation of associations and syndicates to steer the industry along healthy lines but recalcitrant elements, with whom no arguments is weightier than that of individualism and self-interest, have not unoften defeated the good intentions of these endeavours. In order that the problems of the industry may be widely known and an intelligent interest may be created in it what is necessary is information and more information on all its aspects from the meadow to the market, presented without bias and interpreted without prejudice. The Indian Sugar Industry Annual fulfils this need and its service towards the industry has not failed to be recognised.

The Annual is a publication of undoubted usefulness and one may hope to have from it a thorough idea

about the progress and development of the industry. The comprehensive survey of the industry has been supported by exhaustive statistics collected with assiduity, and legislative enactments passed from time to time. The contents of the publication are as detailed as could be desired, and of particular interest is the reference to the main features of the industry covered in full seventy-five pages. The discussion on the present problems of the industry and its future prospects is of absorbing interest and should attract the serious attention of the industrialists as well as the authorities who are there to see to the healthy growth of the industry. Equally useful are the suggestion in regard to the utilisation of by-products, such as molasses and bagasse, which constitutes a most formidable problem of the industry. It has been rightly emphasised that all-India control is necessary to bring about stability in the industry and to prevent inter-provincial competition and that there should be a scheme for all-India Marketing Organisation so that production can be regulated. Even if such an organisation may fail to achieve the object of limiting unregulated expansion of the industry it is expected to remove some of the defects from which it suffers and may be felt to be helpful by the trade.

No endeavours have been spared by the publishers to add to the usefulness of the Annual and they have been able to maintain the standard set up by Mr. M. P. Gandhi who was responsible for conceiving the idea of bringing out such a publication.

MUKUL GUPTA

A WARNING TO THE HINDUS : *By Savitri Devi. Published by the Hindu Mission, 32/B, Harish Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pp. 154. Price Re. 1-4.*

Born outside the pale of Hinduism but attracted and converted to it by its ancient and inherent glory, the authoress of the book, a Greek lady by birth, writes with prophetic vision her oracular warning to the accursed Hindus. The warning is particularly appropriate in view of recent happenings all over the country. That Hindu society is in danger of disruption and loss of numerical strength by conversion to other religions and that the only remedy under the circumstances is for all Hindus to unite under a common banner, is the main theme of the book. Every line of the book breathes a spirit of sincerity, enthusiasm and fervour for the cause which the authoress has made her own. She entertains high hopes about the political and cultural future of the Hindu but at the same time is appalled at his present condition in his own land.

"Hindudom has reached a stage where it has either to die, or else to react vigorously—and then, not merely to survive, but to rule. There is no third alternative" (p. 62). All recent developments seem to point out that she is not wrong.

But in order that the Hindus may attain a political supremacy in their land of birth, it is necessary that they should unite. This unity, however, cannot be attained until Hindu society is reformed. And among the many changes that are necessary, the most urgent are the removal of untouchability and the abnegation of caste-prejudices.

But there is a positive side also to the Hindus' needed effort to live. "Make every Hindu house a little fort, and the Hindus of every village a battalion of camping soldiers. . . . . And in such regions as North and East Bengal, that has to be achieved without delay : it is, for the Hindus a question of life or death" (p. 149).

This warning was uttered in 1939. The year 1941 has shown that it was not uncalled-for. This alone is sufficient indication of the value of the book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

GERMAN

VON DER SEELE DER INDISCHEN FRAU : *Hedwig Bachmann. Im Spiegel der Volksspruche des Konkan. 1941. (Tipografia Rangel, Bastora. India Portuguesa).*

This book deals with an aspect of Indian life which has not as yet received the attention it deserves from both sociologists and anthropologists, namely the part played in Indian society by women, their position within the Indian social structure both in the past and in our own time.

Although the author of this remarkable book is not an Indian herself, she has approached this complex and difficult subject with sympathy and deep understandisg. She found herself confronted with a gradual evolution in Indian social history, which she tried to understand from her own particular angle of vision, that of a woman who had come to India not to criticise and to find fault, but to understand and to sympathize.

Her book is based on the traditional sayings and proverbs current among the people of the Konkan. In following the author step by step the reader will have to go back to the dark past when these popular sayings first originated as part and parcel of Indian social and cultural heritage. There he will find the Indian woman of the preceding generations with all her silent heroism, her indomitable pride, her unspeakable suffering and resignation; he will see her moving about the house of his ancestors, as a little girl, a married woman, a mother, a widow. She will come back to life again, her everyday-life and the great occasions that mark her existence on earth.

The psychologist will find an almost inexhaustible amount of material on the "soul" of the Indian woman; the sociologist will be enabled to come to new conclusions as regards, to mention only a few, the joint-family system, marriage ceremonies, or widowhood in Indian society. The litterateur will derive a deep and lasting joy from the poignancy and beauty of these traditional sayings, proverbs, and poems. But those who love India, sincerely and devotedly, without either bias or prejudice, will find in this book new inspiration and encouragement.

It is indeed a pity that a book of this kind should have been written in a language that is understood by very few only; an early and good translation into English is certainly called for.

A. ARONSON

ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

DVARAKAPATTALA BY BINABAYI AND GANGAVAKYAVALI BY VISVASADEVI : *Critically edited for the first time with Introductions in English, Notes, English translation of selected portions; Appendices, ect., by Prof. Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the Author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta. The Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature, Vols. III and IV.*

The two volumes under review are the works of two women writers, one flourishing in the West and the other in the North-East of India. Both were queens and chief queens too, and took up two similar subjects for works, the former a *sthanamahatmya*, or the Dvarakamahatmya, and the latter a *nadimahatmya* or the

Gangamahatmya. Both these volumes have been edited by Dr. Chaudhuri in his usual scholarly and scrupulous manner. The emendations suggested are very happy and difficulties in readings have been solved in footnotes and in appendices. Almost all the quotations from the extant works, about two thousands in number, have been traced to their sources. The critical apparatus is complete. All the appendices are interesting and illuminating. The Bibliography is complete and really informative. The printing and the get-up of the book are good.

Dr. Chaudhuri has earned the gratitude of all lovers of Sanskrit literature and those who are interested in ancient Indian culture by bringing to light one of its important, but unknown, branches, *viz.*, women's contributions. He has had the benefit of being trained in the western methods of research and exposition which is urgently needed especially in the sphere of oriental studies. These two volumes are fine specimens of such a scientific training. We are sure that the forthcoming volumes of the series will also attain the same high standard of sound scholarship, scientific editing and clear exposition.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

BENGALI

BRAHMA-PRABASE SARAT CHANDRA : *Edited by Sri Narendra Nath Basu. To be had from D. M. Library, 42, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.*

In eight chapters the writer has sought to throw some light on the different aspects of Sarat Chandra's personality. The book does not possess much literary value, but simply narrates some incidents in the life of the renowned novelist during his sojourn in Burma. From this modest work, we get a glimpse of his tender heart and broad sympathy.

DABI : *By Sri Tarit Kumar Basu, P. 308, Russa Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

A film-play depicting the love-affair of an imaginary terrorist. Surprising situations have been sought to be created and perhaps the greatest surprise comes when we find the hero and his associates take up as their goal, the extermination of mosquitoes at Behala by terrorising people unto the filling up of stagnant pools. One is reminded of the Bengali proverb : "Setting up cannons to kill a mosquito," but we did not expect to see such a practical illustration. The Corporation of Calcutta, of course, has a mosquito-control-brigade but it has not yet used bombs and revolvers for its purpose. The drama is sentimental, and unconvincing though there is some boldness in the conception of its theme.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

KANNADA

BRAHMANAND KESHAO CHANDRA SEN : *By D. Renukacharya, B.A. (Hons.). Crown 8vo. Pp. 199. Price Re. 1.*

This is the life sketch of Brahmananda Keshab Chandra Sen the well-known social reformer of Bengal. owes much to Keshab Chandra Sen. Keshab Chandra Brahma Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy Sen was largely responsible for spreading the name and fame of Brahma Samaj by his strength of character and religious conviction. He belonged to the rationalistic school of thought and no tenet of religion was acceptable to him which did not satisfy his inquisitive intellect. His life was indeed a harmonious blending of the best in Eastern and Western cultural traditions. His steadfast devotion to the cause he undertook and his unswerving resolve to carry it out serve as beacon lights to many a social reformer in his arduous enterprise. His was a life of spiritual penance. Lives of great men like Keshab Chandra Sen are indeed the finger posts on the road to eternal bliss. His life illustrates in a large measure the power and efficacy of earnest prayer. "More things are wrought by prayer than this world ever dreams of "—this is the kernel of Keshab Chandra's philosophy. Lives of great men like Keshab Chandra Sen have greatly tended to influence the whole course of events in our national and religious history and are in a good measure responsible for the shape of things to come. The achievements of Keshab Chandra Sen are not the property of one particular province or tract of land. They are the valuable possessions of all ages and climes.

D. Renukacharya, the writer of this little biography, has earned the gratitude of Kannada public by presenting the life sketch in an easy, flowing and readable style. Benagal Ramarao, the veteran Kannada scholar, has, in his foreword, rightly assessed the merit and utility of the present book. The writer deserves all encouragement at the hands of Kannada reading public.

V. B. NAIK

HINDI

LARKARATI DUNIYA : *By Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 171. Price annas eight.*

This slender volume is a collection of Pandit Nehru's articles briefly surveying the international situation during the last two decades intervening the last and the present Great War. They do enable the reader to have a peep into the post-war repercussions as well as the deeper causes of the present conflict and understand its far-reaching implications in their proper perspective. The world which Pandit Nehru then saw speedily drifting towards a grave crisis, is already in the throes of a great conflagration and heading towards a ruin hitherto unknown in history. This important fact rather minimises the up-to-dateness of the book.

Yet the book with its simple style and exhaustive details is by no means less useful. The chapters on Spain and China have the depth and warmth of a personal touch and are thus a valuable feature of the book. But we badly miss the absence of topical maps and illustrations, inclusion of which would have enhanced the usefulness of the book.

M. S. SENGAR

KONPAL : *By Bhagwati Prasad Chandola. Published by Saraswati Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 40. Price annas eight only.*

This is a collection of twenty-four poems of a fledgeling who is trying his wings for the first time in the empyrean. At times he is too near this earthly earth; at others he touches the cloudy heights. So he sings of the wine of worldliness, of the love of youth, of the pendulum-swing between smiles and tears, of the silence of the steadfast stars, and of the awakening of the artistic awareness in him. *Konpal* is just a bud on the tree of poetry, but it has in it the perfume and promise of the flower.

G. M.

TAMIL

1. THE INDEBTEDNESS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURISTS AND THE NEW ACT : *With an introduction by Hon. S. Ramanathan, M.A., B.L. Second edition. 1938. Pp. x+133. Price annas eight.*

2. THE MADRAS AGRICULTURISTS' RELIEF ACT WITH COMMENTARY : *By A. Muthiah, M.A., Assistant Professor of Economics, Pachaiyappas College, Madras. Published by Desiga Vidya Sangam, 16, Sembudoss Street, Madras. 1938. Pp. 192. Price annas twelve.*

The first book is dedicated to Gandhiji and the second to Bharata Thay and both of them are interesting studies of the conditions of agriculturists and the reliefs intended for them. The author has freely drawn from all standard writers and recent reports on the subject and given it for the readers in a convincing manner.

The first book dwells at length on the growth of indebtedness among agriculturists, the fall of agricultural prices and the corresponding inflation of debts and the various steps taken by other provinces for their relief. It gives also a summary of the Act.

The second book describes the condition of ryots in general and of zamin ryots in particular, discusses the basic principles of the Act and exhorts the Government, the public and the ryots themselves to do several other things the doing of which alone could make the Act substantially useful. It gives also the text of the Madras Agriculturists' Relief Act both in English and Tamil with full notes.

The author loses in places his temper and writes very unfairly of money-lenders, calling them even demons. He can better serve poor agriculturists by avoiding such exhibitions.

The books deserve, in short, to be read by all interested in the betterment of agriculturists and to have a place in all public libraries, co-operative societies and agricultural associations.

MADHAVAN

GUJARATI

SARI RITBHAT : *By Rao Bahadur G. H. Desai, B.A., LL.B. Printed at the Ashok Printing, Baroda. 1940. Thin paper. Pp. 57. Price annas four.*

This is the fifth edition of "Good manners." It was noticed at the time of its first publication. It is a sure guide to mannerliness and preserves all its good points.

APAD-DHARMA : *By Govind H. Patel. Printed at the Aryaprakash Press, Anand. 1940. Paper cover. Pp. 76. Price annas ten.*

"Course of procedure in face of a calamity" is illustrated in this Khand-kavya, where to avoid the fight with Hamir, the Prince of Kamalner, Maldev, the Badshahi Subedar of Chitor, gives in marriage his daughter, who is a widow, as a virgin to him. This is a Course of Conduct which a true Rajput under ordinary circumstances would never dream of resorting to, but danger forced him to do so. This is the theme of the poem. The different incidents in the story are well brought out, and the poem on the whole is a fairly good one.

VIVECHAN MUKUR : *By Vishwanath Maganlal Bhatt. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Cloth bound. Pp. 355. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Mr. Bhatt has been known to be a painstaking, erudite and independent critic. His review of Gujarati books published in 1933 shows how very painstaking he is, in his task, and other notices, about thirteen in number, specially that on Narmad's poetry, testify to his erudition and expression of opinion on the work of the writer, untramelled by any other consideration than that of a strict reviewer.

NISHITH : *By Umashankar Joshi. Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda. 1940. Thick Card board. Pp. 211. Price Rs. 2.*

Poems written between 1928 and 1938 by this rising young poet are collected in this book. This is the third such collection : the two previous ones have become popular and this one is likely to be so. The writer recognises the change that has come over the outward form of poetry written in these days and as time does not stand still changes are bound to take place but he notes at the same time that the fundamentals, the real Tattva of Kavya would remain the same for all time. Poems written with the consciousness of this feeling are bound to be good and valuable ones. European poetry has also widened the outlook of Mr. Joshi and one meets with many poems whose inspiration has come from foreign literature.

KETAKI NAN PUSHPO : *By Navalram J. Trivedi, M.A. Printed at the Suryaprakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940. Cloth bound. Pp. 142. Price Re. 1-2.*

Ketaki is thorny but not so its flowers. Similarly the thirty-eight subjects on which Mr. Trivedi has written in this book though meant to be plain-spoken writings in a number of cases, are still such as would please the reader and entertain him, in the gentle way in which a flower does. One finds lightness but not levity in the performance. Humour, wit, satire all play their part : and one is remindel of the rich humour that characterised Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth's writings. A short but illuminating Preface by "Dhumketu" brings out all the salient points of this really admirable collection.

K. M. J.



RECENT BENGALI BOOKS

Drama

Vidrohini. The Rebellious One. By Sasibhushan Das Gupta. Pp. 226. 10th July, 1939.

Duranta Kahini. Sensational stories. By Sati Kanta Guha. Intended for children. Pp. 2+150. Illustrated. 1st July, 1939.

Ascharyya Deser Bhayanak Rahasya. Dreadful Mysteries of the Wonderful Land. By Satyacharan Chakravarti. Based on a book entitled "King of the Dead" by Frank Aubery. Intended for children. Pp. 148. Illustrated. 7th October, 1939.

Niharer Ma. Nihar's Mother. By Sisir Kumar Banerji. Pp. 140. 15th November, 1939.

Tom Sayyarer Galpa. The story of Tom Sawyer. By Sivaram Chakravarti and Upendra Kumar Nandi. Adapted from Mark Twain's Tom Sawyer. Intended for children. Pp. 3+88. Illustrated. 7th September, 1939.

Patalpurir Anti. The Ring of the Nether world. By Sudhansu Kumar Gupta. A story based on the well-known German epic entitled *Nibulengen* written in the 12th century. Intended for children. Pp. 2+75. Illustrated. 1st November, 1939.

Tathapi. Yet. By Svarna Kamal Bhattacharyya. Pp. 136. 18th October, 1939.

Dhatri Devata. The earth conceived as God. By Tarasankar Banerji. Pp. 430. 17th October, 1939.

Srimayi. By Tarasankar Banerji. Pp. 155. 16th October, 1939.

Yautuk. Dowry. By Upendranath Ganguli. Pp. 254. 17th October, 1939.

History (including Geography)

Bolsebhik-Kamyunisht Partir Itihas. History of the Bolshevik-Communist Party. By Abdul Halim. Pp. 1+2+235. 24th November, 1939.

Prithivir Itihas. Pancham Khanda. Pratham Ansa. Bharatvarsha. (Prachin Bharatvasa). History of the World. Volume V. Part I. India (Ancient India). A history of India. By Durgadas Lahiri. Pp. 1-96. 26th April, 1939. 3rd ed.

Galpe Barabhuniya. The twelve Bhuniyas (or Landed magnets or chiefs in Bengal in the 17th century) in tales. By Satish Chandra Guha Devavarma Sastri, B.A. Pp. 2+135. Illustrated. 14th November, 1939.

Language

Bangiya Mahakosh. Unavinsa Sankhya. The Great Bengali Lexicon. "Encyclopædia Bengalensis." (Vol. I, Part 2, No. 7). No. 19. Bengali Cyclopædia. Edited by Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan. Pp. 665-696. Illustrated. 10th April, 1938.

——— 2ya Khanda. Ashtam Sankhya. (Vol. II, No. 8). Pp. 225-256. 6th October, 1939.

——— No. 9. Pp. 257-288. 15th October, 1939.

——— No. 10. Pp. 289-320. 15th October, 1939.

——— No. 11. Pp. 321-352. 31st October, 1939.

——— No. 12. Pp. 353-384. 31st October, 1939.

Bangiya Sabdakosh. Tritiya Bhag. 17sa Khanda. 61sa Sankhya. Bengali Lexicon. Vol. III. Part XVII. No. 61. By Haricharan Banerji. Published by the author, Visva-bharati, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 1909-1940. 15th October, 1939.

——— Part XVIII. No. 62. Pp. 1941-1972. 25th November, 1939.

Bangala Bhasha O Bangala Sahityer Katha. About the Bengali language and Bengali literature. By Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., P.R.S., D. Litt. Pp. 48+10. 12th December, 1939.

——— Another issue of the above publication with slight alterations in the biographical notes on Bengali writers. Pp. 48+10. 24th November, 1939. Reprint.

Law

Moslem Viye-rad Ain Katha. Story of the Moslem Divorce Act. By Obayedul Huq. Discusses the provisions of the Act (VIII of 1939). Pp. 6. 24th June, 1939.

Medicine

Ayurvriddhir-Upay Va Ayurvijnan. Pratham Bhag. Means of prolonging life or the science of life. Part I. By Hiralal Bhattacharyya Vidyavinod. This part deals with Anatomy and Physiology. Pp. 4+8+144. 16th October, 1939.

Bahumutra, Karbankal O Irisipelas. Diabetes, Carbuncle and Erysipelas. By Mahes Chandra Bhattacharyya & Co. Pp 1+1+44. 16th November, 1939.

Jal-Chikitsar Natan Tathya. New Information about Hydropathy. By Prabhas Chandra Chatterjee. Pp. 16. 2nd November, 1939.

Sitkale Jal-Chikitsa. Hydropathic Treatment in winter. By Prabhas Chandra Chatterjee. Pp. 14. 13th November, 1939.

Miscellaneous

Agamani. Ed. by Nava Krishna Bhattacharyya. Illustrated stories and verses for children. Pp. 2+124. 16th October, 1939.

Detenu. By Amalendu Dasgupta. A record of the experiences of the author. Pp. 172. 2nd September, 1939.

Sri Sri Nityananda Dham Darsan. Visit to the holy (birth) place of Nityananda (a name). By Anadi Ranjan Bharati Bhaktibhushan and Navadip Chandra Sau. Pp. 3+4+64. 13th July, 1939.

Jnaner Pathe. Pratham Khanda. On the way to knowledge. Part I. By Atulchandra Sen, M.A. Intended for children. Pp. 2+64. 29th August, 1939.

Bangadarsan. Philosophy of Bengal. A reprint of twelve issues of the monthly entitled "Bangadarsan" founded by the famous Bengali writer, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, being Nos. 1 to 12 of the Vol. VI, issued during 1285 B.S. from the month of Vaisakh to Chaitra. Published by the National Literature Co., Calcutta. Pp. 2+632. 18th October, 1939. 2nd ed.

Lok-rahasya. Secrets of mankind. By Bankim Chandra Chatterji. A collection of humorous essays contributed to *Bangadarsan* and *Prachar*. Reprinted from the 2nd edition printed in 1888. Bankim Centenary Edition. Ed. by Brajendranath Banerji and Sajanikanta Das. Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Pp. 5+96. 15th September, 1939.

Banlay Dhanavijnan. Dvitiya Bhag. (1931-33). Economics in Bengal. Part II. (1931-33). Bangiya Dhanavijnan Parishad. Pp. 1+3+542. 5th October, 1939.

Des-Videser Galpa. Stories of different countries. By Binay Kumar Ganguli and Manoram Guhathakurta. Intended for children. 2nd ed. Illustrated. Pp. 2+86. 28th July, 1939.

Hindusthani Sangite Tansener Sathan. Place of Tansen in Indian Music. By Birendra Kisore Roy Chaudhuri. 2nd ed. Pp. 12+144. Illustrated. 9th October, 1939.

Chitradip. The picture-lamp. Ed. by Hemendra Kumar Roy. Intended for juvenile readers. Pp. 1+2 +387. Illustrated.

Bharater Musalman Hindu mar Santan. Mussalmans of India. The offsprings of Hindu mothers. By Digindra Narayan Bhattacharyya. Pp. 4+154. 2nd December, 1939.

Jhile Jangale Sikar. "Sports in Jheel and Jungle." Trns. by Priyambada Devi. Translation of an English work of that name by Kumud Nath Choudhuri, M.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law. 2nd ed. Pp. 2+1+166. 10th October, 1939.

Tarulata Bhadu-Sangit. Tarulata Bhadu Songs. By Kalipada Lakshan. Pp. 10. 7th September, 1939.

Lakshar Chas. Lac Cultivation. Trans. by Girindra Nath Bhattacharyya, M.Sc. Translation of an English book, *Lac Cultivation in India* by P. M. Glover, B.Sc. Pp. 2+1+50+3. 1st November, 1939.

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Dan-Vidhi. Rules for charity. By Mahes Chandra Bhattacharyya. Pp. 2+53. 5th ed. 18th September, 1939.

Duniyar Ajab. Wonders of the World. By Manoranjan Chakravarti. Pp. 1+85. 21st September, 1939.

Sandhan. Clue. By Muhammad Israil Hasan Khondkar. Pp. 47. 19th July, 1939.

Ekanta Gopaniya Qauna Prasnavalir Uttar. Answers to most confidential sexual questions. By Nripendra Kumar Basu. Pp. 6+124. 18th November, 1939.

Bharate Samavay Samiti. The Co-operative Societies in India. By Nityagopal Rudra Vedantaratna, M.A. Pp. 2+101. 25th October, 1939.

Satitva Va Stri-Siksha. Chastity or Women's training. By Phanibhushan Bhattacharyya. Pp. 8. 7th October, 1938.

Nari-Bibhinnya Rupe. Woman in different roles and aspects. By Prakas Kusum Barua, B.A. Pp. 121. 15th October, 1939.

Srikanter Pancham Parva. Fifth Chapter of Srikanta. By Pramatha Nath Bishi. Contains a number of satirical sketches mostly on social topics. Pp. 198. 30th November, 1939.

Granthakar-Nama. Author Table. By Pramil Chandra Basu. Pp. 72. 24th October, 1939.

Rabindra-Rachanavali. Pratham Khanda. Works of Rabindranath Tagore. Part I. By Rabindranath Tagore. Published by the Visva-bharati Publication Department. Pp. 1+28+1+645. 24th October, 1939.

Sisur Siksha. Child's Education. By Samsun Nahar. Pp. 3+83. 15th November, 1939.

Sainik Bangali. The Bengali soldier. By Subedar Sinha, M.B. Pp. 154. Illustrated. 10th October. 1939.

Rakamari. Of various sorts. By Subinay Ray Chaudhury. Intended for children. Pp. 1+108. Illustrated. 2nd October, 1939.

Sulabh Samchar O Kesabchandrer Rashtravani. "*Sulabh Samachar*" (a magazine of that name) and Kesabchandra's Message to the Country. Contains a number of essays on different topics said to have been written by Kesab Chandra Sen and originally published in the magazine entitled "Sulabh Samachar." Compiled by Jogendranath Gupta. Pp. 10+1+67. 3rd October, 1939.

Man Chhote Mor Tepantare. My mind runs to the vast plain. By Sunirmal Bose. Illustrated stories and poems intended for children. Pp. 94. 20th November, 1939.

Yadughar. The Museum. Ed. by Kshitish Chandra Bhattacharyya. Intended for children. Pp. 1+2+302. Illustrated.

Poetry

Matir-Ma. The mother Earth. By Aminul Islam Chouahury, B.A. Pp. 3+1+80. 17th October, 1939.

Sri Kapil Kavya. The poem concerning Kapil (a name). Pp. 10+96+1. 10th November, 1939.

Gadya Padya va Kavita-Pustak. Prose and poetry or book of poems. By Bankim Chandra Chatterji. Reprinted from the 2nd edition published in 1891. A collection of poems and short prose pieces originally published in Bengali periodicals *Bangadarshan, Prachar* and *Bhramar.* Also contains two other poems which are said to have been written by the late author in his fifteenth year. Bankim centenary edition. Edited by Brajendra Nath Banerjee and Sajanikanta Das. Pp. 8 +116. Published by Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. 15th September, 1939.

Bhorer Alo. The light of Dawn. By Bijan Kumar Chatterjee. Pp. 48. 16th November, 1939.

Anjali. A palmful of offering. By Debendra Nath Mitra, M.A., B.L. Pp. 2+84. 11th December, 1939.

Desantar Dipa-dam. An arrow of lights from beyond the country's limit. Trans. by Rambandhu Pattanayak, B A. Vidyavinod. Kavibhushan. Pp. 3+76. 1st December, 1939.

Bhanga Vina. The broken Lute. By Fayazulbari Choudhuri. Pp. 3+88. 15th August, 1939.

Sri Sri Gitagovinda Bhavabhashini Kavya. The poem giving an exposition of the Gitagovinda. Trans. by Radharaman Pandit. Pp. 8+4+97. 11th July, 1939.

Amrita-Vani. Nectarine Teachings. By Kartik Chandra Sarkar. Pp. 50. 8th October, 1939.

Parijat. Name of one of the five trees of Paradise. By Nalinibhushan Das Gupta, M.A., B.T. A collection of miscellaneous poems for children. Pp. 2+2+44. 2nd October, 1939.

Patua Sangit. Songs of the Patua (Painter) Community. Comp. by Gurusaday Datta, I.C.S. Pp. 29+116. Illustrated. 15th November, 1939.

Gitanjali. A palmful of offering of songs. By Rabindranath Tagore. Pp. 1+8+178. 6th August, 1939. 14th Reprint.

Avantara. Irrelevant. By Ramchandra Bhattacharyya, Kavyatirtha, Vidyavinod. Pp. 2+2+96. 9th October, 1939.

Paralokanjali. A handful of offering to the Other World. By Suramasundari Ghosh. Pp. 9+99. 16th December, 1939.

Patra O Pushpa. Leaf and Flower. By Umadas Gupta, M.A. Pp. 48. 25th October, 1939.

Politics

Aitihasik Jarabad. Historical Materialism. Trans. by Bisweswar Sengupta. Bengali version of four letters on historical materialism said to have been written by Frederick Engels to different persons. Pp. 33. 30th November, 1939.

Kuraler Kop. Stroke of the Axe. Purports to be a Bengali version of the English article entitled "The Axe" by Manabendranath Ray relating to the recent quarrel between Subhas Chandra Basu and the members of the Congress Working Committee culminating in the former's resignation of presidentship of the Indian National Congress. Pp. 8. 6th September, 1939.

Lenin O Bolsevik Party. Pp. 2+126. 15th October, 1939.

Samajer Vikas. Development of Society. Trans.

by Kamakhya Prasad Bhaumik. Pp. 2+35. 12th November, 1939.

SCIENCE (NATURAL AND OTHER)

Vijnaner Svapnapuri. Dreamland of Science. By Subodh Chandra Majumdar. Intended for juvenile reading. Pp. 2+2+78. Illustrated. 14th October, 1939.

TRAVELS AND VOYAGES

Himalay-yatrapathe. In the Path of journey to the Himalayas. By Srimati Basantakumari Devi. Pp. 1+2+62+1 map. 30th August, 1939.

Pather Smriti. Reminiscences of the way. By Srimati Hemnalini Basu. An account of an journey to Kedar and Badarikasram. Pp. 2+194. 6th October, 1939.

Dakshin-Bharat-Pathe. On the way to South India. By Jyotischandra Ghosh. Pp. 6+307. 17th October, 1939.

Malay-Yatri. Traveller to Malay. By Kesab Chandra Gupta, M.A., B.L. Pp. 2+160. 18th September, 1939.

Suraloker Sandhane. In quest of the abode of gods. By Subodh Chandra Ganguli Vidyaratna, B.L. An account of a journey to different places of India including Hardwar and Kashmir. Pp. 2+144. 20th September, 1939.

BENGALI AND ARABIC—RELIGION

Banganuvad Koran Sarif. Translation of the Holy Quran. Para (Chapter) VIII. Trans. by Muhammad Naquibuddin Khan. Pp. 377-428+2. 16th November, 1939.

Grame Joma O Akherojjohar Padar Fatova. Authoritative opinion regarding the saving of *Juma* and *Akherojjohar* namaj in village. By Muhammad Kajem Rahmati. Pp. 70. 2nd ed.

Koran-Pravesika. Dvitiya Khanda. Introduction to the Quran. Part II. By Muhammad Taimur. Pp. 225. 19th September, 1939.

BENGALI AND ENGLISH—MEDICINE

Dehatattva. The mystery of the human body. By Kartik Chandra Bose, M.B. Pp. 308. 2nd ed. 30th September, 1939.

BENGALI AND MANIPURI—LANGUAGE

Maitai Lon. Manipuri Language. By Chandrakumar Sinha. Pp. 1+2+1+48. 21st November, 1939.

BENGALI AND SANSKRIT—LANGUAGE

Ramayani Katha. Topics of the Ramayana. By Rai Bahadur Dines Chandra Sen, B.A., D.Litt. Pp. 10+1+215. 11th ed. 16th October, 1939.

Vichitra. Variegated. By Hemchandra Tarkavagis. A *tika* (key) to Rukminiharanakaryam by Mm. Haridas Sidhantavagis. Pp. 248. 4th September, 1939.

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Pathe-Aso. Take to the right path. By Adam Ali, B.A., B.L. Pp. 20. 6th December, 1939.

Adrisya Sahay. The Invisible Helper. Pp. 105. Illustrated. 29th November, 1939.

Ananda Sangit. Blissful songs. Contains 202 Christian songs, apparently intended for boys and girls of tender age. Pp. 10+150. 20th September, 1939.

Pariksha Kariya dekha Iswar Mangalamay. Observe and see that God is good. By Baradakanta Basu. Pp. 16. 18th November, 1939.

Kailaspati. The Lord of Kailas (a hill near Baidyanath). By Srimati Hemlata Ray. Pp. 6+380. 2nd ed. 2nd October, 1939.

Kripar-Dan. Gift of Kindness. By Jivankrishna Das. Pp. 5+96. 5th October, 1939.

Lilavali. A multitude of sports. By Jivankrishna Das. Pp. 2+152. 8th November, 1939.

Chaitanya Va Sarvadharmanirnaysar. Consciousness or the ascertainment of an universal religion. By Jnanananda. Pp. 9+193. 3rd ed. 10th September, 1939.

Yogananda-Lahari. Waves of Jogananda. By Jogananda Svami. Pp. 8+128. 3rd ed. 15th October, 1939.

Vivekvani. Dictates of conscience. By Kanaklata Ghosh. Pp. 40. 16th October, 1939.

Sri Sri Lakshmir Panchali. Verses about Lakshmi (the goddess of Plenty). By Krishnakumar Bhattacharyya. Pp. 16+5. 4th ed. 13th October, 1939.

Satya-Prakas. Revelation of Truth. By Krishna Niranjan Dev Barma. Pp. 64. 12th October, 1939.

Sri Sri Padmapuran Bais Kavi Manasa. Padma Puran (or a book on) Manasa by twenty-two poets. Pp. 1+18+412. 7th ed. 5th July, 1939.

What is there in the Old Testament? Trans. by Chunilal Mukherjee. Pp. 1+110. 30th October, 1939.

Brahmasamsadi. Pratham Bhag. One having communion with the Supreme Being. Part I. By Pyari Mohan Datta Ray. Pp. 16+52. 3rd August, 1939.

Bangalar Dharma-guru. Pratham Khanda. Spiritual Guides of Bengal Part I. By Rai Sahib Rajendralal Acharyya, B.A. Pp. 1+416. 6th October, 1939.

Ye yatha Mam prapadyante tanstathaiva bhajamyaham. As they worship Me, so do I reward them. By Rajanikanta Guha, M.A. Pp. 28. 5th October, 1939.

Jivananda Pantha Va Yogasadha Pranali. The way affording pleasure to the individual self or the methods of practising Yoga. By Sadhak Sarvananda Pagal. Pp. 20. 16th February, 1939.

Sahaj Gita. The easy Gita. A Bengali metrical translation of the Gita, with short notes. By Sureschandra Chaudhuri. Pp. 164. 22nd September, 1939.

Vraja Rakhal O Sri Gauranga. The cowherd of Braja (Vrindavan) and Sri Gauranga. Pp. 49. 3rd February, 1939.

Brahma-Samaj O Bhavi Yug. The Brahmo-Samaj and the future Era. By Satis Chandra Chakravarti. Pp. 20. 6th October, 1939.

Sukh Duhkha Sram O Prem. Hoppiness, Sorrow, Diligence and Love. By Satis Chandra Chakravarti. Pp. 14. 2nd October, 1939.

Therigatha. (A collection of) Gathas (poems). By Theris (Buddhist nuns). Trans. by Bhikshu Silabhadra. Pp. 7+168. 9th December, 1939.

Tathagater Maitri. Universial Charity according to Tathagata (Buddha). By Upendralal Barua. Pp. 4+65. 5th October, 1939.

Sadhantattwa Vichar. Dwitiya Vibhag. Discussion of the truths of worship. Part II. By Bamacharan Basu Bhagavataratna. Pp. 7+48+15. Illustrated. 30th September, 1939.

Gita. Trans. by Phanindra Nath Ray. Pp. 256. 16th October, 1939.

Mahabharatam. Salya-Parva. Dwitiya-Khandam.

The Mahabharata. The Salva Parva (Book IX) Part II. Ed. by Mahamahopadhyaya Haridas Siddhantavagisa Bhattacharyya. Pp. 129-256. 20th November, 1939.

——— Part III (Chapters 24-34 of the Salya-Parva). Pp. 257-384. 15th December, 1939.

Manastattwa O Manojay. The Mysteries of the Mind and the Victory over Mind. By Nagendranath Datta. Pp. 22+182. 15th October, 1939.

Sadachar Gurugita O Stotramala. Righteous Conduct, Lay of the Spiritual Guide and a Garland of hymns. Comp. by Rajkumar De, B.A. Pp. 1+143. 4th ed. 18th December, 1939.

Srimadbhagavatam. Ekadasakhandam. The Srimadbhagavat. Part XI. Contains the original Sanskrit text of the Bhagavat Puran with the commentary known as "Siddhanta-pradipaby Sukadeva." Ed. by Swami Dhananjayadasa Tarka-Vyakaranatirtha and Nrisinhadas Basu. 6th September, 1939.

——— Part XII. 17th September, 1939.

——— Part XIII. 29th September, 1939.

Srimadbhagavadgita. Ed. by Swami Jagadananda. Contains the text and Bengali translation by Swami Jagadiswarananda. Pp. 22+403. 9th October, 1939.

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——— Pp. 1+1+1+72. 51st ed. 10th September, 1939.

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Sri Sri Chaitanyacharitamrita. The Nectar of the Life of Chaitanya. Contains the well-known work of Kaviraj Krishnadas Goswami. Ed. by Pandit Paranchandra Goswami. Pp. 4+490. 20th October, 1939.

Sachitra Sri Sri Gaya-Mahatmya O Gaya-Paddhati. The glories of the Gaya and the Methods of performing rites at Gaya, with pictures. Pp. 28. 23rd November, 1939.

Chheleder Gita. The Gita for children. By Prof. Haripada Sastri, M.A. Pp. 1+4+109. 16th September, 1939.

Sri Sri Binduprakasah. Revelation regarding the Dot-mark (on the forehead). Pp. 10+44. 29th August, 1939.

Stavakusumanjali. A Palmful of Flower offering of hymns. Ed. by Swami Gambhirananda. Pp. 2+4+407. 2nd October, 1939.

IMPROVEMENT OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

By Prof. S. SINHA, B.SC. (Illinois)

India is pre-eminently and agricultural country. If we want to broaden our knowledge and experience and like to see the advancement of Indian agriculture we all need the co-operation and help of experts, and may gain by other peoples' experience as well. We need improvement in numerous directions. I have given much thought to the improvement of Indian agriculture. Hence, a few humble and practical suggestions for the improvement of Indian agriculture, culled from experience, may be of some use.

Hungry People

A visitor in India will surely be apalled at the extreme poverty of the masses. Prof. Dubey states: "64·6 per cent of the population lives always on insufficient food..." In India rice is grown on 82 million acres of land, yet its people are not able to satisfy their hunger. The last message of Dr. H. Mann, formerly Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, who for the last 20 years had been in touch with the village life of India, with the people of our land and with those in charge of administration was, to devise means whereby the cultivators might get sufficient food. Our peasantry do not get even one full meal a day. illness and death are their constant companion. The tattered rags the womenfolk belonging to that class wear as clothes hardly cover their bodies. The majority of their dwellings are thatched huts, which are in an almost dilapidated condition. Can we base our civilization or our government on people with a hungry stomach and who are unclothed or half-naked?

Rural Debt

Rural debt is a big problem to which politicians and administrators are giving anxious thought. Its importance will be at once realized from the fact that the total indebtedness amounts to nine hundred crores of rupees (1 crore = £750,000). The Indian peasant is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt. To save rural debt it is advisable to establish numerous Land Mortgage Banks in every district. The Co-operative Credit Societies which are intended to help the agriculturist with loans, are very insufficient in number. Bengal

Money-Lenders' Act, Agricultural Debtors' Act—all these are intended to save the agriculturists from the clutches of exacting mahajans. The Government is very keen on giving people facilities for safe investments on nominal interest in the form of Postal Savings Bank, Government Promissory notes, etc., but may we not expect the Government to be equally interested in and enthusiastic over making provisions for giving needy people loans on an equally small interest so that the poor cultivators will not have to go to the mahajans for loan on high interest?

Irrigation

Agriculture in this country is dependent mostly on rainfall. Our Zemindars, in the past, used to spend money for sinking wells and excavating tanks. They are now spending money on city luxuries. The time has come that they should go back to the villages and adopt measures for improving the abandoned wells, sinking new ones, excavating tanks and canals, etc., thus maintining the tradition of their ancestors. For the last few years the districts of Bankura, Burdwan, Birbhum, Khulna and Murshidabad have been visited with drought and consequent famines. During 1932-33, 540,000 bighas of land in the Burdwan district and 423,000 bighas of land in Birbhum were not cultivated due to scarcity of water. If there had been proper arrangements for irrigation, the cultivators of those districts could have earned Rs. 10/- at least per bigha, that means one crore of rupees could have come into their pocket. If the loss regarding the said two districts amounts to one crore of rupees, the loss of other districts can easily be imagined.

The acute indebtedness and poverty of the Indian peasant may be said to be more or less due to repeated drought or floods in the country. A special staff of agricultural engineers may be employed in each district whose duty should be (1) during drought to sink tube wells, set up pumps or devise other means to irrigate fields, etc., (2) during floods to construct or repair bunds and take to devises for protecting lands from being flooded and (3) during normal years to dredge silted up rivers and to be ready for emergency. It is suggested that the landlords and farmers at the affected area should get remmission of rents and revenue till the next period of harvest.

Yield in Akbar's time and Exhaustion of Soil

It is to be admitted that by agricultural research high-yielding strains such as CO. 213 sugar cane, Indrasal, Dhairal, Kataktara and other strains of paddy, Pusa wheat, Chinsurah green jute, Napiar grass, P58, S4 Gram, Linseed 26 have been discovered but the saddest thing is that sufficient effort has not yet been made to popularise them amongst the peasants. It may be said that the improvement of agriculture has not been as much as it should have been, in return for the money that is being spent since the inauguration of the Agricultural Department of the Government of India. Agriculture to most of our peasantry is in no sense a profit-yielding business but it is only a means of livelihood. It is as primitive as possible. The implements of the agriculturists are crude and antiquated, and their cattle are pitiful specimens of animals. In Akbar's time, the average yield of rice in India was 1338 lbs. per acre, of wheat 1155 lbs, of cotton lint about 223 lbs. At present the average yield of rice is only 700 to 1000 lbs., wheat 375 to 700 lbs., cotton 80 to 100 lbs. per acre. These facts reveal that the soil of India is approaching exhaustion. The present process of agriculture is leading towards land ruin.

Care of Manure and Maintaining Fertility

Under a permanent system of agriculture, our farmers should maintain a large number of live-stock in the farm and learn the proper handling of manures. The agricultural department exists but there is no one to teach the peasant not to expose manures in the open but to keep them under "covered pits." He should be told that by keeping them covered the fertility value is preserved. The most important problem of India is to maintain the fertility of the soil, but this has not been impressed upon our landowners and agriculturists. The chief aim of our landowners and cultivators it appears, is to work the land for all they can get out of it with practically no thought of preserving its productivity. Thus they have been "soil-robbers" instead of "soil-builders." Even Indian merchants deprive Indian soils of sufficient manure by shipping bones and oilcakes to foreign countries. It is said that they export 7 maunds of bones and the same amount of oilcakes, *per minute*. It is essential that the exporting of bones and oilcakes should be stopped and arrangements should be made for utilizing them for Indian soil instead of enriching the soil of other countries.

Some of our agriculturists follow crop rotation which does not really enrich the land. On the contrary, this practice actually depletes the soil more rapidly than the single system. The soil should be analysed after each cropping. (This will need a large number of well-trained agricultural chemists). We know that a certain crop fails to grow on a certain soil on account of the

presence of too much plant-food and "toxic" substances in them and that other crops fail for want of proper food elements. We should always take into account the amount of plant-food consumed from the soils by a 100 bushel crop of corn, a 100 bushel crop of potatoes, a 50 bushel crop of wheat, etc. We should supply plant-food accordingly and thus we shall be able to keep up the fertility of the soil. The American and Canadian farmers know what kind of plant-food is required by a particular soil and what amount of plant-food is consumed from the soil by their crops.

Free and Compulsory Agricultural Education

But the Indian farmers are blind to all such things. We all know that education costs a great deal, but illiteracy costs much more. Ignorance and lack of modern instruments are responsible for the poverty of Indian peasants. Unless Government makes agricultural education compulsory and free for the villagers, Indian peasants will remain ill-fed, half-clad and in debt for ever.

Improvement of Cattle

From 7,000 to 13,000 bullocks, prime cows, uncastrated bulls and dry cows are indiscriminately slaughtered every month in Calcutta alone, of which a little less than three fourths are prime cattle capable of breeding from 9 to 12 lactation periods. This is not the only slaughter house, but there are many such in other parts of India. Enquiries by the President of the All-India Cow Conference have shown that we have only milch cattle enough to provide for only the eighth part of our population with an adequate quantity of milk, and that 70 to 90 per cent of cattle that are slaughtered are in the prime of their lives; they are killed at the end of their first or second lactation period. If cows of good breed are slaughtered indiscriminately, how can there be improvement of agriculture? Our dairy herd is getting deteriorated for want of good bulls. If random killing of bulls be not stopped, it is almost certain that within the next fifty years cattle in India will be a rarity or an object of luxury for the rich alone.

Legislation for Stopping the Killing of Prime Cattle

The indiscriminate slaughtering of cattle can only be stopped by effective legislation. If this be not done, all attempt for improving the breed will be futile.

During Akbar's time many cows at Delhi yielded 20 quarts of milk each. "Only 25 years ago Bengal cattle used to yield 3 to 5 seers of milk per head on an average but now the yield has dwindled down to one seer (2 lbs.) only per head per day." The Agricultural Department is improving the breed of cattle. The departmental result shows that the yield of milk in some cases has been very satisfactory. Bullocks are generally used by the Indian cultivators but due to lack of good pastures and the extreme poverty of their owners, these cattle are ill-fed. In Europe and America certain portions of the farm land is set apart as pasture but that is not to be seen in India. Grazing grounds are also rare. The Zemindars should set aside and maintain a portion of their land as free grazing ground for which the Government should make some consideration as to revenue. In addition to this, every village should have a free grazing ground, which should be the common property of the villagers under the supervision of the Union Boards. Our cultivators should be advised to grow fodder. Our milch cows also do not get sufficient fodder which may increase the milk, and due to scarcity of good milk our children do not thrive. I have seen in western countries that cabbages, turnips and mangels are regularly cultivated for feeding milch cows. Here in India our agriculturists have no money to purchase these for their own food, how can they feed their cattle with them? If we feed our cattle properly, if we give them nourishing food, they will thrive better and repay us with a rich yield of milk and manure.

Propaganda Work

Much improvement in Indian agriculture can be achieved by well-arranged and vigorous propaganda work. But so long as there is no proper understanding between our peasantry and the agricultural officers no effective result of propaganda work can be had. The success of propaganda work depends to a great extent on the workers. For this we need trained workers who should really come in touch with the peasantry. The propaganda work might be conducted on the following lines:

(a) The results achieved by the workers of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research should be illustrated by trained workers with the help of charts, lantern slides and cinema-pictures.

(b) Trained workers should sow departmental improved seeds in the farm of one ryot at least in each village and should advise the agriculturists to do the needful till the crop is harvested. If there be any loss the Government should meet it. But if there be profit and higher yield that should be given to the farmer.

(c) Government should organise excursions from each district to the provincial agricultural

experimental farms. The Government in co-operation with the railway company should make arrangement for special trains for bringing the agriculturists and their families from every part of the province free of cost. When the parties arrive, the experimentalist of the farm or its trained workers will guide the visitors and explain all the experiments that are being made on the plots. He should remember that he is explaining to them the newer and better methods of agriculture. The cultivators would hold discussions right on the spot, and the guides and trained workers should help them in solving the various agricultural problems. Through these excursions the Government farms will be advertised. No such farms should be maintained for mere show. They should be judged by their practical utility.

(d) Some of the trained workers should be travelling agricultural lecturers. Each one of them should be furnished with a hand-bag which would contain samples of soil, litmus paper, one glass-stoppered bottle containing hydrochloric acid, picture postcards and charts on imporved methods of farming, folding post-cards and chart-hangers, publications on agriculture for free distribution, etc. These travelling lecturers will give illustrated talks and demonstration. In this way if propaganda work is rightly conducted, it may yield wonderful results.

Top-heavy Administration

The whole agricultural structure of the Government is top-heavy. In Bengal where the peasants are starving, where their children are crying for a handful of rice, where their cattle get no fodder and where the rural indebtedness per family is nearly Rs. 200, the agricultural officers receive princely salaries and allowances. Government will do well to secure figures for ascertaing what a large sum is spent over the travelling and halting allowances of the officers of the Agricultural Department of Bengal, and to investigate what practical benefit the agriculturalists get in return for this huge expenditure. This is an useless expenditure of money and needs immediate curtailment. All posts of Deputy Directors of Agriculture should be abolished and the posts of Superintendents of Agriculture should be created in each Division and the posts of agricultural demonstrators should be increased.

Need of Agricultural Colleges

There is one course left to our young men and that is to take to agriculture as a profession. But where is the college where our young men can get both theoretical and practical training in agriculture, a training which will take them back to the soil instead of away from it? All the provinces have provincial agricultural colleges excepting Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa. "A scheme for establishing a first grade college of agriculture at Dacca (Bengal) is now engaging the attention of the Ministry of Agriculture." It is strange that before this nobody, neither the Government nor the public, really thought of establishing a first grade agricultural college. It is still more strange that not a single member of the Bengal Legislative Council has proposed during the Budget Session to set aside money for estabishing a full-fledged agricultural college. In American universities the arrangement for teaching of agriculture is made the foremost requirement. In other provinces there are provincial agricultural colleges which teach up to the dgree standard. It is a matter of great regret that students of Bengal are seldom admitted to colleges outside Bengal. In September 1921, the Chair of Agriculture was created out of the Khaira fund in the Calcutta University. The professor of agriculture drew his pay from 1921-1931 in return for which he did not have to teach agriculture to a single student. The post was kept in abeyance in 1931. The arrangement for the teaching of agriculture in the Calcutta University can be made at first on a modest scale with the sum that has accumulated by this time in the Khaira fund. In this connection I quote the following lines from the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1928), the Chairman of which was His Excellency the Viceroy of India :

> "We cannot but think that the postponment of provision of Bengal for higher agricultural education is much to be regretted."

Eleven years have passed since then, but practically nothing has been done. Most of the provincial universities are offering degree courses in agriculture but our premier university is still lagging behind in this respect.

Arrangements for the teaching of agriculture can a'so be made with the minimum expenditure by starting agricultural classes in the Rangpore and Berhampore colleges, as these colleges teach up to the B.Sc. Honours standard, and Botany at the Berhampore college is taught up to the degree standard. There are District Farms in those places. Students will do field work by rotation on such farms where they will learn the experimental side of farming and also learn to handle improved farm implements of the district farms (for which the Director of Agriculture will give permission), besides regular lectures and laboratory work.

Teaching of Agriculture

There should be a farm attached to the college or university. Besides lecture and laboratory work for the regular students there should be a compulsory course of apprenticeship. A limited amount of time devoted to practical work on the farm will also be highly useful. The students should be paid for their labour. There can be no doubt that the products of such new institutions would be of greater use to India than the class of students coming out today from provincial agricultural colleges. It is true that the entire farm work can not be managed by the labour of regular students, and that the service of labourers will be required for some of the odd jobs, but our aim should be to engage as few of them as possible.

Research

It must be admitted that some valuable research work have been done by some of the officers of the Agricultural Department and professor of universities and mufassil colleges. But the saddest thing is this that our peasantry is not acquainted with the results of their researches and that they have not heard even the name of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. The results and reports are published in English, a language which most people of our country do not understand.

Researches in the following directions will prove useful :

1. To make experiments with drought resisting crops at places where there is difficulty for irrigation.

2. To turn the jungle fruits into edible ones for human consumption.

3. To test varieties of pipul (Piper longum) and to encourage our cultivators in its cultivation. Pipul is a money crop.

4. To foster floriculture which is important and thriving industry. Among the many problems confronting the florist's of today, the following are of the greatest importance :

(*a*) Study of fertilizer requirements of plants.

(*b*) The fungi and insects prevalent in floricultural work should be studied and methods for their control should be determined.

(*c*) Studies should be made for increasing scent, and extracting essential oils, making pungent attar from roses and developing other qualities of flowers. The problems of packing, tinning and marketing should also be investigated. (In India pungent attar of roses finds a good sale. The Murshidabad district was once famous for production of pungent attar. Little attention has been paid to this once remunerative business which should be revived).

5. To introduce new plants :

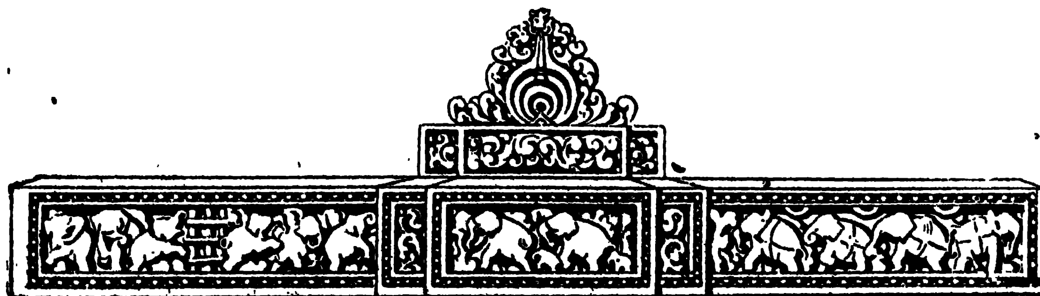
(*a*) Douglas fir is a sugar-producing tree which grows in the hottest parts of British Columbia and other parts of Canada. This tree, when bearing its sweet harvest, resembles a tree covered with snow. At the tips of the spines of this tree the sugar forms in little drops, but it is deposited in large masses at the forks of branches. The lumps of sugar vary in size from one-fourth of an inch to two inches in diameter. If one takes a lump in his mouth, it will exactly taste like white sugar. One gets sufficient amount of sugar from such trees especially from those which get sufficient sunlight and which are grown on the ground sufficiently shaded to remain moist.

(*b*) The honey locust of the Eastern United States belongs to the order Leguminosae. "Its bean and pod have an analysis as good as that of many commercial grain seeds. Cattle eat some of them greedily." Trees are known which bear many bushels of beans. This is a possible crop of great value, both as a harvest and as a soil saver.

(*c*) Centipede grass introduced from China is grown by the United States Department of Agriculture in Georgia and other States. It is a forage crop. It remains alive and green throughout the dry summers. It is also a drought resisting grass and makes an excellent pasture and is readily eaten by livestock.

(*d*) Mauritius bean of Queensland enriches the soil as green manure. Its foliage could be used for nutritious fodder and is also very drought resisting. Its yield averages 40 to 50 tons per acre, which of course includes the foliage.

(*e*) Persimmon is a promising new fruit of China grown in Florida and other parts of the United States of America. "The fruit has a bright orange-red colour, grows to a large size measuring 3 to 5 inches in diameter, and sometimes weighs more than a pound. . . It can be eaten even when green and hard. It stands shipping remarkably. . . The trees are very thrifty growers when once thoroughly established. They reach a height of 30 to 50 feet." It is sweet in flavor. Birds eat the fruit while it is hard. It is sweet when fully ripe. It is the best in dessert quality.



A REVOLUTIONARY HEALTH PLAN

By CHAMAN LAL

WHILE leaders and Cabinet Ministers in other countries are busy working at full speed at the age of eighty and ninety, most of our leaders die at the age of sixty and very few have any energy left after fifty. Why is it ? The reason is very simple. Our leaders do not know how to take care of their own health and how can you expect them to think of a nation's health. I am not as alarmist but if a census be taken to find out the number of healthy persons, I am sure seventy per cent of us will have to be declared as not keeping good health. Some people have begun to feel that since our creed is that of non-violence, health and physical strength are not wanted in India. They live in " spiritual atmosphere." No people however great spiritually can exist in the world without physical strength. A healthy body is essential for a healthy brain and active mind. Creation of a healthy race is much more important than all other items.

I request the Provincial Governments to consider the following plan of drive against disease :

1. A census of victims of venereal diseases in the province and adoption of a five year programme to wipe out all venereal diseases by starting vigorous propaganda through the press, pamphlets, public meetings and opening medical clinics. America is doing this marvellously.

2. War on tuberculosis and opening of sanatoriums for victims of the disease.

3. War against malarial traps.

4. Supply of cheap quinine and cheap mosquito nets.

5. To devise a scheme for increasing and regulating the supply of healthy and pure milk in villages as well as in cities. The government should organise Co-operative Societies of milk-dealers in the villages and organise distribution and sale of milk in the towns and cities by providing rapid bus-services and opening milk-sheds on the road side.

6. Organising Poultry Industry on a similar basis.

7. The organisation of Poultry and Dairy trade on a co-operative basis with the government helping as a Distributing Agency will not only improve and increase the quality and quantity of milk, eggs and dairy products but will also eliminate the abnormal profits at present reaped by the middlemen. Consumers will get milk, eggs, butter, cream, etc., at a cheaper rate and the cattle owners in the villages will get better prices than they are paid by the shop-kepeers today. The organisation of transport on a co-operative system will go a long way towards the reduction of expenses and will also save peasants' time.

8. Compulsory Medical Insurance for villagers and citizens after the American plan of Farmers' Medical Insurance.

9. Compulsory inspection of cattle.

10 Contest in cattle-breeding and holding of cattle-fairs.

11. Providing free grazing grounds in village and around towns and cities.

12. Parks in every village and city.

13. Revival of folk games.

14. Training in wrestling, tug-or-war, Kabbadi, and other Indian games and holding of tournaments on the occasion of various religious *melas* and *painths* (commercial bazaars).

15. Health propaganda in schools, cinema-halls and religious halls with the aid of lantern slides.

16. Summar camps for the students in various hill stations.

17. Mineral water resorts of the province to be developed.

18. Annual Health Roll Call of all persons in the Province and at least those of the students.

19. Daily milk parades in all schools whether public or private.

20. Official encouragement to individuals who open milk bars and fruit juice shops.

21. Publication of literature on healthy foods and opening of healthy food shops, like that in the U. S. A.

22. Popularising whole-wheat flour and brown sugar.

23. To increase fruit-growing areas in order to ensure cheap and healthy fruit supply.

DRUGS OR POISONS

24. Appointment of an expert committee to carry out a research of the medicines manufactured locally or exported from abroad and to

inform the consumers of the dangerous nature of various drugs that are undermining the health of the masses. A similar research has been carried out in the U. S. A. under financial patronage of the government and the result has startled the nation with regard to the piosonous and fraudulent nature of various so-called patent medicines which are advertised in the papers on a very large scale.

Advantage can be taken of the results of the research carried out in the U. S. A.

25. Control over medical advertisements and sale of medicines.

26. Prosecution of all unqualified Doctors, Vaidyas, and Hakims and especially the adoption of strong measures against the quacks, who not only rob the people of their hard-earned money but also add to the disease in the country. The American plan of control over drugs should be adopted and druggists should be licensed by the government.

27. Compulsory sterilisation of all crippled, permanently sick persons and victims of venereal diseases in order to stop multiplication of a race of pygmies.

28. Establishing schools for training of nurses in every district centre and other large towns.

29. Training of voluntary health-visitors from among the educated women of classes who have enough leisure and no financial worries.

30. To approach insurance companies to bear the cost of publication of all literature on health. This experiment has been successfully carried out in several countries to the mutual advantage of both the government and the insurance companies.

There may be many other items, which may have missed a layman like me. What is wanted is not the appointment of committees and hatching of schemes. We want action and immediate action, if we honestly mean to save our nation from this slow process of death.

WOMEN AND HOME

By RATILAL G. SHAH, M.A., LL.B.

I REMEMBER a funny statement made by a friend of mine in the Debating Society of the Elphinstone College where the subject of debate was, "Women and Home." The statement made by my friend ran as follows:

> "Every educated young man should marry an equally uneducated village girl and that every educated college girl should marry an equally uneducated village young man. The husband must educate the wife in the first case and wife must educate the husband in the second case. In this way, every house will be the centre of education, education will spread without any expense and the problem will be automatically, easily, and immediately solved. This scheme must be made compulsory by the State."

I remember the amount of laughter, noise and cries of "Hear, Hear." I could not resist myself from bursting into laughter. Without discussing the feasibility of this suggestion, which was admired by some as really the product of original genius, I proceed to discuss my own ideas that I have formed since I attended the debate.

With great regret and sorrow, I have observed and been observing from day to day, unpardonable hostility, narrow-minded aversion, absolutely unreasonable and false ideas among the educated and the uneducated towards the vital and the very important problem of women's education in India. In my analysis of the mind of Indian husband, I have found him hardly serious about the problem. Unfortunately, people hold the most orthodox, the most pessimistic and the most unprogressive belief that woman is always inferior to a man, that she is simply to bear babies and satisfy the aggressive desire of the male partner, that her equality, established artificially, with the male will lead to social chaos, social sins, that a change in her nature-designed and nature-established sphere of work, will shake the very foundation of the social fabric. They do not cease from thinking in this strain. They advocate further that there does not exist such a problem as the problem of female education in India. Such are the ideas rooted deeply in the minds of many a man and in the minds of many an educationist and social reformer in India.

And so, a revolutionary change in our whole outlook regarding the problem is imperatively essential at this stage. In Indian society, a woman has to submissive, has to be helpless and has to be dependent but her heart breaks and bleeds and yet that broken and bleeding heart,

has an immense quantity of patience and forgiveness, a sense of universal love to all and a readiness to suffer and renounce her own individuality to please and satisfy her husband even at the cost of all the other virtues and her personality. That heart makes a series of compromises in life and willy nilly adjusts itself to the adverse situation in life and thus tries to turn the most unfavourable into the possibly most favourable. In that suffering, her whole being is crushed and the most silent revolt rages in her mind against the evil social codes of the society which artificially restrain the most natural growth of her individuality.

Thus, we find silent social revolts in the minds of Hindu women of today who are given no opportunity of self-progress and who are made slaves of the domestic drudgery at the very period of their physical and mental growth.

Individual progress of women on a judicious and cautious line is imperatively necessary for the many-sided progress and development of our motherland and unless the present mode of living and thinking, our age-long injurious traditions, our useless customs and conventions undergo a radical change, as these concern the most vital problem of female education in India, our political and our economic independence will be difficult to achieve.

Most childish and most notorious arguments, advanced by the intellectually perverted minds which are the creation of the modern defective system of education, which rarely utilize reason and good sense, are that if we educate women, will they not behave as they like, who will look after children, do the cooking and other household work? Believing these things as established certainties, as the only logical consequence of female education, they further argue that our home-life will be shattered, our control and independence, our intimacy and our privacy, our exclusive domestic happiness—all these will be in danger. Sex-jealousy, petty quarrels about domestic matters, difference of opinion on every issue—all these shall be constant occurrences leading to perpetual conflict and thus life, will have neither charm nor interest, marriage will be a mockery and the very purpose of female education will be frustrated.

Such objections are to be summarily rejected with some pointed queries. Firstly, why these objections at all? Is it because a female is born simply to be the property and possession of the would-be husband? If so, what can be the further reply? Secondly, why such fears at all? True education based on a judicious and cautious method will certainly inculcate a unique sense of responsibility into the minds of women not only towards their own selves but towards their family and towards society.

Education builds character, helps to realise one's self and teaches one to love, suffer and serve. If this be true, then why such apprehension and narrow-minded conservatism.

A clear conception about the ideas and the scheme of female education should be imparted and propagated into the minds of all. A female education plan in all its details, taking into consideration the Eastern and the Western modes of social life, must be immediately devised by the educationists, thinkers and social reformers, suitable to our present needs. Such a plan will solve most successfully our knotty and peculiar problems. Thus ignorance among our female folk will vanish and we shall have a new era. Our unique educational experiment in female education will be looked upon with admiration throughout the world.

Indian Philosophical Terminology Committee

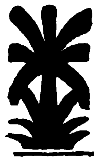
I have the honour to write this to you on behalf of the Indian Philosophical Terminology Committee appointed by a private meeting of the teachers of Philosophy who met at Madras at the time of the last session (December, 1940) of the Indian Philosophical Congress.

My Committee is interested, with a view to help towards the preservation of the cultural unity of India, in furthering it by undertaking and helping the work of devising a common, inter-provincial, Indian Terminology for the teaching and exposition of Western Philosophical Sciences in our Colleges and Universities. But before any definite scheme or programme of work in that connection is formulated and undertaken, my Committee desires to collect relevant information regarding the work which might have already been undertaken by individual scholars or academic bodies with a view to evolve such a terminology.

May I request, through your esteemed journal, such of your readers as are interested in this kind of work, kindly to supply to the undersigned such information as they possess regarding any work of the nature indicated that within their knowledge may be in progress, whether by any private individual scholar or corporate body. My Committee will be so grateful for any help rendered to it in the collection of information relevant to its object, so as to enable it to get into touch with kindred work with a view to seek and offer co-operation.

Willingdon College,
Sangli (S. M. C.), 20th June, 1941

PROF. D. D. VADEKAR, M.A.,
Secretary, Indian Philosophical Terminology Committee



INDIAN PERIODICALS



A Letter

In the course of his letter (as published in *Visva-Bharati News*) to Rabindranath Tagore, written about twenty years ago, C. F. Andrews says:

You have brought us all to the very fountain-head of true religion. It is the final satisfying thing,—this gift, which the Lover brings to us, every moment, in His Creation,—this gift of Beauty which is for no other object than to express his Love. I remember so well, how you have worked this out so simply and so clearly in your *Personality*, and how it has been helping me ever since—this thought, or rather this experience, of God. And then, I remember, and look back on those amazing Shelley classes, which you used to hold with the 3rd group, and in the evenings, when you explained, over and over again, the Hymn to Intellectual Beauty. I see how you have used it in this lecture on "The Poet's Religion." I had often thought, since you have been away, that those 3rd Group classes, when you taught Dhirananda and Shishi, and Abani, Shelley's poems, were my own real intellectual awakening. I mean, that what I had been struggling all my life to find, and had almost found by your help, (when you wrote *Personality* in Japan and read it out day by day to me) was then actually brought home as a living and satisfying thing. And now, this lecture has recalled it, and as I have read it, I have been saying,—"Yes, I know what *that* means; and *that*, and *that*, and *that*!" It is like a recognition, or a discovery.

Life and Civilisation

Rabindranath Tagore observes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

In former days, the monarchs of men were not ashamed humbly to pay their respect to men of intellect or those who had spiritual or creative gifts. For the qualities of the higher life were the motive force of the civilisation of those times.

The danger, however, is not so much from the enemy who attacks, but from the defender who may betray. It fills my heart with a great feeling of dismay when, among the present generation of young men, I see signs of their succumbing to a fascination for mere size and power. They go about seeking for civilisation amongst the wilderness of sky-scrapers, in the shricking headlines of news-journals, and the shouting vociferation of demagogues. They leave their own great prophets who had a far-seeking vision of truth, and roam in the dusk begging for a loan of light from some glow-worm which can only hold its niggardly lantern for the purpose of crawling towards its nearest dust.

They will learn the meaning of the word civilisation, when they come back home and truly understand what that great master, Lao-tze, wanted to teach when he said: *Those who have virtue attend to their obligations; those who have no virtue attend to their claims.* In this saying he has expressed in a few words what I have tried to explain in this paper.

Progress which is not related to an inner ideal, but to an attraction which is external, seeks to satisfy our endless claims. But civilisation, which is an ideal, gives us power and joy to fulfil our obligations.

Our sage in India says, as I have quoted before: *By the help of a-dharma men prosper, they find what they desire, they conquer enemies, but they perish at the root.* The wealth which is not welfare grows with a rapid vigour, but it carries within itself the seed of death. This wealth has been nourished in the West by the blood of men and the harvest is ripening. The same warning was also given centuries ago by your sage when he said: *Things thrive and then grow old. This is called Un-reason. Un-reason soon ceases.*

Lao-tze has said: *To increase life is called a blessing.* For, the increase of life, unlike the increase of things, never transcends the limits of life's unity. The mountain pine grows tall and great, its every inch maintains the rhythm of an inner balance, and therefore even in its seeming extravagance it has the reticent grace of self-control. The tree and its productions belong to the same vital system of cadence; the timber, leaves, flowers and fruits are one with the tree; their exuberance is not a malady of exaggeration, but a blessing.

But systems which mainly are for making profits and not for supplying life's needs, encourage an obesity of ugliness in our society obliterating the fine modulations of personality from its features. Not being one with our life, they do not conform to its rhythm.

Our living society, which should have dance in its steps, music in its voice, beauty in its limbs, which should have its metaphor in stars and flowers, maintaining its harmony with God's creation, becomes, under the tyranny of a prolific greed, like an overladen market-cart, jolting and creaking on the road that leads from things to the Nothing, tearing ugly ruts across the green life till it breaks down under the burden of its vulgarity on the wayside, reaching nowhere. For this is called *Un-reason*, as your teacher has said, and *Un-reason soon ceases.*

Swedish Idealism and Religiosity

In Sweden idealism—at bay in so many other parts of the world—still dares to raise its voice. Alf Ahlberg, a well-known Swedish thinker, writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Sweden entered late into the European communion of culture. The breaking away from Rome in the

fifteenth century occurred before the culture of the Middle Ages had yet had time to penetrate to the northern Teutonic peoples, and a period of spiritual retrogression followed. Only faint echoes of the Renaissance reached us, and while the generations of Shakespeare and of Milton were creating the classic literature of England, and Descartes and Spinoza were building their lofty systems of philosophy, our intellectual life was in embryo. During the latter part of the seventeenth century the French classical culture was our model, and our chief men of culture were content merely to imitate.

It was the German Romantic Movement at the beginning of the last century which gave the first impulse to a more active cultural life in Sweden, poets such as Lessing, Schiller and Goethe, philosophers like Fichte, Schelling and Hegel exercised great influence on Swedish thought. It was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that Swedish thought, Swedish poetry, Swedish idealism and romanticism for the first time began to emerge in a national form. Perhaps our only thinker of international importance before this period was Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), whose strange mysticism was far better understood abroad in the great centres of culture than in his native country.

From the middle of the eighteenth century Swedish thinkers and scientists came into closer connection with general European currents.

Today we can say without boasting that for some decades we have been giving as well as receiving in the field of culture.

People who have studied our national character have always described the Swedes as a race of contemplative dreamers. The dark woods that cover more than half of our country, the endless lines of the wide plains, the melancholy of the light summer nights and the starlight of the long nights of winter call forth dreams and yearning thoughts. We have many brooders and mystics; few systematic thinkers. Lyric poetry is our natural form of expression; the practical knowledge of human beings which the drama and the novel require we do not generally possess. But those dreaming, melancholy characteristics which we share with the Celts are combined with a certain defiant individualism reminiscent of the Highland Scots. Nothing is so hateful to a Swede as despotism.

The contemplative features in the Swedish nature which concentrate on the spiritual world give to its thought, its poetry and its religiosity a decidedly *idealistic* character.

French materialism and English empiricism are exotic plants which do not thrive well in our soil. It is more in our character to read Nature with the help of the spirit than to see the spiritual as a product of Nature.

I shall try to describe briefly how this idealistic, romantic-individualistic spirit has manifested in philosophy, Swedish poetry and popular Swedish religiosity outside the boundaries of the church.

The most influential name in Swedish idealistic philosophy is Kristofer Jakob Bostrom (1797-1866). His influence on his own generation and on posterity has been enormous, less through his writings, which are hard to understand and are written in an abstract, academic style, than through his personal work as a teacher. He is the only Swedish philosopher who in the proper sense of the word has formed a "school," one might almost say a "sect," for the strictest orthodoxy was demanded of his pupils. Bostrom's thought has both directly and indirectly influenced the culture of Sweden, its judicial system, its education, its poetry and its religious life. It has become a living force, which is still at work today even though its origin may no longer be recognized.

Bostrom's philosophy is only the culmination: before him there had been a long line of philosophers.

The characteristic of all these thinkers is that while they emphasized the unity and continuity of existence they still maintained the unique value and individuality of the personality. In contrast to the obscure Pantheism of the German Romanticists, they tried to formulate a theory of life in which God was certainly "all in all," but which yet did not allow the individual to be merged without discrimination in this unity, rather considering that the individuality should be made clearer and sharper as an immortal part of the whole. This "philosophy of personality" was most clearly interpreted by Bostrom.

Like Kant, Bostrom considered the world of our senses in space and time as a mere *phenomenon*, and not as *true reality*. But while according to Kant the true reality is unattainable to our knowledge, according to Bostrom we are able to conceive it at the same time as we ourselves participate in it. What we with our limitations understand as a world of things, co-existing in space and succeeding each other in time, is in reality *a spirit life*; a timeless, elevated spiritual reality above all definitions of space.

Turkey and Russia

As the war in the Middle East is growing, Turkey's policy and more especially Turkey's all important attitude to Russia, needs focussing and calls for a summary of past relations as a background. *The New Review* observes:

From the start, Kemal Attaturk fixed on Russia or more correctly on the Soviet as a key support to his work of internal reconstruction and international readjustment and the Soviet was much flattered with this choice. A common cause or rather common enmities cemented their union: enmity against England who was still at that time trying to break the backbone of the Red Bear and who was backing the Greek assault on Turkish Anatolia; enmity against the Powers of the Entente who had gained the Great War and sought to impose the Sevres Treaty which would have posted an armed guard of their own along the Dardanelles. In 1921 a Russo-Turkish Treaty was signed which returned to Russia the Transcaucasian districts of Armenia and proclaimed mutual consideration and friendship. The Sevres Treaty was never ratified and was replaced by the Lausanne Convention in 1923; the Russians felt aggrieved at it but refrained from breaking with the Turkish Republic; the 1921 Treaty was renewed in 1923, reaffirmed in 1930, and prolonged in 1935 for another ten years.

The Soviet blessed the Turkish initiative which hammered the Balkan Entente into shape.

Turkey's initiative, in spite of Mr. Barthou's optimism, had in it little of the spirit of Locarno. Turkey did the Soviet another good turn at the Montreux Conference (July 20, 1936), in greatly reinforcing the Soviet's strategic position in the Mediterranean: Russia was allowed to rush her fleet through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean and back into the Black Sea whereas any

pursuing fleet would be denied the right of passage. No Power which was not on the Black Sea shore could have a ship in that sea without Turkey's leave and the shipping yards of Odessa were safe from any attack. How could Russia feel lukewarm about so obliging a neighbour? Her fleet was privileged, her foot-hold in Europe duly protected and her Georgian frontier relieved from any menace. On his side, Kemal Attaturk felt free from any Communist interference and could build up his State with all the ruthless energy he commanded; he too had a Five Year Plan of industrial development and he financed it thanks to a capital loan obtained from the anti-capitalist Soviet.

Kemal's successor, President Inonu had on his coming to power the reputation of being a keen Russophil and he lived up to that reputation.

Some months ago, the Soviet and Turkey exchanged declarations that, should either be involved in war, the other would refrain from embarrassing it in any manner. Turkey had indeed grown disquiet. The Turko-Anglo-French Treaty of Ankara (October, 1939) was reassuring enough, but it was not propped up with a parallel Russo-Turkish Treaty as President Inonu had ambitioned to sign. On the contrary, Molotov in his speeches (Oct. 31, and Nov. 6, 1939) made it clear that Russia was abandoning Turkey to her Anglo-French friendship. In February, 1940, a frontier incident provoked a partial mobilisation in Turkey and in July, the Soviet Ambassador left Ankara; on August 1. Molotov made another speech to the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union in which he clearly alluded to Turkish designs on the Batum and Baku oilfields. By October, the tension had relaxed and the embassies of Moscow and Ankara were back to routine work.

Turkey's policy appears to be largely dependent on the good will of Soviet Russia and it will remain enigmatic even if the Soviet comes out in the open.

President Inonu puts on a serene countenance and willingly celebrates the glorious friendship wheih unites his country with England and with Russia, and with Germany. Some day he will have to choose between his friends. Stalin has not strictly adhered to Communist ideology in his transactions with Turkey, but it may be taken that in common with genuine Communists, he regards England as the last citadel of European capitalism. The Moscow-directed attitude of the French Communist Party, the world-wide strikes engineered by Communists are sufficiently clear signs of the ideal of the Red International. May President Inonu remember in time what Lenin said about Stalin (and Lenin knew his men): "Never trust Stalin; he is always ready to betray you!" May he have realized that Hitler is no better!

Lebensraum

Lebensraum is one of those words which have remained in the German language for a very long time and which in the hands of the Nazis have assumed a profound meaning and a world significance. M. Ramakrishnayya writes in *The Twentieth Century*:

Literally, it means living space. But constant usage under peculiar circumstances has collected round it a formidable array of ideas. It has come to indicate all that is necessary for the upkeep and development of the German people. Its content is not only geographical and economic but political. According to the chief theoretical exponent of this principle, Major-General Dr. Karl Haushofer of the German Academy, the term has already entered the vocabulary of diplomacy (although as he thought it was at times used in a distorted form). But, among the diplomatic terms, the new one occupies a position strikingly different from the older ones such as equal status and Monroe doctrine. Lebensraum lacks the solidity of a close definition. It is elusive like another of its kind, the principle of nationality. It knows no bounds such as the Monroe doctrine prescribes for itself.

So far as one can see, there has been only one parallel in the past. It is the slogan of "the white man's burden."

This phrase has furished a theoretical justification for the expansionist policies of imperialist powers for the last two centuries. The function of Lebensraum in our time is much the same. The only difference consists in its application. The newer concept is used by one European power against all others, while the older one was employed by the European powers as a body against the so-called backward and coloured peoples of Asia and Africa.

The core of the doctrines, however, remains the same.

The same superiority of the power that stands to gain by the application of the concept is bandied about. Then, it was the superiority of the white man over the coloured man. Now, it is that of the *Aryan* over the *Non-Aryan*. In almost the same accents, Hitler says that Germans, by virtue of their superior race, are guardians of the highest form of humanity on earth, and that they have therefore a correspondingly high duty to guard the purity of German blood. It may be asserted that the West European powers believed in the principles of liberalism and that Nazi Germany glories in the annihilation of all liberal values. And, in reply, one may say that this difference in beliefs has not resulted in a corresponding difference in policies. One has only got to look at the South African Dominions of the British Empire for the truth of the position. In them, a rich and powerful minority of whites denies the elementary rights of democratic citizenship to a considerable majority of Africans and Indians, despite the immense contributions of the latter towards the economic advancement of the country. If Nazi Germany had stamped out all opposition, crushed the natural aspirations of her subject peoples, and reduced them to serfdom, she had not followed a policy different in principle from the older Imperialists. Her uniqueness consists in the brutal and scientific thoroughness with which she implements her policy.

Bible History, and Archaeology

Archaeological discoveries are rapidly confirming the scriptural account of the Hebrews, even as far back as Abraham. Taylor G. Bunch writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* :

Abraham was a descendant of Shem, the son of Noah, who came out of Ur of the Chaldees to become the father of many nations. Of this ancient patriarch, Sir Charles Marston says : "The name Abraham, or rather Abram, is found in the Babylonian cuneiform contract tablets of about his era; it means, 'My father is high.'" "It is evident that the background supplied by recent excavations for the period of Abraham, corroborates the sacred narrative. And further that the Bible dating seems to be as correct as is the Bible geography. In the stories themselves confirmations occur even in detail; which are evidence that the narrative was written down at a very early date, when the memory of the events was still quite fresh."—*New Bible Evidence*, pp. 93, 123.

The story of Israel in Egypt has been confirmed by scientific discoveries.

In the inscriptions, Joseph is given the Egyptian name of "Zaph," which is the first syllable of the name given him by Pharaoh as mentioned in Genesis 41:45. Archaeologist Melvin G. Kyle declares that "Zaph" means, "'The one who furnishes the nourishment of life,' *i.e.*, the 'Steward of the realm.'" An inscription tells of a great famine lasting several years, and at the time corresponding to the scriptural record. On a tomb at el-Kab was found an inscription declaring that during the famine the governor dealt out grain to the people, which he had stored away in times of plenty. A part of this inscription reads : "I collected corn, as a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of the sowing. And when a famine arose, lasting many years I distributed corn to the city each year of famine." Of this evidence Kyle said : "The subsatntiation of the credibility of the Biblical narrative is complete, and the corroboration of the actuality of the events narrated in the story of Joseph becomes very strong."—*The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism*, pp. 261-264.

King Shishak of Egypt left a record in pictures on one of the walls of his palace of the captives from Canaan building for the Egyptians.

There are other stone records of vast building enterprises by bondmen. In 1883, Dr. Edouard Naville, Egyptologist of the University of Geneva, Switzerland, discovered and identified the store city of Pithom mentioned in Exodus 1:11, as having been built by Hebrew slave labour. The evidence shows that the city was built by Ramses II for storehouse purposes. Naville declared that "the 'store chambers' themselves have now been uncovered. They were very strongly constructed, and divided by brick partitions from eight to ten feet thick the bricks being sun-baked, and made, some with and some without straw."

Dr. Naville's story was so marvellous that many felt that it must have been exaggerated; so, in 1908, Dr. Melvin G. Gyle went to the site to investigate for himself. Of his finding he said : "Every point in the story of the insurrection is written upon the ruins of Pithom. The place was called Pithom; it was a store city; the bricks were laid in 'mortar,' contrary to the usual Egyptian method of brick-work; the bricks in the lower courses were filled with good clean straw, those of the middle courses were made with stubble mixed with weeds and all pulled up by the roots, while the bricks of the upper courses were made of Nile mud without the mixture of any building material whatever; and all these things were found in the ancient region of Succoth as the Bible asserts."—J. S. Griffiths : *The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology*, pp. 44. 45.

The Prosperity of India !

Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, recently referred to this country as prosperous. Sir Ibrahim Rahimutullah has commented on this observation quoting from official books. He points out that only 0·1 per cent of the population in India pays income tax, which is payable by all those who have an annual income of Rs. 2,000 or more. Individual assessees having an income of five lakhs of rupees number only nine in a population of 350 millions. There are, as a contrast, 539 such assessees in Britain which has a population of 45 millions. Again, accepting Sir James Grigg's figure of 600 crores as the annual income of the Indian population, it has been calculated that Rs. 53·5 constitute the annual income per head. If the taxation of Rs. 8·5 crores is deducted then the average Indian has an annual net income of Rs. 45.—*Science and Culture.*

Education and The Present Day Needs

According to Prof. Diwanchand Sharma, education is man making. In the course of his inaugural address delivered at the Annual Social Gathering of the City College, Nagpur, and published in *The City College Magazine*, he observes :

When all is said and done, education is a process of man making; the educator is an artist in this line and educational establishments are the places where an attempt is made to shape men.

When I say that education is man making, I do not understand man in the sense in which Fielding, Swift and Shaw understand him. Nor in the sense in which scientists understand him. Their ideal is aptly described by a wag as follows :—

"Enough water to fill a ten-gallon barrel,
enough fat for seven bars of soap;
carbon for 9,000 lead pencils;
phosphorus for 2,000 match heads;
iron for one medium sized nail;
lime enough to whitewash a chicken coop; and
small quantities of magnesium and sulphur."

Nor do I think of man in mere terms of economics or in terms of psycho-analysis, the economic man lives by bread alone, and according to psycho-analysis man is a bundle of repressions and suppressions. Such a being is beyond my ken at this time.

The writer continues :

I refer to man in the highest and the noblest sense of the word, that is one who is practical and knows how to supply his materital wants, who is artistic and loves art in all its forms, who is social and is not a misfit in corporate life, but knows how to train himself in those matters which make for a well-ordered social existence, who is enquiring and loves the things of the mind such as philosophy and scientific research, and man who is religious and knows how to seek the Highest and love the Highest. I therefore believe that colleges and universities must be devoted to this noble adventure of man making. When I say this I do not mean that they should not be homes of pure culture and learning, or they should not train people for the professions, or they should not bridge the gulf between the man of knowledge and the practical man or they should not be the homes of research, or they should not train character, or they should not train leaders, or be bulwarks of mental freedom. They should be all these but above all they should turn out man in the real sense of the term. Only by doing so can they fulfil their highest destiny.

Education should therefore be a civilising and man making process. It is only this kind of education that can serve the best ends of civilization.

Referring to the civilising influence of Christianity on Germans, Heine in a passage of incomparable beauty and eloquence wrote to the French :

"Christianity—and this is its fairest merit—subdued to a certain extent the brutal warrior ardour of the Germans, but it could not entirely quench it; and when the cross, that restraining talisman, falls to pieces, then will break forth again the ferocity of the old combatants, the frantic Berserker rage whereof Northern poets have said and sung—the talisman has become rotten, and the day will come when it will pitifully crumble to dust. The old stone gods will then arise from the forgotten ruins and wipe from their eyes the dust of centuries, and Thor with his giant hammer will arise again, and he will shatter the Gothic cathedrals." If in this passage we substitute education for Christianity, and men in general for Germans, the point I have been trying to make is elucidated. All of us have something of the tiger and the camel in us, and it is the function of education to enable us to transcend these limitations.

The Prospects of a Dyestuff Industry in India

The present war has brought home to the public the utter helplessness of India regarding

many manufactured products essential for civilized life, but in no case so pointedly as in that of synthetic dyestuffs. *Science and Culture* writes :

According to a report of the chemical sub-committee of the National Planning Committee, India produces not an ounce of synthetic dyes but imports about 4½ crores worth every year. The total money value of imported dyes is not large, when we compare it to our total output in textiles or metals, but it has to be remembered that the dyes are essential for the prosperity of the textile and other industries, for the simple reason that textiles would not be marketable unless properly dyed and worked out into proper designs. Further, the manufacture of dyes is an important link in the chain of other essential chemical industries, such as production of drugs, perfumes, fine chemicals and explosives, both military and industrial.

A word is necessary here about the natural colouring matters in which India had a good trade till the beginning of the present century.

The indigo industry in India died a natural death and no attempt was ever made for its survival or revival. In these days of increasing development in the science of plant breeding, it is very likely that with intensive research, some breeds of the indigo plant, may be discovered which may substantially increase the yield per acre and it may be able to compete with synthetic products. The case of sugarcane is well known, which in the early stages could not compete with the beet root industry, but after the introduction of new breeds, the sugarcane has almost ousted the beet root in the manufacture of sugar. It is doubtful whether the idea that natural dyes can only be used for colouring foodstuffs is correct, since indigo and madder were some of the natural fast dyes known and used for ages. We are of the opinion that proper and organised research should be undertaken on the breeding of these plants which will not only be of great help to the dye industry, but will incidentally help the agriculturists in providing them with a new money crop.

Ancient India and Ahimsa

According to Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, Ancient India had no great faith in the doctrine of Ahimsa. He writes in *Prabuddha Bharata* :

It is said that we here in India are used only to Ahimsa. This notion is being preached from house-tops by certain sections of Indian philosophers, Indian statesmen and Indian historians. If some one over here were to declare that for five thousand years from the epochs of Mohenjodaro and the Rig-Veda down to Tipu Sultan, Baji Rao and Ranjit Singh, our fathers, grandfathers and greatgrandfathers were only counting beads and cultivating Ahimsa, the tendency among a large body of intellectuals in India to call him a philosopher of the first rank would be very obvious. Not to fight, to be worthless in secular matters, to fail in worldly wisdom were the characteristics of ancient and medieval Indians according to these philosophers of the first rank. This is the mentality also of a very large

number of European and American scholars known as orientalists, who try to din into the ears of students at Oxford, Cambridge, New York, Berlin and Paris that Indians were wonderful meta-physicians exclusively interested in "the other world" and utterly incompetent to manage the things of here below. You are at liberty to cultivate this mentality. But let me have a little bit of our factual history.

I shall draw attention only to one or two periods of Indian life from Mohenjodaro down to 1850, to see whether any generation was unsecular, unmilitaristic and unpolitical. The wars of the Vedic period are too well-known. If the Rishis of ancient India understood anything they understood killing, burning and destroying. They were the last persons to cultivate Ahimsa.

Let us come down to the Maurya Empire (323-185 B.C.). This was established 160 years after Shakyasimha (Buddha) who is known to have preached the cult of Ahimsa. This empire was, as is well-known, larger than the British Empire of today. But do you once in a while realize—those of you who are philosophers and metaphysicians—that this empire was the domination of one race over many races? Do you ever try to understand that this empire was nothing but the subjugation of different peoples and different regions by one particular people and one particular region? Yes, it was a domination, a foreign domination, from top to bottom as long as it lasted. You know quite well that the Maurya Empire is older than the Roman Empire. Thus it is clear that it is our forefathers, the Hindus, who, in spite of 160 years of Buddha's teachings, preceded the Romans and all subsequent Europeans in the matter of establishing domination over foreign peoples and countries.

And therefore the philosophy that is today very popular in India, the ism which says that there is a fundamental difference between the East and the West in regard to outlook on life, life's viewpoints and world-conceptions are entirely fallacious.

A Reference to the Seafaring People of Gauda

Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

The seafaring character of the ancient Bengalis are supposed to be alluded to in the Ceylonese tradition of Prince Vijaya who sailed southwards and conquered Ceylon. Vijaya's father Simhabahu had his capital at Simhapura in the Lala country; his mother was the daughter of the King of Vanga and the Princess of Kalinga. Now, Lala has been identified by some scholars with Radha in south-west Bengal and by others with Lata the Nausari-Broach region in western India. There are, however, reasons to believe that the tradition, as we have it now, has confused several expeditions led to ancient Ceylon by the early inhabitants of both eastern and western India. Early classical works like the *Periplus of Erythraean Sea*, Ptolemy's *Geography*, etc., and the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims appear to prove that Tamralipti (near modrn Tamluk in the Midnapore district) was the chief centre of maritime activities in Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian era. Large vessels bound for Ceylon and the far Eastern countries like Java, Sumatra, etc., started their journey from the port of Tamralipti.

There is definite evidence to prove that the people of Gauda (Malda-Murshidabad) took a very large share

in these maritime activities and in the spread of Indian culture in the Far East. A pillar inscription of the fourth century A.D. belonging to a Buddhist Mahanavika, (great sailor, *i.e.*, captain) named Buddhagupta of Raktamrittika (modern Rangamati near Murshidabad) has been discovered in the Wellesley district of the Malaya Peninsula.

Woman's Place In The Buddhist Age

The Buddha established, with reluctance, the order of the Bhikkunis among whom were some of the most excellent types of womanhood that the world knows. K. Viswanathan observes in *The Educational Review*:

The ideas about true womanhood as found in the Hindu sastras were not far different from those of Buddha; the well-being of any society depends on the performance of domestic duties and social obligations; Buddha wished to confine the activities of the sex (female) to these primarily.

Buddha did not think that women were unfit for *arhatship* if they followed the Noble Path; he however thought that their unrestricted familiarity with monks would result in the disruption of the Sangha. He did not favour the inclusion of women in the order and so did not allow them at first to enter the church. The illumined stood before the world—care worn—with a message of truth and Salvation; people thronged to the fountain-head of kindness and sympathy to drink of the healthy beverage of life, to quench the passionate longings of their heart: multitudes made their way to seek shelter in the Buddha, the Sangha and the Dhamma; then Gotami appeared before him and informed him of her desire to join the Sangha; she was the foster mother of great Sugata; along with Gotami there were other ladies. They cut their hair, put on the yellow robes and approached the Teacher. Ananda was their pleader. The Buddha yielded with reluctance. Ananda was the favoured disciple of Buddha and to his repeated importunities he yielded and allowed some concessions.

But the Lord had foretold that the result of the inclusion of women into the Order would be that chastity and holiness would not last long, the Law would stand only for 500 years. Events subsequently proved that the Buddha was true in his misgivings and fears.

The movements of Bhikkunis were not unrestricted. There were major and minor injunctions of Buddha. Gotami accepted all the rules and was admitted.

She later wanted equal status with the Bhikkus in accordance with the standard of virtue and qualification but Buddha did not heed. The ideal Bhikkuni of Buddha should give up all desires; be contented with little; should practise religion and meditation in solitude, should be away from vain pleasures and joys of life; be active, give up sloth, and live a life full of gentleness, modesty and humility.

Bhikkunis were fewer in number compared with Bhikkus but a place—very high—in society was accorded to them. Books like *Malati-Madhava* and others mention their learning, intelligence and influence in society; the Bhikkuni could rise up to be a Sramanera and even to Arhatship. The erudition and intelligence of Khema and others are also to be noted. During the lifetime of Gautama many elderly Bhikkunis wrote books, for instance, the Theragatha of Sutta Pitaka. Some of the gathas are beautiful and prove the piety and intelligence of these ladies. They expounded the high ethical truths and lessons of Buddhism; many Bhikkus and Bhikkunis came to hear them. Soma, the daughter of the court Pandit of Bimbisara, rose to Arhatship by meditation and culture; mention of this is in Theri Bhashya.



Woodcut by Kanai Samanta

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Letter of Charles Lamb

Enamoured of her "divine plain face" Charles Lamb, at the age of forty-four, wrote an interesting letter containing his offer of marriage, to the actress Fanny Kelly. She declined allgedly because she was already engaged but actually because of "the sad mental uncertainty" which surrounded Lamb's domestic life. Lamb's love venture ended there but the hope and tragedy was reflected two and a half years later in his incomparable *Dream Children*. He died in 1834 and Fanny Kelly in 1882 at the age of ninety-two, a lifelong spinister. The letter is reproduced below from *The Catholic World*:

20th July, 1819.

Dear Miss Kelly,—We had the pleasure, *pain* I might better call it, of seeing you last night in the new Play. It was a most consummate piece of Acting, but what a task for you to undergo! at a time when your heart is sore from real sorrow! it has given rise to a train of thinking, which I cannot suppress.

Would to God you were released from this way of life; that you could bring your mind to consent to take your lot with us, and throw off for ever the whole burden of your Profession. I neither expect or wish you to take notice of this which I am writing, in your present over occupied and hurried state. But to think of it at your leisure. I have quite income enough, if that were all, to justify for me making such a proposal, with what I may call even a handsome provision for my survivor. What you possess of your own would naturally be appropriated to those, for whose sakes chiefly you have made so many hard sacrifices. I am not so foolish as not to know that I am a most unworthy match for such a one as you, but you have for years been a principal object in my mind. In many a sweet unassumed character I have learned to love you, but simply as F. M. Kelly I love you better than them all. Can you quit these shadows of existence and come and be a reality to us? can you leave off harassing yourself to please a thankless multitude, who know nothing of you, and begin at last to live to yourself and your friends?

As plainly and frankly as I have seen you give or refuse assent in some feigned scene, so frankly do me the justice to answer me. It is impossible I should feel injured or aggrieved by your telling me at once, that the proposal does not suit you. It is impossible that I should ever think of molesting you with idle importunity and persecution after your mind (was) once firmly spoken—but happier, far happier, could I have leave to hope a time might come, when our friends might be your friends; our interests yours; our book-knowledge, if in that inconsiderable matter we have any little advantage, might impart something to you, which you would every day have it in your power ten thousand fold to repay by the added cheerfulness and joy which you could not fail to bring as a dowry into whatever family should have the honor and happiness of receiving *you*, the most welcome accession that could be made to it.

In haste, but with entire respect and deepest affection, I subscribe myself,

C. Lamb.

Will Abyssinia Regain Her Independence?

After a lapse of five years Emperor Haile Selassie has once again returned to his native land. From Italy's clutches Abyssinia has been freed by the Allies but will she be able to regain her former position and status or she will serve as a pawn on the political chessboard of the White nations? The following extract from the *News Review* is interesting:

Though he introduced some modern reforms, Haile Selassie's country was not quite the idyllic place imagined by League of Nations enthusiasts. The kinky-haired Abyssinians in their grubby white tunics lorded it over the subject peoples.

In 1935, the Duce hurled his modern legions against Haile Selassie's ill-armed hordes. Abyssinia was conquered by bombs and poison gas.

Coughing from a whiff of gas, Selassie fled to England, sold the royal plate, and bided his time in a house at Bath.

In 1941, Britain turned the tables on Mussolini. A mixed force of white South Africans and Kenyans and of black soldiers from Nigeria and the Gold Coast broke through the Italian defences in Somaliland Mechanised troops crashed through to Addis Ababa Last week, Italy's Viceroy, the Duke of Aosta, was reported to be on the point of asking for an armistice.

Shrewd Haile Selassie did not request to be restored as a completely independent Emperor, told the British he would "still need outside assistance and guidance, both political and economical, in the remaking of his State" after the war.

An "independent" Abyssinia would be a permanent temptation to Italy. During their term of power, the Italians had acquired large economic interests in the country, built towns and roads, and settled white colonists. What Haile Selassie apparently wanted was Abyssinia to become a British Protectorate.

Revealing in Parliament the Emperor's request for "guidance," Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden diplomatically added that the matter would be settled by international agreement after the war. This would leave the door open for many things—perhaps even if Britain so desired, for "outside assistance and guidance" by Italy.

British reluctance to be more specific was natural. The new Abyssinia must be a delicate compromise between white and black interests. Not to repair Haile Selassie's wrongs would be an outrage to the feelings of Britain's coloured subjects. But to put the Abyssinians on top would offend white susceptibilities particularly in the South African Union.

First concern was to protect white women and children from black vengeance. This paradoxically led to Italian police in occupied Addis Ababa being allowed to retain their rifles. Soon they fired on a crowd of Abyssinians who were infringing the curfew, killing four.

Instead of immediately entering his capital in State, Haile Selassie patiently waited. The diplomatic Lion of Judah was bent on compromise.

The Blind Soldiers in China

A recent issue of the *Weekly Bulletin* of the China Information Committee issued from Chungking, describes the work done by Mr. Hermann Becker, for the rehabilitation of the blind soldiers who are generally considered as hopeless cases.

However, at least one man has tried to do something for these "worst victims of this war of aggression." He is Mr. Hermann Becker of the Famine Orphanages and Evangelistic Bands in Chihkiang, Hunan. A China missionary for over 30 years, Mr. Becker was recently called on to help over 300 Chinese soldiers who have lost the use of both eyes.

One day in April, Mr. Becker walked two hours to a place where these blind soldiers were staying. He was so touched by their plight that he decided then and there to do something for them. The lot of the ordinary wounded soldiers is bad enough, he said, but that of blind ones is infinitely worse. Most of them are young, bodily strong, full of imagination and yet are compelled to think it is useless for them to go on. They hate everything, even themselves. They have no ways of killing the time which seems so much longer in their darkness than it really is.

"We must give the blind something to do," Mr. Becker told himself. "Their thoughts must be turned from themselves to something else. They must learn to read and write the Mandarin Union Braille System."

Taking immediate action, Mr. Becker wrote to several places asking for advice and help. The China Inland Mission at Hungkiang offered him the services of Mr. Yang, a blind teacher who was engaged to teach the Braille system to the blind soldiers. Meanwhile, Mr. Tang, a Famine Orphanage graduate, is learning the system so that he could be of help, too. Both have since gone to work among the blind soldiers. As the soldiers are not all living at one place, they start teaching at one place and then go to the next one and so on till all will have learned the system. Lately, Mr. Yang, the blind teacher, has been busy embossing several hundred sheets of paper as primer for his pupils.

The blind soldiers rejoiced when they learned that two teachers had come to teach them, and new hope came into their lives.

Mr. Becker, care of the China Inland Mission, Chihkiang, Hunan, will be glad to receive any books which have been printed in the Mandarin Braille Union System for use in his work for the blind soldiers.

Miss Rathbone's disillusionment

Our readers must have read Miss E. Rathbone's impertinent and outrageous "Open Letter to Indians" to which a fitting reply was given by Poet Tagore. *The Asiatic Review* publishes the proceedings of a meeting of the East India Association on March 7, last at London, where a paper entitled "The Indian Situation: The Woman's Point of View" was read by Lady Hartog. In this meeting Miss Rathbone said in part:

There was a time when we here were all passionately throwing ourselves into the struggle for Indian reforms and for Indian Self-Government. We realized the mistakes that England had committed in the past, and felt it was our duty to throw our whole strength into enabling India to realize herself. Great steps were taken forward during those years—and now, is there not something bitterly disappointing in the reaction of India, that they should show, first, so little magnanimity and, secondly, such short sight even from a self-interested point of view?

So little magnanimity because, even assuming that it was a bad mistake not to have formally consulted India before India's co-operation in the war was decided upon, should Indians make so little allowances for the immense anxieties pressing upon our statesmen at that time, and was that mistake bad enough to justify their subsequent attitude?

It was not the same in the last war, when Mahatma Gandhi, twenty years younger then and perhaps therefore twenty years wiser, faced with an India which had far more to complain about, an India then kept in real subjection, declared that that was no time—when Great Britain was fighting for her life—for India to take advantage of Britain's necessity to bargain and struggle for something for herself as a condition of her co-operating in the war. "No," he said in effect (I am not quoting actual words), "let us trust to England's generosity. Let us first show that we are willing to co-operate; in spite of Great Britain's mistakes we do owe something to our association with Britain." His attitude is different now. Yet think of the patient research that has been put into the solution of Indian problems since then and the solid steps towards self-government achieved. To ignore that seems short-sighted as well as lacking in magnanimity. What I fear as the result of the non-co-operation movement in India is that, when the time comes and we have won this war, we shall show too much favour, too much bias. Towards whom? Towards those in India who have co-operated.

Here is her justification of the British Government's policy of discrimination:

During all the period of reforms many of us thought that our Government conceded too much to the Princes, perhaps too much to the Muslims, just because they represented the actual and not merely the potential fighting forces of India. Will not that bias inevitably be strengthened by the non-co-operation movement? Can a nation struggling for its life be expected not to show bias at the time and gratitude afterwards to those who have helped it?

If non-co-operating Indians really wish that we should win—and I do not think any of them can be so short-sighted as to hope that our enemies shall win—why are thousands going to prison in order to obstruct the war effort? Mr. Sastri, for whom we have so great a respect, has said that "Britain is taking advantage of the communal difficulties in order to maintain her power." But cannot we justifiably retort that India—the non-co-operative India—is taking advantage of England's difficulties to ask for more than they can reasonably expect?

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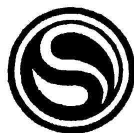


RABINDRANATH TAGORE
(At the age of 32)
By Dr Abanindranath Tagore

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Sir J. C. Bose collection

THE MODERN REVIEW

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YOU HAVE COVERED THE PATH OF CREATION . . . *

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

You have covered the path of your creation
in a mesh of varied wiles,
Thou Guileful One.
Deftly have you set a snare of false beliefs
in artless lives.

With your deceit
you have left your mark on Greatness
taking away from him the secrecy of night.

The path your star lights for him
is the translucent path of his heart,
ever illumined by a simple faith.
Though tortuous outside
it is straight within,
that is his pride.
Though men call him futile,
in the depth of his heart he finds truth
washed clean by the inner light.
Nothing can cheat him;
he carries to his treasure-house
his last reward.
He who easefully could bear your wile,
receives from your hands
the right to everlasting Peace.

* The original Bengali poem ("তোমার সৃষ্টির পথ"), the last composed by him, of which this is an accurate translation, was dictated by the Poet a few hours before his operation in the morning of 30th July, 1941. He was not, however, satisfied with it and expressed a desire to revise it afterwards. This desire was never fulfilled.

रवीन्द्रनाथेर शेष रचना

तोमार सृष्टिर पथ रेखेछ आकीर्ण करि'
विचित्र छलनाजाले,
हे छलनामयी।
मिथ्या विश्वासेर फाँद पेतेछ निपुण हाते
सरल जीवने।
एइ प्रवञ्चना दिये महत्वेरे करेछ चिह्नित ;
तार तरे राखोनि गोपन रात्रि।

तोमार ज्योतिष्क ता'रे
ये-पथ देखाय
से ये तार अन्तरेर पथ,
से ये चिरस्वच्छ,
सहज विश्वासे से ये
करे तारे चिरसमुज्ज्वल।

बाहिरे कुटिल होक अन्तरे से ऋजु,
एइ निये ताहार गौरव।
लोके तारे बले बिडम्बित।
सत्येरे से पाय
आपन आलोके धौत अन्तरे अन्तरे।
किछुते पारे ना तारे प्रवञ्चिते।
शेष पुरस्कार निये याय से ये
आपन भाण्डारे।

अनायासे ये पेरेछे छलना सहिते
से पाय तोमार हाते
शान्तिर अक्षय अधिकार॥

जोड़ासाँको, कलिकाता, ३० शे जुलाई, १९४१, प्राते ९॥ बाजे।

DEATH

[Translation by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty of a Bengali poem dictated by Rabindranath Tagore from sick-bed some days before his death.]

Sorrow's dark night, again and again,
    Has come to my door.
Its only weapon, I saw,
Was pain's twisted brow, fear's hideous gestures
    Preluding its deception in darkness.

Whenever I have believed in its mask of dread,
    Fruitless defeat has followed.
This game of defeat and victory is life's delusion;
From childhood, at each step, clings this spectre,
    Filled with sorrow's mockery.
A moving screen of varied fears—
Death's skilful handiwork wrought in scattered gloom.

मृत्यु

दुःखेर आँधार रात्रि बारे बारे
एसेछे आमार द्वारे ।
एक मात्र अस्त्र तार देखेछिनु
कष्टेर विकृत भाल, त्रासेर विकट भंगी यत,
अन्धकारे छलनार भूमिका ताहार ।

यत बार भयेर मुखोस तार करेछि विश्वास,
तत बार हयेछे अनर्थ पराजय ।
एइ हा'र-जित खेला, जीवनेर मिथ्या ए कुहक,
शिशुकाल ह'ते विजड़ित पदे पदे एइ विभीषिका,
दुःखेर परिहासे भरा ।
भयेर विचित्र चलच्छवि—
मृत्युर निपुण शिल्प विकीर्ण आँधारे ।

SONG*

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

In front lies the ocean of peace.
Launch the boat, Helmsman.
You will be the comrade ever,
Take O take him in your lap,
In the path of the Infinite
will shine the *Dhruva-tara*.[1]

Giver of Freedom, your forgiveness, your mercy
Will be wealth inexhaustible in the eternal journey.
May the mortal bonds perish,
May the vast universe take him in its arms,
and may he know in his fearless heart
The Great Unknown.

गान

समुखे शान्ति-पारावार,
भासाओ तरणी, हे कर्णधार ।
तुमि हवे चिरसाथी.
लओ, लओ हे, क्रोड़ पाति,
असीमेर पथे ज्वलिवे
ज्योतिर ध्रुव तारका ।

मुक्तिदाता, तोमार क्षमा, तोमार दया,
हवे चिरपाथेय चिरयात्रार ।

हय येन मर्त्येर बन्धन क्षय,
विराट विश्व बाहु मेलि लय,
पाय अन्तरे निर्भय परिचय
महा अजानार ॥

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* **This song, which has been translated into English by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, was composed by the Poet on 3rd December, 1939 for a new stage version of *Dak-ghar* (The Post Office).** The song was, however, never used, and the Poet expressed the wish that it should be sung after his own death.

1. The bright Pole-star which in the Bengali word "*Dhruva*" carries the significance of steadfastness and unfailing guidance.

NOTES

The Objects of the Visva-Bharati

In the public press and at the numerous meetings held all over the country to express profound sorrow at the passing of Rabindranath Tagore, a desire, which we support with all our heart, has been expressed to raise funds to ensure the stablity and permanence of the Visva-Bharati, including all its departments and institutions and the different kinds of work it has been carrying on, as also to further develop the poet's "International University." At such a time it would not be considered superfluous to call attention to the objects of the Visva-Bharati, which are stated thus, in part, in its Memorandum of Association :

"III. The objects of the Visva-Bharati are :

"(1) To study the mind of Man in its realisation of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view.

"To bring into more intimate relation with one another, through patient study and research, the different cultures of the East on the basis of their underlying unity.

"To approach the West from the standpoint of such a unity of the life and thought of Asia.

"To seek to realize in a common fellowship of study the meeting of East and West, and thus ultimately to strengthen the fundamental conditions of world peace through the establishment of free communication of ideas between the two hemispheres.

"And with such ideal in view to provide at Santiniketan aforesaid a centre of culture where research into and study of the religion, literature, history, science and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian and other civilizations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity in externals which is necessary for true spiritual realisation, in amity, good fellowship and co-operation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonisms of race, nationality, creed or caste, and in the name of the One Supreme Being who is Shantam, Shivam, Advaitam."

The departments and institutions maintained by the Visva-Bharati and the different kinds of work done there will be found mentioned in our article on Rabindranath Tagore in this issue.

It is desirable that the objects of the Visva-Bharati as enunciated by its founder should be clearly understood and distinctly borne in mind by all who wish to ensure its stability and permanence.

Visva-Bharati Rural Reconstruction Department

The Rural Reconstruction Department of the Visva-Bharati has been located at Sriniketan, Sural, ever since it was started. Mr. and Mrs. L. K. Elmhirst have been for years helping to maintain it by an annual subsidy of more than Rs. 40,000 in round numbers. That is the main, if not the only appreciable source of its income. We the poet's countrymen have done nothing towards the materialization of his ideals comparable with what these two Western *bhaktas* have been doing quite unselfishly for years.

The Origin and Nucleus of the Visva-Bharati

Some four decades ago the Visva-Bharati originated under a different name. It began as a school known as Brahmacharya-āshrama at Santiniketan with a very small number of pupils. The poet's idea was that the pupils should live there in close and direct contact with nature, should receive an all-sided education in the open air and should find their education and every other normal experience joyous. Simplicity in externals should mark their lives, as the poet has always believed rightly that such simplicity in externals is necessary for true spiritual realisation. The other practices for daily and weekly spiritual contacts are also to be noted.

It is to be understood that any further and future development of the Visva-Bharati should be in consonance with the ideal with which the āshrama started.

The Suggestion of a Charter for the Visva-Bharati

The suggestion that the Visva-Bharati should be made a university by itself with a charter of its own, has been before the public for some months. It was made when the poet was still in our midst. He agreed to the carrying out of the proposal if possible. It was, of course, understood, that the Visva-Bharati should continue to pursue its own ideals in its own way as chalked out by him;—it was not to be overburdened with the rules and regulations of the existing Indian universities and thus directly or indirectly deflected from its course.

"Perpetuating Rabindranath Tagore's Memory"

In many of the meetings held for the expression of sorrow at the death of Rabindra-

nath Tagore resolutions have been passed for perpetuating his memory in a suitable manner. This desire of the country has been echoed in the press. Several concrete suggestions have been made, of which one is to name a building after the poet. Another is to take steps for placing on a sound basis the institutions at Santiniketan and Sriniketan for which the poet devoted his entire energy and his material and mental resources. We may remember in this connection the anxiety expressed in his letter to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of the latter's last visit to Santiniketan.

These are matters deserving of serious consideration, and we should like to make some suggestions, which individually each of us who feels a genuine reverence and love for the poet may, if he likes, adopt for giving expression to that feeling of reverence.

The poet himself has left behind, as a legacy to his nation and to the world at large, his most enduring monument. These are enshrined in his writings. It is for us to accept that gift. Therefore, each one of us, who can afford, should purchase his collected writings which are now being published by the Visva-Bharati, and every Library worth the name should have a set of this publication. A similar suggestion has also been made by no less a person than Mr. George Bernard Shaw. In an exclusive interview given by him on the 21st August he said,

"Sir William Rothenstein's portrait of Tagore should be hung in one of the British public libraries. Lectureships, hospital beds and the like will only make Tagore's name a pretext for cadging a present to ourselves.

"The disinterested alternative to a picture or a statue is an edition *de luxe* of Tagore's works to be presented to all great national libraries. The subscription list for the remaining copies would defray some of the cost."

This is a good suggestion in itself. But the Poet himself has observed in one of his humorous poems that books are often puchased but are not so often read and understood. For this purpose, it is desirable to establish Tagore Study Circles in places where a sufficient number of men wishing to join the Circle is available.

Another way in which all who sincerely believe in the poet's ideals, as embodied in the Visva-Bharati, can express their reverence is to become members of the Visva-Bharati. There are many people in this country who can easily afford to pay the annual subscription and, if a considerable portion of them lend their support to the Institution, the financial difficulties, which troubled the mind of the poet to the day of his death, may be removed.

Lastly, we should try to realise in our own individual lives the burning love for the country and the intense desire to improve the condition of the ignorant, ill-nourished and disease-striken masses, which find frequent expression in his writings and to which he tried to give a practical shape in the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan.

Each of us, if he is sincere and earnest, can do something for rural uplift. The manner in which such services should be rendered should be left to the circumstances in which each of us is placed. But we wish to bring to the notice of our countrymen a passage contained in a letter written by him on the 4th October, 1930, to the Editor of this journal when the poet was on the way to America after visiting Russia. "I am decidedly of the opinion," said he, "that the stupendous mass of suffering under which our country is being crushed has its foundation in want of education; the conflict between castes and creeds, our indolence and apathy in action, our want of resources, all these spring from want of education." By helping the spread of real education among the masses, we can prove our love and reverence for the Poet.

The Indian Education Department and the Visva-Bharati

The Education Department of the Government of India, with Mr. Sargent, the Educational Commissioner at its head, has very rightly contributed Rs. 25000 towards the upkeep of the Visva-Bharati. It is an All-India institution, drawing students of both sexes from different parts of India, and sometimes even from Ceylon and Java. We recall in this connection that when Kagawa, the great Japanese social worker, visited India, Mahatma Gandhi told him, "Santiniketan *is* India." It is to be hoped that the Government of India will make the grant a permanent recurring charge, and the Bengal Government will follow suit. Hitherto whatever help has been given by the Central or any Provincial Government has been given quite unconditionally. It is to be hoped that that policy will continue to be followed in the future also.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker and the Visva-Bharati

It is a happy circumstance that Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker is shortly to take charge of the Government of India's Education portfolio. He is one of the countless Indians who revere Rabindranath Tagore. He had the rare good

fortune to come in close contact with him on many occasions and to receive his blessings.

Praise of Rabindranath Tagore

Countless festive meetings were held in March and the following months this year all over the country, particularly in Bengal, to congratulate Rabindranath Tagore on his completing the 80th year of his life. The speakers at these meetings made eulogistic speeches mostly with reference to his work as a litterateur. The poems read at these meetings also referred mostly to his supreme achievement as an author. At some of the meetings over which we had the good fortune to preside, we dwelt on other sides of his personality as far as we have been able to understand him,—and we confess that, in spite of our half-a-century's privilege of acquaintance with him, we can claim a very very inadequate realisation of his personality. As regards his achievement as an author, we told the audience at some of these meetings quite frankly that very many among us Bengalis praise Rabindranath the poet, Rabindranath the story-teller, Rabindranath the dramatist, Rabindranath the novelist, Rabindranath the humorist, Rabindranath the essayist, Rabindranath the supreme song-maker, ... and boast of being fellow countrymen of his, though possessed of very little acquaintance with his works. We insisted, therefore, that *all praise of him should be informed praise*. We are glad to say that our remarks, wherever made, were taken in good part. In this hour of profound sorrow it may seem ungracious to repeat those remarks. But, though during the poet's life-time and still more when he is no longer with us in his mortal body, praise or blame could not add to or take away a bit from his achievement, it is necessary for our own good and in order that we may be sincere in all that we say, that all our praise of him should be informed praise. Therefore, we respectfully remind all our Bengali countrymen that we should read the literature created by him and also get acquainted with all his non-literary achievements.

As regards those Indians who are not Bengalis or who do not know Bengali, it would be foolish and absurd of us to make a grievance of their non-acquaintance with Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali works. We can only hope that if they are literate in English and if they praise him, their praise is the result of a study of his original works in English and the English translations of a few of his works. It may also be hoped that they have read the translations into their mother-tongues of those works of his which have been translated into them.

Translations of Tagore's Works In Different Indian Vernaculars

Probably there is no Indian vernacular with a literature of its own into which some work or other of Rabindranath Tagore has not been translated. In the case of each of these languages it would be desirable to draw up a list of Tagore's works translated into it.

Rabindranath's Works Translated Into Hindi

We understand that the works of Rabindranath Tagore mentioned below have been translated into Hindi. In most cases the names of the books are the same as in Bengali, but in some they have been changed or translated into Hindi :

अचलायतन ।	रवीन्द्र-कविता-कानन ।
आश्चर्य घटना ।	नटीकी पूजा ।
आँखकी किरकिरी ।	रवीन्द्र कथा कुंज ।
ईदका चाँद ।	राजारानी ।
कलरव ।	राजर्षि ।
कुमुदिनी ।	राजा और प्रजा ।
गल्पगुच्छ (चार भाग) ।	रूसकी चिट्ठी ।
गीताञ्जलि ।	विचित्र वधू-रहस्य ।
गोरा ।	विचित्र प्रबन्ध ।
घर और बाहर ।	व्यंग्यकौतुक ।
चार अध्याय ।	शिक्षा ।
चिरकुमार-सभा ।	शिक्षा कैसी हो ?
चित्रांगदा ।	षोडशी ।
जीवन-स्मृति ।	समाज ।
डाकघर।	विश्व-परिचय ।
प्राचीन साहित्य ।	स्वदेश ।
माली ।	साहित्य ।
मुकुट ।	हास्यकौतुक ।
मुक्तधारा ।	

Gujarati and Other Translations of Tagore's Works

It is probable that some works of Tagore have been translated into Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu and other vernaculars also. As regards Gujarati, Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, who has written two excellent volumes on its literature and has for more than three decades reviewed most Gujarati books worth notice, will be able to enlighten the public as to the works of Tagore translated into it. Gujarati

authors and publishers are noted for their enterprize. Mr. Jhaveri himself revered the Indian poet, sage and seer. He writes to us :

"We have lost in Tagore a world figure. I think in modern days none can come up to him in any part of the world, the reason being that the days of *rishis* like Vasishtha and Vishwāmitra are gone. I can think of no one, either in Europe or Asia, who even in medieval ages, leave alone modern times, could come up to him in culture, high ideals and noble achievements. To find any one to match him, we have to go back to our old and ancient sages like Vasishtha and others. He lived a noble life in the world as well as outside the world;—he was *grihastha* and *vānaprastha* both."

Tagore's Contributions to "The Modern Review"

We cordially thank the editor of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* for publishing in its beautiful and excellent *Tagore Birthday Number* a "List of Tagore's writings in *The Modern Review* (1910-1941)." The list fills thirteen columns of the Quarterly in small print, showing how numerous have been Rabindranath's contributions to our Review in translations from the Bengali originals into English or written by the author himself in English. From 1910 to 1941, no year has been without some contribution from him. In some years more than a dozen of his contributions have appeared in our monthly. Some of his greatest and largest works, like **Gora**, appeared serially in translation in *The Modern Review*. It is well known that in the original Bengali *Gorā* appeared in *Prabasi*.

Rabindranath's first writing to appear in *The Modern Review*, in translation, was a short story, entitled "Kshudhita Pāshān" in the Bengali original, the English version being named "The Hungry Stones." The translation, which Rabindranath himself praised as excellent, was done by Srijukta Pannalal Bose, then a junior professor of English in the Bangabasi College, Calcutta. The author afterwards entered the Bengali Provincial Judicial Service. He has acquired celebrity as the judge who disposed of what has become known as the Bhowal Sannyasi's case. His judgment in the case has stood the test of an appeal to the High Court. His translation of "Kshudhita Pāshān" was communicated to us by the late Professor Lalit Kumar Banerji of the Bangabasi College.

Some "Autograph" Opinions of Rabindranath Tagore

There is no collection of Tagore's short poems, written by him in Autograph books, published in book form. So numerous are the persons who have had the joy and privilege of having such compositions in their autograph books, that perhaps there cannot be an exhaustive collection of them, however desirable it may be. A few have appeared in the Bengali monthly, *Prabāsī*.

Of the autograph books bearing the poet's signature we remember one which contained some printed questions meant to be answered by those whose signatures are to be obtained. One who was then a pupil in the poet's school at Santiniketan had the privilege of getting the questions answered by him. He answered two of the questions in a playful mood. As far as we can now remember, these questions and their playful answers were :

"What is your greatest virtue ?
Inconsistency.
What is your greatest defect ?
Inconsistency."

The other questions were answered seriously. Three of these we remember. They are as follows :

"Who is the greatest poet ? There is no greatest poet.
"Who is the greatest king ? The people.
"Who is your hero ? Rammohun Roy."

Rabindranath Tagore's Last Poems

The original Bengali poem which has been translated by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty under the title "Death," was printed by a Bengali daily as the last poem composed by Rabindranath Tagore. Its information was not correct. The other poem of which we print a translation on the first page of this issue, was really the last dictated by the poet.

As regards the song, it was, as stated in the footnote at the bottom of its translation, composed by the poet on the 3rd December, 1939, for a new stage version of the play "Dāk Ghar" ("The Post Office") to be sung after the death of its boy-hero, Amal. It was, however, never used for that purpose; and the poet expressed the wish that it should be sung after his own death. That wish has been obeyed, the song having been sung at the funeral and memorial services at Santiniketan, at the memorial service in the Calcutta Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Mandir on the 24th August last (broadcasted by the All-India Radio), and at the memorial services in many other places.

It is to be regretted that the English translation of the song which the press received through news agencies did not adhere to the original but seemed to echo an English poem,

which it does not. We print elsewhere Dr. Amiya Chakravarty's close and accurate translation.

The original Bengali versions, in Nagari characters, of the two poems and the song are also printed in this issue.

Whole Town Participating in Tagore Memorial Service

It is highly gratifying to all who revered and loved Rabindranath Tagore to read the accounts of the numerous meetings held in the many towns and villages of India to honour the memory of the Poet-seer. The solemn observances at the small town of Burnpur deserve mention because of the musical processions and other special features.

The Burnpur function was organised under the joint auspices of the Hirapur Indian Association and Agamani Sahitya Sangha, Burnpur. A procession with one of the songs of the poet paraded the streets of the town on the early morning of Sunday and finally reached the Hirapur Indian Association Hall, where first of all flowers were offered by all on the Poet's portrait beautifully decorated with the favourite flowers of the Poet. Then Vedic hymns were recited by Messrs. A. P. Sen and A. Chatterjee and then ceremony began with a favourite song of the poet, sung by Mr Asoke Chatterjee. A number of *mantras* from *Veda* and *Upanishad* were recited by Sjs Asoke Chatterjee, A. P. Sen, Umapati Mitter, Kavyatirtha and Miss Santa Sen. Sj. K. P. Roy Chowdhury and Dr. B. K. Ghosh read two articles of Dr. Tagore written on the subject of *Death* and then a number of songs, which were very favourite to the Poet, were nicely sung.

A general meeting was held there and presided over by Mr. B. C. Gupta, I.E.S. (Retd). A number of speakers including Messrs. Asoke Chatterjee, A. C. Banerjee, B. N. Bhattacharjee, S. K. Rae, P. K. Ghosh, R. L. Routh, S. B. Mukherjee, B. K. Ghosh, A. N. Mukherjee and P. N. Mukherjee delivered lectures. Mr. U. P. Mitter read a poem. Lastly, the President in a neat little speech mentioned the versatility of Rabindranath's genius and paid homage to the great departed soul on behalf of all.

On Monday morning, the H. E. School, Girls' School and the Primary School of Burnpur jointly held one procession and then a meeting in the H. E. School premises. There also tributes were paid by the teachers and students to the memory of the great poet.—*H. S.*

Maharashtra and Rabindranath

The Poona meeting in honour of Rabindranath reminds us of his famous inspiring poem "Jayatu Shivaji."

Referring to Tagore's political activities, Mr. Kelkar narrated how Tilak and Besant tried to elect him President of the Delhi Congress in 1918 and how the Poet politely declined the honour, stating that he did not feel at home before big gathering.

Mr. Kelkar narrated from personal information that Tilak offered Tagore Rs. 50,000 from his own Jubilee Fund for undertaking a lecturing tour in America, but owing to Tagore's domestic difficulties and the unfriendly attitude of the Government the proposal fell through. Tagore, however, wrote a letter to President Wilson on behalf of India.

Concluding, Mr. Kelkar praised his great literature as it impressed the greatness of India's learning and culture all over the world.

Seconding the resolution, Dr. R. P. Paranjapye said that circulating Tagore literature throughout the world and supporting the Visva-Bharati would be fitting memorials of the Poet.

Kaka Kalelkar giving an example of the Poet's patriotism, said that he refused the invitation to tour Canada as Indian labour was banned in that country.

He appealed to Maharashtrians to study Bengali and read Tagore's works in original as it is impossible to convey its beauty in any translation.

Tagore Bird Sanctuary Suggested As A Memorial

Without intending to divert attention in the least from the central object of placing the Visva-Bharati on a stable basis, we humbly suggest that a Bird Sanctuary would be a fitting memorial to a bird-lover like Rabindranath. He loved to feed birds and note their amusing, playful and, in some cases, cunning ways. There may be such sanctuaries in many places, besides one at Santiniketan.

Area of War Extending

The area of the war has been extending. What a loss to Humanity it is that at this juncture the mighty voice of Rabindranath is hushed in death ! There is no one to take his place.

Mahatma Gandhi on the Indo-Burma Agreement

The opinion that the Indo-Burma Agreement is an undeserved slur both on India and Burma and that he refuses to believe that it was made in response to a vital cry from the great Burmese nation has been expressed by Mahatma Gandhi in a statement issued from Wardha on the 24th August last.

Mahatma Gandhi says that Indians in Burma and Burmans in India can never be foreigners in the same sense as people from the West. "This Agreement," he says, "must be undone inasmuch as it breaks every canon of international propriety."

The following is the full text of the statement :

Being vitally connected with immigration problems and having been in South Africa for twenty years, I am naturally interested in the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement. It has caused me deep pain, I have collected as much literature as I could on the subject. I have studied as much of it as was necessary to enable me to form an opinion and as was possible during the very limited time at my disposal.

UNHAPPY AGREEMENT

My study has led me to the conclusion that it is an unhappy agreement. It is panicky and penal. In the papers, I find no reason to warrant any panic nor

do I find any warrant for the severe punishment meted out to the Indians, resident in Burma. The burden of proving the right to remain in Burma has, in every case, been thrown on the Indian resident. One would have thought that the least that should have been done was to have automatically recognised as fully domiciled every Indian found in Burma on the date of promulgation of the Agreement. I am acquainted with the immigration laws of South Africa and other countries. In every case, the restrictions have been imposed by legislation and after fairly full opportunity being given for the expression of public opinion. Legislation has been preceded by considerable lapse of time for the ventilation of views on the mere proposal for legislation.

Secrecy and Mystery Surrounds Agreement

In this case secrecy and mystery have surrounded the Agreement which has been sprung upon an unsuspecting public. The whole thing appears still more hideous, when we recall the fact that only a few years ago Burma was an integral part of India. Does the partition make India a leper country, the presence of whose inhabitants must carry heavy penalties, including the tickets of leave, such as criminals carry? They do not cease to be less offensive, because they bear the inoffensive name of passports and permits. I should be prepared to understand the validity of the permit and passport system, when the necessity is clearly established. I must refuse to believe that this agreement is in response to a vital cry from the great Burmese nation, with which the people of India never had any quarrel and with which India had enjoyed cultural contact long before the advent of the foreigners from the West. We can never be in Burma or the Burmans in India foreigners in the same sense as people from the West. There has been free commerce and emigration to Burma for hundreds of years.

This drastic agreement is an undeserved slur both on India and Burma. This agreement is a brutal reminder that both India and Burma are under the British heel and that the Government of India Act and the Government of Burma Act give no real freedom to the respective peoples. They give no scope for full growth to us. I fear that this statement of mine will not please the Premier of Burma, who may think that the Agreement is a popular Act. He will soon discover the error, if he has not already, that he has not served his people, but that he had played himself into the hands of those, who would want to exploit Burma to the exclusion of any rivals. I must admit that Indians have been partners with the westerners in the exploitation of Burma, but with this fundamental difference that the westerner went to Burma with his gun while the Indian went on sufferance as he has always done in every part of the world.

We Cannot Exist without Burmese Goodwill

We cannot exist in Burma for one single day without Burmese goodwill. I would plead with the Burmese Ministers and the Burmese people that they should wait for the regulation of immigration till both of us are free and independent for such regulation. I flatter myself with the belief that when that happy day arrives, as it must, such matters will regulate themselves for we shall never want to impose our nationals on one another.

Agreement Must Be Undone

But I have strayed. My purpose just now is to show that this Agreement must be undone inasmuch as it breaks every canon of international propriety. It becomes less defensible in that an Indian, instead of an Englishman, was sent to negotiate the Agreement. It is an old and familiar trick, that of putting up an Indian to perform a disagreeable task. Nor is it relevant that the Agreement had the approval of local Indian opinion. For the Agreement is an insult to the whole nation, not merely to the particular individuals, whose material interests lie in Burma. But even if it was relevant there should be evidence to show the volume and character of that opinion.

When I come to examine the Baxter Report, which became the prelude to the Agreement, it contains nothing to justify the Agreement. This was the reference made to Mr. Baxter:

"The enquiry will be directed to ascertaining—

"(1) The volume of Indian immigration;

"(2) To what extent it is seasonal and temporary and to what extent permanent;

"(3) In what occupations Indians are mainly employed and the extent to which they are unemployed or under employed;

"(4) Whether in such employment Indians either have displaced Burmans or could be replaced by Burmans, due regard being paid to both the previous history of such occupations and their economic requirements; and

"(5) Whether in the light of the statistics obtained and other relevant factors any system of equating the supply of Indian unskilled labour to Burman requirements is needed."

Fact Finding Commission

Thus it was purely a fact finding commission. Here is the fact found by the Commission:

"There is no evidence of any kind to suggest that Indians have displaced Burmans from employment which they had previously obtained. Indian labour in the past has been supplementary rather than alternative to Burmese labour."

That surely does not justify the restrictions imposed by the Agreement on the movement of Indians in Burma. The recommendations made in the report appear to me to be in excess of the reference and therefore of no effect. Add to this the fact that the opinion of the assessors finds no mention in the report. It may not have weighed with the Commissioner, but surely it should have found mention in the report.

Now let me, for a moment, examine pertinent sections of the Act. Here they are:

Section 44 (3) of the Government of Burma Act, 1935, says: "The provisions of sub-section (2) of this section shall apply in relation to British Subjects domiciled in India and subjects of an Indian State as they apply in relation to British Subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, but with the substitution in the proviso to the said sub-section for references to the United Kingdom of references to British India or, as the case may be, that Indian State:

"Provided that nothing in this sub-section shall affect any restriction lawfully imposed on the right of entry into Burma of persons who are British Subjects domiciled in India or subjects of any Indian State, or any restriction lawfully imposed as a condition of allowing any such person to enter Burma."

Section 138, of the same Act: "His Majesty may by Order-in-Council direct that, during such period as may be specified in the order, immigration into Burma from India shall be subject to such restrictions as may be specified in the order (being such restrictions as may have been mutually agreed before the commencement of this Act between the Governor of Burma-in-Council and the Governor-General of India-in-Council and approved by the Secretary of State, or in default of agreement as may have been prescribed by the Secre-

tary of State), and no other restrictions. Provided that any such order may be varied by a subsequent Order-in-Council in such manner as appears to His Majesty necessary to give effect to any agreement in that behalf hereafter the commencement of this Act by the Governor with the Governor-General of India or the Governor-General of India-in-Council."

The first read as a whole does not appear to contemplate any interference with the present Indian population. The second is decisive. According to this section restriction by agreement cannot be imposed on the present Indian settlers.

SECRETARY OF STATE SHOULD WITHHOLD ASSENT

I have no doubt whatsoever that the Secretary of State for India should not pass the Order-in-Council and should withhold his assent to the Agreement. Any restriction should be a matter for legislation by the Burmese Assembly in consultation with and co-operation of the Government of India.

It is pertinent to the examination of the Agreement to know what declarations were made by His Majesty's Ministers when the Burma Act was passed. Here is the assurance of Sir Thomas Inskip, the then Minister for Co-ordination and Defence on the subject :

"Nobody wants to discriminate between British Subjects domiciled in India or Indian States Subjects when they go to Burma, any more than one wants to discriminate between British when they go to British India."

Mr. Butler (then Under-Secretary of State for India) also stated in the House of Commons :

"In connection with unskilled Indian labour, the Governor of Burma is asked to confer with the Governor-General with a view to regulating the immigration of unskilled labour into Burma. The reason we cannot make a simple rule is that we have to make this differentiation in regard to unskilled labour while at the same time we do not want to stop the free entry of Indians in general."

Such declarations may have no validity in the interpretation of the Act in a court of law. But politically considered they have or should have the effect of promissory notes. The agreement is a clear breach of the declarations quoted by me. I am glad that responsible Indian public opinion is being expressed in unmistakable terms in condemnation of the agreement.—*A. P. I.*

Rabindranath As Physician And Nurse

Not many know that Rabindranath Tagore had made an extensive and serious study of homœopathy and latterly used biochemic remedies. He used to say, "I do not charge any fees, hence my fame and practice have not spread"! I have seen a homœopathic encyclopædia of several volumes belonging to him which he presented to a former teacher of his school. Many passages in it are underlined and many pages have marginal notes in his handwriting, showing that he had studied even these unpoetic big volumes. However, this is only introductory to what I am going to write.

There is a small Bengali monthly named "Rup O Reeti" in a recent number of which appeared a short article with the caption "A Discovery" about Rabindranath, by a distinguished Bengali litterateur, Sj. Pramatha Chaudhury, who generally writes under the penname of "Birbal". Therein he says that many years ago he had occasion to go to Shelidah, where the Tagores had a residence, in the company of the late Manilal Ganguli, another Bengali author. On the way from Sealdah Manilal told him that at Shelidah in the Tagores' mansion a man had had an attack of cholera, and Rabindranath had sent a telegram to communicate the news to Sj. Chaudhury. On being informed of this the latter was greatly perturbed; for, he confesses, he is mightily afraid of small-pox and cholera.

When he reached Shelidah he found Rabindranath standing in the verandah of the house.

"Seeing me he asked, 'Didn't you get the news of this place in my telegram?' I said, 'I got it in the train half-way between Calcutta and this place.' He said, 'The man who had got an attack of cholera died here this morning. He was an unknown Hindusthani wayfarer whom I found lying alone cholera-stricken on the public road. I picked him up and brought him to this house. I nursed him for two days and gave him homœopathic medicine, but could not save his life.'"

Sj. Pramatha Chaudhury continues,

"I had my mid-day meal there in great fear. Rabindranath then told me, 'Pramatha, it would not do for you to stay in this house... I am not afraid; but even if you are not afraid, your wife will be. We will go to the house-boat in the afternoon.'

"I agreed to this proposal......

"I discovered at this time that he was in his mind *mrityunjaya* ('conqueror of death'), which we are not."

The wonderfully resplendent personality of Rabindranath was a unique gem of innumerable facets.

He not only wrote poems but lived a life which was a great poem.

A Board To Compile Tagore's Messages, Etc.

There is, we understand, a movement on foot to compile the messages, utterances, teachings, etc., of Rabindranath Tagore and publish them in Hindustani and English. The volume may be translated afterwards into Bengali and other languages of India. The work is proposed to be done by a Board with Sir S. Radhakrishnan as chairman and with Mr. Zakir Husain, Shrimati Sophia Wadia, Shrimati Sarojini Naidu and others as its members.

Such a compilation would be very useful.

But in our opinion the original compilation should be in Bengali. For with the exception of a very few books like *Nationalism*, *The Religion of Man*, ... all the works of Rabindranath Tagore were originally composed in Bengali, and only a small proportion of them has been translated into English. All the most profound and direct outpourings of his soul are in Bengali—particularly his devotional and patriotic songs (of which there are many hundreds), many of his lyrics, his spiritual discourses brought together in the two volumes entitled *Santiniketan*, his essays in *Dharma*, etc. Most of his valuable and early addresses, and most of the latest, too, are in Bengali. It is only messages sent to the papers through news agencies and his speeches in foreign countries that were originally composed in English. But they are a very small part of what he has written and said. To establish direct intimate contact with the personality and soul of Rabindranath one should have recourse to what he has said in his mother-tongue.

For this reason the original compilation should be in Bengali. This may be translated afterwards into the other languages desired.

To facilitate the work of compilation it is indispensably necessary to secure the consent of Sj. Rathindranath Tagore to work as a member of the Board.

Among elderly persons who have had close contact with Rabindranath for decades Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhusekhar Sastri and Pandit Kshitimohan Sen Sastri should be prevailed upon to work as members of the Board. Among younger persons Professor Dr. Amiya Chakravarty and Professor Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis should be persuaded to join the Board. The inclusion of Professor Charu Chandra Bhattacharya, secretary to the Visva-Bharati Publication Board, would be very desirable.

We have ventured to make these suggestions on the assumption that the movement that we have referred to will take a concrete form and that its object is to get at and make available to the public the deepest and richest outpourings of Rabindranah Tagore's soul.

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das's Article

Dr. Rajani Kanta Das's article on the "Principles of International Labour Legislation," published in the present issue of *The Modern Review*, is a very valuable paper on that subject. It was delivered originally as a Special Readership Lecture of the Calcutta University and is now published in full for the first time. We are glad that the Calcutta University availed itself of his temporary stay in Calcutta to make at least a small part of his valuable experience gained as an officer of the International Labour Office at Geneva available to the public.

Rumoured Compromise on Bengal Secondary Education Bill

There is a rumour that a compromise has been or is about to be arrived at between the Opposition and the Ministry on the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. We do not know whether the rumour is true. Assuming that it is true, we should like to suggest that the lines and terms of the compromise be made available to the public,—at any rate to those most interested, such as the managers of private and aided schools, the Bengal Education Council, etc., in order that they may be discussed.

We may at once repeat that we are against all educational arrangements which would recognize communal divisions in schools. We think that in schools generally, at any rate in schools maintained by the State or by such public bodies as District Boards and Municipalities, there should be no religious and theological instruction and no ritual or ceremonial observances connected with any sect.

Whatever the members of different political parties in India may think of Japan's militarism and imperialism, all Indians are agreed in their admiration of the national solidarity of the Japanese. We cannot here describe and discuss all the factors in the national life of Japan which lie at the root of Japanese national solidarity and have contributed to its growth and development. But we may mention here that there is nothing in the Japanese educational system which may lead the pupils and students of Japan to think and feel that there are groups within groups among them and which may interfere with the feeling of national solidarity in their minds.

Accordingly, as *The Japan Year Book* says:

> **"Religion is, on principle, excluded from the educational agenda of schools. In all schools established by the Government and local public bodies, and in private schools whose curricula are regulated by laws and ordinances, it is forbidden to give religious instruction or to hold religious ceremonies either in or out of the regular curricula."**

From this rigorous exclusion of religion from schools (and also, of course, from Universities) it must not be inferred that the Japanese are an irreligious or non-religious people. On the contrary, they are a deeply religious people in their own way. There are arrangements for ministering to the religious and spiritual needs

of the people, and these are entirely unconnected with the educational system.

Boys and girls grow up in the belief that they are all Japanese above all. They may be Shintoists, Buddhists, Confucians, or Christians at home, but in the educational institutions they are Japanese pure and simple.

To this circumstance is due to no small extent the solidarity of the Japanese people.

The exclusion of religious instruction from schools does not imply that Japanese children are allowed to grow up without any ethical ideas. Elementary schools "give children the rudiments of moral education especially adapted to make of them good members of the community." In the higher grade elementary schools, "The subjects taught are morals, Japanese language arithmetic, Japanese history, geography, science drawing, singing, sewing (for girls only) and gymnastics."

If, following the Japanese practice, religious instruction be excluded from our schools, there need not be any division of them into maktabs and madrasas and general schools. Muslims and Hindus and others may make their own arrangements (entirely unconnected with the schools) for the religious instruction of the children of their respective sects.

Unless this is done, one of the greatest obstacles to the growth of national solidarity in our midst will not be removed. When we were school boys (I received my school education in a Government School) there was no religious instruction in schools. Hindu boys and Muslim boys at that time fraternized and made friends among themselves. The absence of religious instruction in schools did not make us irreligious.

One of the reasons why for years, if not for decades past Government has encouraged religious education in our schools is that this so-called religious instruction serves to keep boys and girls in separate groups according to the *professed* creed of their parents, preventing the growth of national unity, and thus promotes the imperial interests of Britain.

The least recognition of communal divisions in the constitution of the Secondary Education Board and its committees is bound to be detrimental to the interests of the nation both educationally and politically. The sole qualification for membership of the Board and of its committees should be educational and the interest a person has taken in the spread and improvement of education as evidenced by the time, energy and money he has devoted to those objects. The right of the managers and teachers of schools to have a voice in the administration of educational affairs should be fully recognized in the formation of the Board.

The Board, constituted on an educational and entirely non-communal basis, should be an autonomous body and should elect its own President. (27th August, 1941.)

Since the above was written the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 27th August last have appeared in the press. The following is the concluding part of the proceedings:

After the adjournment, the Chief Minister, Mr. Huq announced that an agreement had been arrived at as a result of discussion between the leaders of the different groups in the Opposition and the Government on the following lines:

(1) The Special Committee on the Secondary Education Bill will have time till Sunday next to conclude the deliberations.

(2) Even if the Special Committee cannot agree on some points the Government will be at liberty to proceed with the bill on and from Monday next. The leaders of the Opposition do not object to such a procedure.

(3) If there is a complete agreement on the measure, the Chief Minister will decide as to the procedure to be adopted for consideration of such an agreed measure during the current session of the Assembly.

Mr Sarat Chandra Bose said that on behalf of the Opposition and with the consent of the leaders of the groups constituting the Opposition he had come to the agreement which had just now been read out by the Chief Minister and Minister for Education. He could assure the House that they should use all their endeavours and summon all their resources in order to arrive at a fair and just agreement on the matters which were comprised within the Secondary Education Bill.

SPEAKER'S REMARK

The Speaker, Sir Azizul Haque remarked that he liked to add a few words while adjourning the discussion on the Secondary Education Bill till Monday next. He fully agreed with what Mr. Bose had stated in agreeing to the suggestion which had been arrived at as a result of discussion among the Government and other groups constituting the Opposition. The Speaker not only agreed with that but he honestly hoped that if today the problem could be solved in whatever manner it might be possible by an agreement, it would solve the greatest problem that was for the time being baffling India and was standing in the way of their satisfactory progress. He believed that whatever solution might be chalked out today would be followed by every other province in India and he hoped that all sections and parties in the House would do their best to arrive at an agreement.

We cannot say that we either share or do not share the Speaker's belief "that *whatever* solution might be chalked out today would be followed by every other province in India." The reception which the 'solution' will receive, will depend on its character.

It may be natural for persons who are in the thick of a fight to patch up some kind of an agreement to put an end to present worries. But such patched-up agreements more often than

not give rise to greater troubles in the future. And then the agreements are regretted. It is to be hoped that the Opposition will not agree to any 'solution' for which they may have to rue the day of the agreement as Nationalists rue the day when the Lucknow Pact was patched up. If there be the least compromise with communalism, the day of reckoning is sure to come, and then Nationalists will have to observe, "Agree in haste and repent at leisure." (28th August, 1941.)

Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray "Jayanti"

On the 2nd August last Acharya Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray completed eighty years of his life, spent in the acquisition and spread of knowledge and in the service of his country and humanity in diverse ways. The occasion was celebrated in a befitting manner in Calcutta and in some other places, too.

In Calcutta the meeting held in the Senate House to congratulate him and to show how the people love and honour him, was presided over by Sir M. N. Mukherji, an ex-student of his. Numerous addresses were read by various academic, scientific and other bodies. The garlands meant for him were so many that they had to be kept piled up before him on a table. The number of addresses being large, many were taken as read. The president made a feeling speech in which his reverence for his *guru* was evident throughout. Acharya Ray made a brief speech in reply to all the addresses. He said in conclusion that even after his death he would continue to live in the lives of those who would carry on the fight against injustice, ignorance, oppression, bondage and human misery in all its forms.

Throughout his long and active career Acharya Ray has served India in all directions. He has been a great teacher and inspired others to be teachers. He has done original work in science and taught and inspired others to carry on scientific research. By his teaching and example he has been the father of a band of chemical workers in India. By writing a history of Hindu chemistry and by securing the collaboration of the late Sir B. N. Seal in the work, he has made known to the world the achievement of our ancestors in this branch of science. His energy has not been confined to the promotion of the knowledge of and research in pure science alone. He has applied that knowledge for the utilization of the natural resources of the country for adding to the wealth of the country and reducing its poverty. With the collaboration of some friends he brought into existence the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd. In other industrial fields, too, such as in the establishment of cotton mills, his teaching and example have borne fruit.

The student world owes him a debt of gratitude immense not only because he has been a great teacher, but also because he has devoted a considerable portion of his income to helping numerous poor students to meet their expenses. After retiring from Government service as professor of chemistry in the Presidency College, he filled the principal chair of chemistry in the University College of Science for years, but did not draw his salary. It was donated to the University for the promotion of research. He has helped in the foundation of a college in his native district and of many schools. He helps various educational bodies with donations and subscriptions.

He is a great philanthropist. The Sankat Trān Samiti of which he has been the president since its foundation has given relief to numerous poor people rendered destitute and homeless by floods or on the verge of starvation on account of famine. One method of this Samiti of giving relief consisted in supplying poor villagers with spinning wheels and cotton and paying them for the yarn spun by them. In this way he has promoted the production of yarn and khadi.

Throughout life he has been an embodiment of the simple life combined with the highest thought and ideals. His wardrobe, if that name can be given to it, and the furniture, or rather the absence of furniture, in the single room he occupies in the Science College would not be envied even by poor students. He has led a bachelor's life throughout.

The lot of oppressed and helpless women has evoked warm and active sympathy in his feeling heart. He is the president of the Nari-kalyān Ashram.

Unlike some scientists, he is not a mere man of science. He keeps up his literary studies even at this advanced age. Only the other day, he contributed a series of learned articles on Shakespeare to *The Calcutta Review*. His autobiography has earned fame for him as a litterateur. While a student in Edinburgh he wrote a book on British rule in India which would do credit to research scholars in history. He is a non-professional journalist of no mean order.

He knows the literature of his mother tongue and has himself added to it by writing essays and some scientific treatises, one being an introduction to zoology.

Although a Government pensioner, he has

been quite outspoken in his political views and has presided over many political meetings, delivering well-informed and telling speeches. Only a few days ago he opened the Anti-Communal "Award" Day meeting in Calcutta with a fine characteristic speech.

Among some people there is a curious superstition that scientists must be atheists or sceptics. Acharya Ray is a staunch believer in God. He is at present the president of the Sadharan Brāhma Samaj.

Anti-Communal "Award" Day in Calcutta

The day in August years ago when the British Government announced its Communal Decision, deliberately miscalled the Communal "Award," was an evil day not only for India but for Britain as well. It was an evil day for India, for so long as it remains in force, there cannot be any unity and peace between the different communities in the country. It was an evil day for Britain, for so long as the Decision is not withdrawn there cannot be any real friendship between Britain and this country which is the home of one-fifth of the human race. Britain has been compelled to seek and accept the friendship even of her century-long suspected rival Russia, she has been dancing attendance with a beggar's bowl in hand at the door of America, but in her imperialist pride she would not do what alone can secure for her the friendship of India, whom she has deeply injured and would not allow to be free.

An appeal to all sections of the people to continue their determined fight against the so-called Communal "Award" was made by several speakers at a mammoth public meeting held at the Calcutta University Institute Hall on Sunday the 24th August last. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee presided at the meeting which was held in observance of the Anti-Communal Award Day.

The speakers emphasised that the basic principles of the so-called Award went against the foundations of a free, happy and united India and as such its continuation would mean perpetuation of India's bondage.

Acharya Prophulla Chandra Ray, who opened the meeting, observed that such a pernicious decision as the Communal "Award" which had been thrust on a conquered people by the conqueror, found few parallels in history.

The meeting was addressed by Sj. Hemendraprasad Ghosh, Sjt. Akhil Chandra Datta, Sjt. N. C. Chatterjee and Sjt. Charuchandra Ray. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee made a telling speech with his usual eloquence, concluding with the peroration :

> I feel convinced that the wrongs done to us will not be undone by way of favour or mercy coming from the British Government. We have put forward our demands. We have asked for justice and fairplay and for no favour. Our aim is not the consolidation of Hindu strength, merely for the advancement of Hindu or sectional interests. We are genuinely anxious to establish the correct basis for an Indian nationhood. We ask for the co-operation of all nationalist forces in the country, Hindu, Mussalman or Christian. If other communities join us, we shall feel cheered by their support. But what I want to impress upon my countrymen is that a policy of appeasement of reactionary factors that are anti-national will never further the cause of India's freedom. Let Hindus understand that it is not their future alone which is at stake, but if they go down Indian freedom itself will recede to the background. Our strength lies in unity and determination preparing ourselves for long-continued struggle and sacrifice.

Sjt. K. M. Munshi's "Akhand Bharat" Campaign

We are in entire sympathy with Sjt. K. M. Munshi's Akhand Bharat campaign If India were partitioned, it could neither become nor remain free, and would be destined to remain in bondage for an indefinitely long period. No community, however favoured by the British masters of the country, can be as enlightened, prosperous and strong, as it can be in free India. What is more, no community can hold its head high as all self-respecting communities ought to desire to, so long as India grovels in the dust under the heels of Britain.

In the course of his tour in Bengal, Bihar, and the United Provinces, Sjt. Munshi addressed an overcrowded meeting in the Calcutta University Institute Hall on the 21st August last, Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee presiding.

"The idea of Pakistan was not that where the Muslims were in a majority they should enjoy autonomy. It is not so simple as that. The whole idea behind the scheme of Pakistan was to reduce the Hindu majority into a helpless statutory minority," observed Mr. K. M. Munshi. The hall was packed to its utmost capacity. Among the many prominent persons present was Syed Nausher Ali, ex-Minister, Bengal.

Mr. Munshi appealed to the people to fight the menace of Pakistan and to preserve the integrity of India and pointed out that it was as much to the interest of any other community as to that of the Hindus to see that India was not divided into warring camps.

> It was a mistake to imagine that Pakistan had been a cry only restricted to the disruptionists. It had gone down to the Muslim masses as an anti-Hindu warcry. It would be a mistake to think that the cry of the Pakistan would disappear. They had to fight it.

Not only the Hindus, but the nationalist Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, who wanted to live in this country as a free nation would have to fight it. The Muslim League had introduced a poison into the system of this country which no amount of aerobatic feats could destroy. This was a serious position and they had to consider it. The poison had gone deeper into the heart of many people and unless they stood up in time and fought it, India would not be a place worth living for any decent and self-respecting man.

Dr. Syamaprosad Mookerjee emphasised that all political parties which believed in the indivisibility of India should unite on a common platform to fight the menace of Pakistan.

Dr. Mookerjee also referred to the new scheme of World Peace and Order drawn by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. But he would like to ask where India was in that picture? There was talk of securing order and freedom which would enable all peoples in this earth to shape their destinies in a manner which they would think expedient and desirable in their own interests. But if that was the purpose, then why did they not start with India here and now, giving her freedom which was her birth-right? But the British Government would not do that, because they were not prepared to part with power. On the other hand, they would do everything that was possible for the purpose of dividing the nationalist elements in this country and dividing the various communities which had for centuries lived in this country.

Sj. N. C. Chatterjee appealed to Mr. Munshi to convene an all-India Conference of all men who wanted unity of India on this plaform of Akhand Hindustan.

He said that they fought the reactionary attempts to vivisect Mother Bengal and they were determined not to allow Mother India to be vivisected.

Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, ex-Minister of the Punjab, said that it was the unity of India which had brought them together there and he hoped that the whole of India would be united on this platform and that India must not be divided as long as one single son of India was there to defend her unity.

He said that undivided India would guarantee four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom from fear and freedom from want. Undivided India, he said, would afford equal opportunities to all in economic, social and cultural spheres. The Sikhs, he said, were again prepared to stand as the sentinels at the gate of India as they had done in the past.

The Congress has declared war against social "untouchability." But all political parties in India are suffering from the curse of political "untouchability." The result was that, though all nationalists in India are at heart entirely against dividing India and want to live in a free and united India, Congressmen and members of the Forward Bloc did not attend the meeting held to hear Mr. Munshi, because perhaps in their eyes he has become a political pariah.

What a pity.

Bengal Krishak Praja Party's Strong Opposition to Pakistan Scheme

An enquiry as to whether it is possible to have some kind of platform in Bengal, to be devoted to consolidating public opinion against "the attempt to divide India," was made by Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. Syed Habibur Rahman President of the All-Bengal Krishak Proja Party and of All-Bengal Bengalee Muslims' Association.

Replying to Mr. Munshi, Mr. Rahman extends his fullest support to the former's proposal and suggests that it is most essential in the interest of the nation that "we, all Indian nationalist Muslims, belonging to the Congress, the All-Bengal Krishak Proja Party, Majlis-i-Ahrar, the Jamdat-u-Momins, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, etc., must be mobilised and harnessed into one powerful All-India United Muslim Natonialist Party having its branches in all the provinces. In the same way all the Nationalist Hindus should be marshalled into one powerful All-India United Hindu Nationalist Party. When these two Hindu and Muslim organisations have been formed, let us organise an Indian Hindu-Muslim United Front, and an Indian Communal Peace Mission with their branches all over the country so as to carry on a joint programme for the purpose of reaching the goal of independence."

Continuing Mr. Syed Habibur Rahaman suggested that these two parallel nationalist organisations of Hindus and Muslims should owe their allegiance to the Indian National Congress under the undisputed leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. Amery and Muslim League Disciplinary Action

The Mussalman chief ministers of Bengal, the Panjab, Assam and Sindh were invited by the Government to join the National Defence Council and they did so accordingly. At this the Muslim League or Mr. M. A. Jinnah (the two being identical!) took offence, as these premiers, being members of the Muslim League, were bound to obtain the permission of the League or Mr. Jinnah before accepting seats in the Council but had not done so. As the result of the League's or Mr. Jinnah's displeasure, the offending premiers were called upon by the League Working Committee or Mr. Jinnah to give up their seats in the Council. The premiers of the Panjab and Assam have obeyed Mr. Jinnah or the League, and the Bengal premier Mr. Fazlul Huq has been given ten days' time to consider his position. (28. 8. 1941.)

By resigning their seats in the National Defence Council, which they had accepted, the Panjab and Assam premiers have flouted and insulted the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India and have flattered the vanity of Mr. Jinnah. When the Congress ministries resigned under instructions from the Congress High Command, we do not know whether the British

Government were pleased or displeased. But Mr. Amery observed in a recent statement that India was unfit for democratic government because the Ministers as also the members of legislatures belonging to the Congress party obeyed an outside authority (namely, the Congress High Command) but did not consult their constituencies. Now, the same thing has happened with regard to the premiers who are members of the Muslim League;—they have obeyed an outside authority, namely, the Muslim League Working Committee or Mr. Jinnah. When the Congress was concerned the British Lion roared. When the Muslim League is concerned, the roar has taken the form of a *communique* which is reproduced below.

SIMLA, Aug. 27.

"Attention has been drawn to the recent proceedings of the Working Committee of the Muslim League and to the statement which has been issued by the Premier of the Punjab consequent on his resignation from the National Defence Council.

"In view of the statements which have been made on this important matter *it seems desirable to make it clear in the first place that the Premiers of Assam, Bengal, Punjab and Sind were invited to serve on the National Defence Council in their capacity as Premiers of their provinces and on no other basis.* It was on that basis that they accepted the invitation, which was extended to them. **As a corollary should they cease to be Premiers of their provinces they would cease equally and automatically to be members of the National Defence Council, and their successor as Premier, irrespective of his party or his community, would be invited to replace them.**

"In framing the Defence Council, His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy were concerned to bring about as complete a representation of the face of India as was practicable and to ensure that the Council should be as representative as circumstances made it possible of all areas, communities and interests in this country. The allocation of the seats assigned to British India was primarily by provinces. The Premiers of all those provinces in which the constitution was functioning normally were accordingly invited in every case to join the Council. That was the primary and essential basis of the composition of the Council. It goes without saying that in the conditions of India it is not possible to separate in estimating the character or the composition of any public body, the community or an individual from his general representative capacity. It was clearly desirable, too that in a body designed to be as generally representative as was practicable care should be taken to ensure adequate representation of the great Muslim community. The fact that certain individual members including the present Premiers of Assam, Bengal, the Punjab, and Sind themselves professed the Muslim faith was an advantage from this point of view. That consideration was however and must be entirely a secondary one, and the basis on which the Premiers were invited and agreed to serve was essentially that they were Premiers of the provinces.

"There can be no justification for any misunderstanding of this position. It was made quite clear to the Premiers concerned, when invitations were extended to and accepted by them that they were being invited to serve as Premiers. It was brought out by the Secretary of State in his speech in the House of Commons on August 1. The position was further made clear by the Governor-General to Mr. Jinnah, and the Secretary of State was at pains to issue a statement designed to remove any possible misunderstanding regarding it. The Governor-General's conversation with Mr. Jinnah and the Secretary of State's statement both took place some days before the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League."—*A. P.*

We have to wait to see whether the converse of the 'corollary' (which we have printed above in thick type) will materialize, and if it does, in what fom. That is to say, as according to the communique, the corollary is that if the premiers cease to be premiers they cease to be members of the Defence Council, its converse, therefore, is that if they cease to be members of the Defence Council they cease to be premiers, and their successors will be members of the Defence Council.

Therefore, the question is, Will the premiers of Assam and the Panjab be called upon to resign? And the further question is, Who will be asked to become premiers in their places and form ministries? (August 28, 1941.)

Rabindranath and Mahajati-Sadan

It is a well known fact that Rabindranath Tagore performed the opening ceremony of what was intended to be the Mahājāti-Sadan or Congress House, and he delivered an inspiring address on the occasion in Bengali. It was he who gave the name Mahājāti-Sadan to the house to be built on the site selected for the purpose.

These facts and the desire expressed by the public to do something to perpetuate Rabindranath Tagore's memory are being utilized to induce the public to subscribe for the completion of the building on the understanding that it or a part of it is to be named after the Poet.

We are entirely opposed even to the consideration of any other Tagore memorial before the Visva-Bharati has received all the help that the people can give it.

But apart from that fact, we have a few questions to ask:

1. To whom do the site and the unfinished building now belong? To Government, the Calcutta Corporation, or any private party?

2. So far as our information goes, the property does not now belong to any non-official person or persons. So how can any money subscribed for completing the building be utilized for the purpose?

3. But supposing the money subscribed for the purpose can be utilized for completing

the building, to whom will it belong after completion ?

4. When Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose was in our midst, he was in possession of the property. But now that his whereabouts are unknown and he does not own any property, can any non-official person or party own any property of which he was in possession before he disappeared ?

5. But supposing the property in question can somehow come into non-official possession, why are not trustees representing the different nationalist parties in the country appointed to hold and administer it ?

6. Is it not an admitted fact that Rabindranath Tagore did not belong to any party ?

7. And, therefore, is it not quite plain that his name should not be exploited for party purposes ?

Anglo-Soviet Advance Into Iran

The Anglo-Soviet advance into Iran is the latest development in the war situation. It is a development which affects India more closely than any previous one.

Though we are not unconcerned spectators, we can only take note of further developments. We Indians are not in a position to influence the course of events in any direction; for, not being self-ruling, we are not the arbiters of the destiny of our own country—humanly speaking of course.

Mayurbhanj State Officers' Conference

BARIPADA, Aug. 26.

The Mayurbhanj State Officers' Conference was held recently at the State Secretariat. Major B. P. Pande, the Dewan presided. The agenda included consolidation of *gochar* (pasture) lands, comprehensive programme of water-supply both for drinking and irrigational purposes, control of epidemic, agricultural improvements, improvement of cattle and other matters relating to the constructive work of the Government.—*U. P.*

Anti-illiteracy Drive in Mayurbhanj State

BARIPADA, Aug. 26.

The anti-illiteracy drive in Mayurbhanj is making steady progress. Seventy-four night schools have so far been set up in various localities of the State and the number is likely to increase consistent with popular initiative and demand. The village Primary schools are being utilized for the purpose of accommodation, the classes being conducted at night by the primary school teachers who are paid allowances for the extra work. The schools are supplied with lanterns and kerosene oil and an annual subsidy for the purchase of books, slates, etc. The response so far has been encouraging and some 1,700 adults are at present taking advantage of the institutions. The State has published a series of Readers and a Reader specially meant for the adults has recently been issued at cheap cost. The Oriya supplement to the State Gazette, dealing with topics of general and topical interest, is supplied free to these schools.—*U. P.*

A Mahavidarbha Province Suggested

YEOTMAL, Aug. 26.

The creation of a separate Province comprising four districts of Berar and four adjoining Marathi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces, is the crying need of the hour, said Mr. M. S. Aney at Mahavidarbha Sabha meeting, held at Amraoti. It has been decided to hold the Second Mahavidarbha Conference at Amraoti some time early in November.—*A. P.*

Living at a distance from Berar and not being Marathi-speaking, we are unable to understand how the creation of a separate Marathi-speaking province is "the crying need of the hour." Sindhis have got a linguistic province of their own. So have the Oriyas. Hence, the creation of a Marathi-speaking province would not be considered an unprecedented demand. But Mr. Aney's suggestion is not the creation of a single province comprising all Marathi-speaking areas in British territory. For, assuming that Marathi-speaking Mahavidarbha province has been constituted, there would remain Marathi-speaking areas outside it in the Bombay Presidency. No doubt, there are examples of linguistic areas cut up into bits and included in more than one Province. There are Bengali-speaking areas in Bengal, Bihar and Assam. Some form of Hindi or other is spoken in the United Provinces, Bihar and the Central Provinces.

But though Mr. Aney's suggestion is not without precedent, it should be borne in mind that the more Provinces there would be in India—of course with 'provincial autonomy,' the more decentralization and the less solidarity and unity there would be in the country. A certain amount of centralization, solidarity and unity is required for the attainment of that national strength which is essentially necessary not only for winning freedom but also for keeping inviolate the freedom won.

The Joint Parliamentary Select Committee wanted to destroy India's unity by conferring 'autonomy' on the Provinces. Their object has been gained to a great extent. Would it be the part of wisdom to go on fulfilling their desire more and more ?

Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker's Appreciation From Opposite Sides

Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker is not the only public man who has been subjected to criticism and often to unmerited criticism. But he has

one peculiar cause of gratification which not all public men have enjoyed.

When he resigned from the Bengal Ministry his action received popular appreciation. Generally speaking, Nationalists declared that he had acted rightly. Many others who, for party reasons, would not praise him openly, were satisfied at heart that his action was justified. And the consensus of opinion was that he was the ablest man in the Bengal Ministry, and had not become a Minister because he wanted a job, but on the contrary had made a great pecuniary sacrifice by joining the ministry.

Appreciation has now come to him from a different quarter.

For the expanded Viceregal Executive Council the Viceroy could have chosen for Bengal some sitting member of the Bengal Ministry, for every one of whom the job would have been lucrative. But he has chosen ex-Minister Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, to whom the appointment means pecuniary sacrifice. It need not be explained what that means.

Abanindranath Tagore on Rabindranath Tagore

It was a most feeling speech that the great artist Abanindranath Tagore made on Rabindranath Tagore on Sunday the 24th August last in Bichitrā Bhavan. In his opinion, Rabindranath's songs were his greatest gift to the people. His gifts to the people were so many and so varied in character that we hesitate to say what was his greatest gift. But we can declare without the least hesitation that no other gift of his to the people is more precious than his songs. No other gift of his gives access to the inmost recesses of his soul to the extent that his songs do, none are so inspiring, none so touching, none so great a source of strength and solace.

The great artist observed in a voice half choked with emotion, "Others have fasted for a day as a token of mourning for him. My mind will have to starve as long as I live; for it lived by feeding on his music. I shall not hear it again." In saying this the artist used figurative language, referring to his mind as his *man-pākhi* ('mind-bird').

In his opinion the central and fundamental idea of Rabindranath's institution was that with which he founded and conducted his school at Santiniketan, and if that is lost sight of, the Visva-Bharati would cease to be the thing after the Poet's heart even if it were turned into a second Cambridge or Oxford or some other equally famous university.

Congratulations to Abanindranath Tagore

It was only fitting that congratulations to Dr. Abanindranath Tagore on his completing the 70th year of his life came first from Santiniketan. A party, headed by Pandit Kshitimohan Sen Sastri and Sj. Nandalal Bose, came to Calcutta from there with an address and appropriate presents to the great artist. He gave a fitting reply to the address.

> SANTINIKETAN, Aug. 22.
>
> As a part of the programme of the birthday celebration of Abanindranath on Wednesday last, arrangements were made here on behalf of Kalabhavana, to show to the inmates of the Ashrama, the lantern slides of some of his well-known paintings. In this large gathering in front of the Library, a short life sketch of Abanindranath was read after which Sj. Nandalal Bose, Adhyaksha, Kalabhavana, paid respectful homage to his master in words extremely touching and eloquent although brief. He said, in part, "My relation with Abanindranath cannot be fully explained merely by calling myself a student or a disciple of his. There has been a deeper and more vital communion between us in the field of art and that has gained for me the place of a son to him and as such, by inheritance I am in possession of treasures that are of eternal value.
>
> "Our revered Gurudeva once asked Abanindranath to lend him my humble services for this Ashrama and put me at the work of Santiniketan. Today, he is no more bodily present here but his inspiring ideals await to be worked out by our active and serviceful devotion."

What Santiniketan has done the public at large, including the artists who reside in different parts of the country, should also do. We know this would have been done earlier but for the passing of the Poet-seer of Bengal, India, and all the world.

Non-party Leaders' Conference At Poona

Owing to the early publication of our August number we could not even briefly notice the Non-party leaders' Conference at Poona on the 26th and 27th July last. And now owing to the rapid march of events in India and abroad, it seems to have already become old history. Nevertheless we give below a brief summary of its resolutions.

> The first resolution reaffirms the demand of the conference made in March last for the reconstruction of the Viceroy's Executive Council so as to transfer to Indian hands all portfolios including Finance and Defence subject to the responsibility of the Executive to the Crown during the period of the war.
>
> The second resolution emphasizes the need for the preservation of the integrity of India and to secure for her equality of status with Britain and Dominions.
>
> A third resolution urging the appointment of non-official advisers in the provinces was dropped as there was keen opposition in the Subjects Committee to such a proposition.

Indian Christians and the Communal Decision

The Leader of Allahabad writes :

Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Organizing Secretary of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, deserves to be congratulated on the excellent piece of advice he gave to the minorities to carry on ceaseless propaganda for the abrogation of the Communal Award. He rightly pointed out that the most satisfactory safeguards "lie in the goodwill of the majorities among whom they live, that the best and most satisfactory method of securing this goodwill is by rendering services of which they are capable." Separate and special electorates, on which is based the Communal Award, have proved a bane to the growth of nationalism in India and they have failed to give any sense of security to the minorities whose interest they were meant to safeguard. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in their joint proposals for reforms in India wisely said : "We regard any system of communal electorates . . . . . as a hindrance to the development of the self-governing principles."

The fears of the British statesmen have been more than justified by recent events. It is high time the people realized the menace to the national unity of India, put a stop to its further disintegration and brought all communities on a common platform, making our parliament, in the words of Edmund Burke, "a deliberative assembly of one nation with one interest, that of the whole; where not local purposes, not logical prejudices, ought to guide, but the general good resulting from the general reason of the whole."

Census Absurdities

According to this year's census, the Hindus of Assam have decreased by many lakhs—never mind the exact figure, and the tribal people have increased enormously. This is too transparent a political trick to deceive anybody. The fact is hundreds of thousands of Hindus were enumerated as tribal folk under orders of persons in power who wanted to prove that the Hindus were a minority in Assam; consequently the numbers of the tribal folk swelled enormously. But in spite of such sinister efforts the object of those men in power has not been gained. Of course, the number of Mussalmans has been shown to have increased enormously, but unfortunately even the manipulation of census figures has not been able to turn them into a majority in Assam.

In Bengal Mr. Fazlul Huq, the chief minister, libelled the entire Hindu community by saying that they had all entered into a conspiracy to bolster up the figures of their community. But now the Census Superintendent of Bengal has declared that the percentages of Hindus and Muslims at the present census has remained the same as at the census of 1931! Both the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal must be congratulated on maintaining with mathematical accuracy the rate of manufacture of children year after year for ten long years.

The census committee of the Hindu Mahasabha of Bengal has challenged the accuracy of the Bengal census and demanded an independent scrutiny of the enumeration slips. This demand is entirely just.

Joint Anglo-American Declaration of War-objectives

LONDON, Aug. 14.

Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt have met at sea and have drawn up a joint Anglo-United States declaration setting out the objectives for which the Allies are fighting and indicating the fundamental principles on which plans for a permanent world peace in future must be based.

They have agreed upon the following joint declaration :

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, represetning his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for better future for the world.

First.—Their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

Second.—They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Third.—They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live and they wish to see Sovereign rights and Self-Government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Fourth.—They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

Fifth.—They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations, in the economic field with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

Sixth.—After the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see the establishment of a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Seventh.—Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

Eighth.—They believe that all nations of the world for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten or may threaten aggression outside their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament.

As a general enunciation of war aims, the declaration is quite impressive on the surface. But dishonest imperialists can find loop-holes in it enabling them to evade their obligations

to subject nations. They may even be able to prove to their own satisfaction that it is necessary for their own security to acquire power or 'influence' outside their present territories.

BHOWALI, Aug. 27.

Acharya Kripalani in a statement about the eight-point peace and war aims agreed to between President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill says:

"The test of a declaration is not words but deeds. Nothing has since happened in India to indicate a change of attitude on the part of the Government. Neither imperial minds nor imperial aims change suddenly. So far as India is concerned, a commentary on the war and peace aims was provided in advance by Mr. Amery. He could not have been aware of what was coming. He thought his latest performance quite consistent with the eight points. The fourteen points of President Wilson resulted in the acquisition of territories under the altered name of Mandates. Some other respectable name will be found for allowing new territories as for retaining old empires. It is easily done. It can never be difficult to get the people of their own choice. To prove a want of agreement one can even deny as the Secretary of State has done that India is a country in the sense of the European countries. The distinction between the victor and vanquished nations in the matter of disarmament, as past experience shows, can never accomplish the desired end. The eight points are quite general and vague."—*A. P.*

Savarkar's Cable to Roosevelt

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha has cabled President Roosevelt enquiring whether the joint Anglo-American Declaration in regard to war aims covered India's case too.

The following is the text of the cable:

"As President of the Hindu Mahasabha, the All-India Hindu Body, I exhort you to declare explicity if the Anglo-American announcement of war aims covers India's case and whether America guarantees the full political freedom of India within one year after the end of this war. If America fails to do that India cannot but construe this declaration as another stunt like the war aims of the last Anglo-German War, meant only to camouflage the imperialistic aggressions of those who have empires against those who have them not and are out to win them."—*A. P.*

Though we do not think President Roosevelt will feel called upon or consider it politic to send any reply to Mr. Savarkar's cable, assuming that it will be allowed to reach him—which we doubt, we do not see any mendicancy or hankering after American patronage in this cable, such as have been alleged: We all openly call in question the sincerity of British and American declarations of war aims in our journals and on the public platform. Mr. Savarkar has done the same thing in the form of a cable to President Roosevelt.

Savarkar's Suggestion to Moslem League And Warning to Hindus

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, is a vigilant and keen observer of the changing international and national situations. The Muslim League's or Mr. Jinnah's disciplinary strategy has led Mr. Savarkar "to suggest in a friendly spirit" a certain course of action, which is contained in the following statement issued by him from Bombay on the 27th August last:

"It is pleasing to note that Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and several other members of the Moslem League have resigned their seats on the Indian National Defence Council and that Mr. Fazlul Huq and all those members of the League who have joined the Defence Council or the Defence Advisory Committee of the Central Executive Council are going to be compelled to resign their seats too, before long. May I suggest in a friendly spirit that the Moslem League should now, to be consistent with its tenets call upon Sir Sikandar, Mr. Huq and Sir Saadulla Khan to resign their Premierships too which are even more tainted with the sin of helping the war efforts of the British Government before they have brought the Pakistan into being. The League is quite clear on the point that it wants to exert as much pressure by these resignations on the British Government as it possibly can, to force the latter to accede to the Pakistan demand. That purpose could better be served by refusing to take any part whatsoever in forming Ministries or conducting Provincial Governments. The League thereby would kill two birds with one stone. By dissolving the Moslem Ministries in all the three provinces and by refusing to participate in new ones, the League will, on the one hand, succeed in bending the Government to their knees,—if it is ever possible to do so by such means,—and will, on the other hand, do a good turn to its Hindu brethren in all the three provinces by granting them their desire to give a hearty send off to these Moslem Ministries there at the shortest possible time. It must also be remembered that the British entry into Iran has also influenced this fretful decision of the Moslem League in addition to their failure to see the Pakistan realised here and now."

To the Hindus Mr. Savarkar has administered a warning and made a suggestion.

"But a note of warning must be sounded here to the Hindus to the effect that these very reasons which have persuaded the League to resign all seats on the defence bodies and the Councils should prevent the Hindu Sangathanist members who are working on them from indulging in any apish imitation of the policies of the League or the Congress in this respect. The Hindu members must stick to their positions on the defence bodies and the Councils. The Indian National Defence and consequently the vital Hindu interests demand that instead of leaving those seats which are already occupied on these Governmental bodies, the Hindu Sangathanists should try to appropriate and secure as many new seats as they find within their reach and are calculated to enable them to capture as much political and military power as could possibly be done."

With regard to the policy of the Congress Mr. Savarkar has made certain observations which cannot be said to be unjustifiable.

"Moreover, the Hindus must not forget that if the policy of the Moslem League is outspokenly anti-Hindu, the policy of the Congress is non-Hindu at the best. Some Hindu Sangathanists who indulged in those goody goody statements in which they now and then get themselves unwearily committed to vacate their seats if the Congress is ever pleased to accept them should not forget that if the Congress comes again to possess political power it can never be less detrimental to Hindu interests now than it had been in the past."

"On the contrary, it is bound to prove even more ruinous to the Hindus than ever before. There is no telling when the Congress will again be duped to join hands with the League and pursuing the willow-the-wisp of a pseudo-nationalistic United front's come out to stage another Khilafat agitation.

"I hope the lessons to be learnt from the policy of the Moslem League will not be lost on the British Government too. So far as the defence of India against any invasions from outside or from anarchy within is concerned, it is the Hindu Sangathanists alone who are sure to prove the pillars of strength. The Hindu Sangathanists alone can be depended upon as the most trusted reserved forces who will never spare the last drop of blood in their veins to defend unity, integrity and freedom of India as a nation and a state."—*A. P.*

It must be admitted that Mr. Savarkar understands statecraft.

Cessation of Hostilities in Iran

LONDON, Aug. 28.

British and Russian advance into Iran has been transformed into a peaceful co-operation as a result of "cease fire" order issued by the new Iranian Premier.

A new Cabinet has been formed and this step has been taken in pursuance of the peace-loving policy of the Shah and to avoid bloodshed This decision has been approved by the Iranian Parliament with a unanimous vote of confidence.

In London, the course Iran has decided upon is warmly welcomed. It is pointed out that Britain and Russia have not made any territorial claims on Iran. The march into Iran had been forced upon them by Germany.

According to an Iranian spokesman at Ankara, the Iranian Cabinet resigned on Wednesday, says Martin Agronsky, N. B. C. Radio Commentator.

A request by the President of the Council for the resignation of the Cabinet has been accepted by the Shah.

The Shah has accepted the resignation of the Cabinet headed by Ali Mansur. On the Shah's orders the present Ministers and Under-Secretaries will conduct the affairs of their Ministers until a new Cabinet is formed.

Last night, it was reported that the Shah offered to expel all Germans excepting few indispensable technicians and even the indispensable technicians as soon as substitutes could be obtained.

It is pointed out in London that the military operations now in progress can only be suspended when the British and Soviet Governments are satisfied that all potential menace from the Axis to Iran has been effectively countered.

NEW PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Confirmation of the Iran Government's intention to cease hostilities came by the Teheran radio declaring that the new Premier Farughi had told Parliament that all armed forces had been ordered to refrain from resistance.

The Iran Parliament passed a unanimous vote of confidence at the conclusion of the statement on peaceful policy by the new Prime Minister Mr. Farughi. According to the Teheran radio Mr. Farughi presented the new Cabinet of Ministers at an extraordinary meeting of Parliament a report on the latest developments.—*Reuter.*

"Proper Expenditure on Education Should Not Be Restricted"

BOMBAY, Aug. 19.

Restriction of proper expenditure on education, even in time of war, could never be a true economy, said Sir Maurice Gwyer, Chief Justice of India, delivering the Convocation address at the Bombay University this afternoon.

"I would even go further," added Sir Maurice, "and say that, subject to all reasonable conditions, it may rightly be increased. When half the world is fighting for its life and all that it cherishes and values, it would be strange indeed if those who are to inherit and enjoy what this generation is willing to lay down its life to preserve, were to find that, after all, their inheritance was a barren one. What have we profited the world or ourselves, if the generation which comes after us were to grow up neither knowing nor caring for those things which we have held dearer than life itself? So there must be no break in the cultural tradition, and our children are entitled to share the riches which have come down to us from the past and to make use of them, as we hope, to build an ever richer future. But all this may be endangered, if we economise on education now. Nay, more, it is in true education, as I see it, that our greatest hope for the future rests."

"No Alteration in Congress Position Necessary"

The following is part of the statement issued by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on being released from jail.

I will say nothing regarding the political situation beyond this that I have been carefully studying the newspapers in jail and I am sure nothing has happened to alter the Congress position which is essentially sound. Congressmen, inside prisons and outside, have the satisfaction in the knowledge that the country has at the helm of affairs one in whose judgment and guidance they have implicit faith and who can be trusted to carry us unerringly to our goal. But I must refuse to discuss politics at the present moment, as my immediate duty is to get well, if God wills it, and then to place myself again at Mahatma Gandhi's disposal.

Mr. N. R. Sarker's Advice to Businessmen

CALCUTTA, Aug. 22.

The view that businessmen must clearly realise today that they could no longer afford to look upon their individual business concerns as isolated units, but they had to consider their problems against the background of conditions outside was expressed by Mr.

N. R. Sarker, Member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in reply to an address presented to him at a luncheon party given by the President of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.

A broader outlook, a study of conditions far outside one's own business and its immediate environment, added Mr. Sarker, were inevitable. It must be fully appreciated that a study and analysis of these trends were a vital preliminary to the adoption of plans and procedures best suited to meet modern conditions.

While admitting that the progress of Bengal and of Bengalees in trade and industry was still far from satisfactory, Mr. Sarker stressed the paramount need for co-operation. "The time has indeed come," he said, "when a supreme effort must be made for alliance and co-operation of all forces intent upon recovery and reconstruction."—*A. P. I.*

"*Scandalous Discrimination*"

Under this caption *The Bombay Chronicle* writes :

> It may seem incredible but it is a fact that when recently an Indian woman doctor applied for a post in the Royal Army Medical Corps, she received from the Director-General of the I. M. S. the reply that she was not eligible for appointment as she was not "of pure European descent." Dr. B. G. Vad, who mentioned this incident at a meeting of the Bombay University Senate, bitterly remarked that such racial prejudice one could expect only in a book like *Mein Kampf*. He had reason to feel bitter when after two years of war in which Indians had mingled their blood with Europeans on the battlefield, there could still be such discrimination against Indians in any branch of war service.
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> To prevent discrimination against Indians in the future in the proposed women's branch of the Indian Medical Service, Dr. Vad moved a resolution asking for due recognition of the claims of women graduates in medicine of the University in the recruitment to it. The resolution was, of course, adopted by the Senate and let us hope that, as a non-official Indian is now in charge of the medical portfolio, it will be accepted by the Government.

But is discrimination of this sort so rare as to make this particular one scandalous ?

Mr. Satyamurti Advocates Re-capture of Political Power by Congress

MADRAS, Aug. 23.

A radical change in the present policy of the Congress was advocated by Mr. S. Satyamurti addressing in Tamil, a largely attended meeting at the Congress House, Maidan, this evening.

Mr. Satyamurti made a rapid survey of the political situation in the country during the past few months and said he was pained to see that the only talk that dominated the country during the period was *Pakistan* either for or against. He feared that unless the Congress came into the political arena with a bold policy, these separatist tendencies might assume undue importance. Had the Congress continued in office in all the eight provinces, he held, they would have persuaded and carried the other provinces also with them and done away with the separate electorate which was the root cause for all communal dissensions and talk of Pakistan or Dravidistan.

Incidentally, he referred to the war situation and said that in view of the potent danger to India both from east and west, there lay a great responsibility on everyone of them to see to the protection of India from external aggression and internal disorder. They had at the same time to carry on their work for the freedom of the country. He doubted whether the present policy of the Congress would meet the changed situation. The Congress, he said, should come out with a bold programme of action and recapture political power in the country. He added that he would be meeting Mahatma Gandhi next month in this connection and plead with him for a revision of the Congress policy.

Concluding he appealed to the people to stand firm by the Congress and uphold its prestige and honour.—*A. P.*

Krishak Praja Party Condemns Muslim University Suggestion

The recommendations of the Moula Bux Madrasas Reforms Committee were condemned at a joint meeting of the Working Committee of the All-Bengal Krishak Praja Party and the All-Bengal Bengalee Mussalmans' Association held in Calcutta recently with Mr. Syed Hubibur Rahaman, President, in the chair.

> While criticising the idea of a "Muslim University in Bengal," as contemplated by the Reforms Committee, the meeting urged the Government of Bengal to establish an Oriental University in the city as early as possible in order to disseminate knowledge of advanced Persian and Arabic languages with Islamic culture and civilisation as well as of high Sanskrit studies and Hindu culture. It expressed the opinion that such a University would enable Indians, Muslims and Hindus alike, to meet and assemble together and thereby to bring about the Indian renaissance.
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> The meeting, on behalf of the Mussalmans and Hindus of Bengal, appealed to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to make a public gift of one of His Highness's buildings in Calcutta, for the purpose of establishing the Oriental University which would go a long way in cementing the bond of friendship between the two communities in India.
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> The meeting was of the opinion that the Madrasa education, both new and old, should be modernized and brought in line with the University system of education, adopting Bengali and English as the medium of instruction, so that Ullemas, Maulanas and Moulvis might be useful citizens and occupy eminent positions in all spheres of life.

Speeding Up of Army Officers' Training

Nearly two thousand Indian commissioned officers a year, representing an increase of approximately hundred per cent over the present number, are expected to be produced when the

new scheme for speeding up the training and incrasing the accomodation in the three training centres is in full working order.

Some of the features of the new scheme are explained as follows :

SIMLA, July 25.

While the minimum age for a commission will as at present be nineteen, the training at the Officers' Training Colleges at Bangalore and Mhow for Indian officer cadets on the short course of seven months may begin at eighteen and a half.

For the duration of the war, the syllabus of the Indian Military Academy is to be reconstituted. There will be no further competitive examination for entry and all cadets, whether for the Indian Military Academy or for the Officers' Training Colleges at Bangalore and Mhow, will go through the Officers' Selection Interview Board. Those selected between the ages of 18 and 18½ will be given a course of one year's training at the Indian Military Academy. Those over eighteen and a half may, if sufficiently mature from the point of view of education, qualify for the seven months course in one of the three training centres, Dehra Dun, Bangalore and Mhow.

The upper age limit for combatant commissions remains at 35, that is to say, candidates must not have reached their 36th birthday.

Officer cadets at present under training at the Indian Military Academy will have their course shortened and intensified in order to speed up their entry into the army. The new term at the Academy begins on August 1st. Accommodation at the Academy is to be increased from 200 to 600, of whom up to as many as 500 may be of the younger category entering at 18. The Training Colleges at Bangalore and Mhow will increase their capacity by 200 each.

The Selection Board due to sit in September-October will select Officer Cadets under this revised scheme.—*A. P. I.*

The speeding up of the training of Indian army officers has begun rather late, and the number to be trained under the new scheme is not sufficient for the emergencies which may arise and for such a large country as India. But better late than never, and half a loaf, too, is better than no bread.

"*The Sacred Dance*"

There is vulgar painting, vulgar music and vulgar literature. But there are also the purest and most elevating painting, highly inspiring music, and the purest and most sacred literature. Only in the case of dancing, its degradation had gone so far that it seemed that it could not be rehabilitated. But Rabindranath Tagore succeeded in doing so.

In the West "the sacred dance" is being introduced among the Unitarians of America. We learn from *The Christian Register* of Boston that "recently, through the sincere efforts of Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, and Erika Thimey" the prejudice against the expression of religious feeling by dancing "is slowly being removed." Father Heras, S. J., of Bombay, when at Barcelona, Spain, got a sacred Bible episode acted according to the Malabar *Katha Kali* style among the Roman Catholics.

Planting of "Bakul" Tree In Memoriam Rabindranath Tagore

At the Buddhist Vihāra in New Delhi a *Bakul* tree has been planted with due ceremony *in memoriam* Rabindranath Tagore. It is a very touching and poetic memorial to the Poet.



PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEGISLATION

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, M.A., M.SC., Ph.D.

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A VERY important factor in social progress in modern times is international labour legislation or the adoption of common standards in national labour legislation on the basis of international agreements. The necessity of such international understanding in national labour legislation has arisen from increasing international competition, which has made difficult for a nation to increase moral and material welfare of its workers, such as better sanitation, greater safety, shorter hours and higher wages, without raising the productive cost of its industry and without exposing itself to the disadvantage of foreign competition.

Attempts were made by Switzerland and Germany to organise international agreements on labour legislation among industrial countries in the last quarter of the 19th century. A Congress of Labour Legislation, first held at Brussels in 1897, succeeded in establishing an International Association for labour legislation in Paris in 1900, and also in inaugurating an International Labour Office at Basel in 1901, as well as in adopting two important labour Conventions, namely :—(1) the prohibition of the use of white phosphorus in the match industry in 1906; and (2) the prohibition of night work of women in 1908.

It was only during the war of 1914-18 that all nations fully realised the need of international co-operation for labour legislation and the present International Labour Organisation was established as a part of the League of Nations by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Moreover, the pressure of organised labour, and especially the demand of the American Federation of Labour during the war for treating the labour question as a part of the peace treaty, and the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 also helped in the origin and growth of the International Labour Organisation. It must be pointed out here that the Organisation has been obliged to reduce its international activities due to war conditions, but there is no doubt that as soon as the war is over, it will renew its activities in larger spheres of social and industrial relations of workers and employers for the whole world.

The International Labour Organisation, or I. L. O. as it is popularly called, consists of three parts, namely :—(1) the International Labour Conference, to which each member State is entitled to send four delegates, two being for Government and one each for employers and employees; (2) a Governing Body, being an executive committee of 32 members, of which 16 represent Governments and 8 each employers and employees; and (3) the International Labour Office, which is the permanent secretariat of the Organisation and is in charge of a Director appointed by the Governing Body.

The Conference meets at least once a year and its decisions may form either a draft Convention or a Recommendation. A draft Convention is a signed treaty which, when ratified by a State, imposes a definite legal obligation on that State. A Recommendation, though not a binding obligation, carries a moral obligation, which all member States should take into consideration. If a draft Convention is ratified by a member State, it must be given effect to by the enactment or amendment of national legislation or otherwise, unless the State has already similar or better labour code on the same subject.

The origin of national labour legislation may be traced back to the very beginning of the 19th century. Since then national labour legislation has made rapid progress in both intensity and extensity to control labour conditions of men and women and children in almost all advaced countries. International labour legislation is partly an extension of the scope of national labour legislation in advanced countries to that of the backward countries with due consideration of their geographical, social and economical conditions, and partly an adoption of new ideals and aims for improving the moral and material conditions of the workers in different countries on the basis of international agreement. There are several fundamental principles, which guide, or should guide, international labour legislation, such as social justice, social welfare, national economy, social progress and international solidarity.

I. PRINCIPLE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

An outstanding force in social evolution is social justice or the establishment of equality

between man and man before the law, *i.e.*, political equality, which often implies the protection of those who can not protect themselves. Social justice has become one of the most important principles of labour legislation from the very beginning with a view to protecting children, women and even men from exploitation by employers and also to establishing an equitable relationship between employers and workers. It is on the principle of social justice that the State undertakes to equalise the status of workers with that of employers, to grant them freedom of association and the power of collective bargaining and to mediate or arbitrate in the case of industrial conflict, which may be injurious, not only to workers and employers, but also to the whole society, of which they form only a part.

Abolition of Servitude :—The first condition for equalising industrial relationship between employers and workers is the abolition of servitude, which has proved to be the greatest detriment to social equality. While slavery and serfdom have long been abolished in most of the countries, their vestiges are still to be found specially in the backward countries. From 1919 to 1937 the International Labour Office therefore adopted 2 Conventions and 3 Recommendations for their abolition.

The first Convention concerning forced or compulsory labour was adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1930. The Convention aims at the suppression of the use of the forced or compulsory labour in all its forms within the shortest period of time. Convention (No. 50) provides that before approving for any areas any scheme of economic development which is likely to involve the recruiting of labour, measures should be taken for avoiding pressure upon the people to obtain the labour required. Recommendations ask the member nations to avoid indirect means of artificially increasing the economic pressure upon populations to seek wage-earning employment, so to regulate forced or compulsory labour as not to imperil food supply of the community concerned, and to provide for the progressive elimination of recruiting by the improvement of the conditions of labour.

Right of Association :—Labourers should not only enjoy personal liberty in pursuit of their own welfare, but should have also freedom of association for the achievement of group interests by concerted action and trade unions, without which it is impossible for them to make any bargain in their favour. While the right of association has long been achieved by industrial workers, agricultural workers, who were scattered in different parts of the country, have not yet developed the capacity of organising themselves. Moreover, the employers are often against the organisation of agricultural workers. Draft Convention (No. II) was adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1921 providing that each member nation ratifying it should undertake to secure to all those engaged in agriculture the same right of association and combination as that of industrial workers and to repeal any statutory or other provisions restricting such rights in the case of those engaged in agriculture.

Collective Bargaining :—The most important object of the trade union movement is collective bargaining. In modern times employers are well organised in trusts, cartels or "gentlemen's agreements" and it is only natural that the workers should make their collective demand upon employers for the improvement of their working and living conditions as well as their industrial relations. Most of the advanced countries have accepted the principle of collective bargaining and have enacted trade union acts in order to give workers' organisations a legal status and protect them in their legitimate activities in the interest of trade union movements, *e.g.*, strikes and lock-outs.

The I. L. O. has not yet adopted any draft Convention or Recommendation concerning collective bargaining, but collective bargaining is the very basis of the International Labour Organisation as well as in its annual Conference and Governing Body. Moreover, in the application of the provisions of these Conventions and Recommendations, national governments are often asked to consult the representatives of the local organisations of employers and workers in formulating necessary rules and regulations.

Industrial Conciliation :—Industrial disputes are the inevitable consequences of modern industrial organisation and it has been found necessary by national governments to enact adequate measures for the prevention and settlement of these disputes. Moreover, social justice requires adequate protection of interest of the public which may be interferred with in such disputes. The Government has often found it necessary to enforce the settlement of these disputes through the boards of conciliation or arbitration in which the representatives of the public or of the government are present along with those of workers and employers. On this basic principle has been founded the I. L. O., in which half the members of the International Labour Conference and the Governing Body are the representatives of Governments and the other half is equally divided between the representatives of employers and workers. It is

only such a representative body of divergent interests of employers, workers, and Governments or the public, which can, through mutual understanding and agreement, maintain industrial peace in a democratic society.

II. Principle of Social Welfare

The second important principle underlying labour legislation, whether national or international, is social welfare, or the moral and material improvement of the working population. Social welfare has played an important part in labour legislation from the very beginning and its importance has increased all the more in recent years owing to the increasing complexity and intensity of the productive process on the one hand and the rising necessity, and even demand on the part of the workers, for better sanitation, greater safety, shorter hours and higher wages on the other. Social welfare may thus be classified under such headings as health and diseases, safety and accidents, hours of work, and adequate living wages.

Health and Diseases :—One of the main objects of labour legislation is the conservation of national health, which is, in the long run, the primary condition of national wealth. Most of the national governments have provided a number of sanitary provisions and also measures against industrial diseases. The I. L. O. has adopted between 1919 and 1937 one draft Convention and four Recommendations for the prevention of industrial diseases. They provide that each of its members, which has not already done so, should establish as soon as possible not only a system of efficient factory inspection, but also in addition thereto a government service specially charged with the duty of safeguarding the health of the workers, which will keep in touch with the I. L. O. Provisions have also been made for the disinfection of wool infected with anthrax spores either by exporting or importing countries, for the prohibition of the use of white phosphrous in the manufacture of matches and also for the prohibition of all women and men under 18 years of age from employment involving the use of lead and lead compounds. Moreover, most of these serious diseases are included among industrial accidents and the victims are entitled to compensation for accidents.

Safety and Accidents :—Closely connected with health is the question of safety which, although affecting a comparatively small number of workers, is nevertheless of great national importance inasmuch as every year an increasingly large number of workers is being subjected to industrial accidents. The provisions for safety in all occupations have therefore become important measures of both national and international labour legislations. The I. L. O. has adopted 4 draft Conventions and 6 Recommendations providing not only safety devices, but also for the payment of accident compensation which has been found very efficacious in having safety devices provided by employers.

These Conventions, for instance, provide that any package or object of 1000 kilogram (one metric ton) or of more gross weight consigned within the territory of any member shall have its gross weight plainly and durably marked upon it; that any regular approach over a dock, wharf, quay or similar premises which the workers have to use for going to or from a working place at which the processes (*i.e.*, loading and unloading) are carried on, shall be maintained with due regard to safety; and that it will maintain in force laws and regulations in order to secure safety in the building industry with special reference to suitable scaffolds, working platforms, gangways, stairways, hoisting machines and tackle, etc. The provisions of these Conventions are amplified and supplemented by the Recommendations for better provision of safety.

Hours of Work :—The most important element in the social welfare of the workers, both in national and international legislation, is the duration of labour or the number of hours of work, which has become most important problem of labour legislation, whether national or international, due to number of factors such as increasing complexity of machinery, intensity of speed, complication in processes, national and international competition, increasing unemployment requiring the distribution of the volume of available national employment to a larger number of workers, and increasing desire on the part of the workers for more leisure for achieving moral and intellectual development.

During the period of 19 years, 1919-37, the I.L.O. adopted not less than 11 draft Conventions and 7 Recommendations, most of which have been ratified and applied by national labour legislation by different countries. The I. L. O. adopted an 8-hour day and 48-hour week in industry in its first session in 1919, extended it to include commercial establishments, offices, employment at sea, and public works and has even adopted the principle of 40-week in such a manner that the standard of living may not be reduced in consequence for such industries, with due modification, to textile factories, coal mines, sea-going vessels, and glass and bottle works. Moreover, Convention (No. 14) provides that every worker should enjoy a rest period of at

least 24 'consecutive hours every week in all occupations including forced labour.

Adequate Living Wage :—The most important question for improving the welfare of the workers is the payment of an adequate living wage. This is however a very difficult problem even in the national labour legislation inasmuch as the fixing of the rate of wages in any industry is beyond the competence of the state. The most important problem of the wage system which has come under the consideration of the I. L. O. is that of the minimum wage-fixing machinery. Draft Convention (No. 26) provides that each member should undertake to create or maintain machinery whereby minimum rates of wages can be fixed for workers employed in certain of the trades or parts of trades (and in particular in home working trades) in which no arrangements exist for the effective regulation of wages by collective agreement or otherwise and wages are exceptionally low. Moreover, Recommendations provide for the constitution and operation of the minimum wage-fixing machinery, the securing of greater authority for wage rates through the consultation with workers' and employers' representatives, and enabling the wage-workers concerned to maintain a suitable standard of living.

III. Principle of National Economy

The third important principle of international labour legislation is national economy or the increase of national wealth, which is essential not only for possible increase in workers' share in national dividend, but also for the increase of international trade and prosperity. All the nations have not achieved the same industrial development such as productive technique, industrial organisation and scientific management and the enforcement of labour conditions existing in highly industrialised countries upon the backward countries is detrimental to both national and international economy. The importance of differential treatment of different nations was realised by the I. L. O. as indicated by the Preamble to its Constitution as well as by the proceedings of the sessions of the International Labour Conference and the various commissions and committees appointed thereunder. Moreover, the I. L. O. has fully realised the importance of special Conventions and Recommendations suitable to each continent and has already organised two sessions of the International Labour Conference in America and has long been intending to organise such conference in Asia also.

Geographical Variation :—The first question to take into consideration in international labour legislation is that of geographical variation of the different member nations. The International Labour Conference of Berlin in 1890 proposed to divide Europe into two geographical regions, such as the Southern and Northern Europe, with reference to international agreements on labour questions. The I. L. O. has been fully aware of the importance of geographical factors in international labour legislation and the Constitution of the I.L.O. lays down in Article 19 (405). that climatic conditions should be taken into consideration in the adoption of Conventions and Recommendations, and in their application to member nations.

Cultural Difference :—Next to geography, culture or social development in general plays an important part in the variation of international labour legislation and the fact has also been recognised by the Preamble of the Constitution of the I. L. O. and is taken into consideration by the annual sessions of the International Labour Conference as well as in various commissions and committees appointed thereunder. The question of culture difference has always been taken into consideration in adopting Conventions and Recommendations as well as in applying them to member nations.

Industrial Inequality :—The most important factor in the differential treatment of international labour legislation is industrial inequality. The importance of differential code on the basis of industrial inequality has been recognised by the Preamble of the Constitution of the I.L.O. and accepted in all the deliberations and decisions of the annual sessions of the International Labour Conference and its commissions and committees. Convention (No. 5), for instance, which fixed the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment at 14 for all countries, fixed it at 12 for India and also for Japan under certain conditions and Convention (No. I) which adopted a 8-hour day and 48-hour week for all the countries fixed them at 10-hour day and 56-hour week respectively for India.

IV. Principle of Social Progress

The fourth and most important principle of labour legislation, whether national or international, is social progress, which has gradually become the guiding principle of most of the rational activities of modern society. Unlike social or industrial welfare, to which it is colsely allied, social progress aims not only at the regulation of some injurious and unfavourable working and living conditions, but also at the creation of greater opportunities for the development of better types of men and women

through such social processes as the development of childhood, conservation of womanhood, security of employment and social insurance.

Development of Childhood :—A most important question of social progress is the development of the child. Although protection of children still plays an important part, the underlying principle of child labour legislation has become in modern times the fullest and richest growth of childhood, which depends on a three-fold requirement, such as minimum age, physical fitness and elementary education, or even at the complete liberation of the child from all premature labour which may interfere with its full development. Between 1919 and 1937, the International Labour Conference adopted 9 draft Conventions and 5 Recommendations not merely for regulating the labour of children, but for creating better facilities for their moral and intellectual development though employed in gainful occupations.

These Conventions provide that children under the age of 14 shall not work in any occupation, whether private or public. This minimum age has recently been raised to 15 years in many occupations. Both the minimum age and physical fitness for work must be certified by competent authorities. Moreover, in many cases the achievement of education and training has been made pre-requisite for admission to employment. Children under 15 years of age or children over 15 years who are still required by national laws or regulations to attend primary school, should not be employed in any occupation. It has also been provided that no young person under the age of 18 should be employed as a trimmer or stoker. Moreover, children and young persons are prohibited from work at night and from occupation involving the use of lead and lead compounds.

Conservation of Womanhood :—The second important element in social progress is the conservation of womanhood or the fullest development of women in their functional capacities. For a long time labour legisaltion for women has been based on protection, as they have been regarded as "minors". But with the improved position of women in society, it has been realised that a woman is not only a worker, but also a wife, mother and citizen and she must be given fullest opportunities for the development of her entire womanhood. The I.L.O. has adopted both draft Conventions and Recommendations with a view to protecting women from employment during the night, from employment underground in mines and also from employment in dangerous occupations and occupations involving the use of lead and lead compounds.

Security in Employment :—Security in employment has become perhaps the most important problem in modern industrial society, specially since the world-wide industrial depression of 1928-29. In fact, no industrial problem has attracted so much attention in modern times as that of the increasing unemployment among industrial workers in almost all industrially developed countries. The proportion of the unemployed as compared with the total working population rose as high as 22 per cent in Great Britain and Northern Ireland in 1932 and 24 per cent in the United States in 1933. The I. L. O. adopted between 1919 and 1937, 3 Conventions and 5 Recommendations for dealing with unemployment questions.

These Conventions and Recommendations provide that each member of the I. L. O. ratifying the Convention should undertake to maintain a scheme ensuring to persons who are involuntarily unemployed :—(*a*) benefit, or payment related to contributions paid in respect of the beneficiary's employment, (*b*) an allowance, or remuneration for employment, or relief works; and (*c*) a combination of benefit and an allowance. Provisions have also been made for the payment of indemnity to seamen in case of loss or of foundering of any vessel. Moreover, the following principles and rules have also been recommended to be taken into consideration :—(1) creation of compulsory insurance against unemployment, where it does not exist; (2) maintenance of a complementary assistance scheme in countries in which compulsory, or voluntary unemployment insurance is in operation; and (3) payment of unemployment benefit or allowance to both wholly or partially unemployed.

Social Insurance :—The most important method of economic security in modern times is social insurance, which supplements security in employment in all cases of accident, disease, invalidity, old age, involuntary unemployment, and premature death. Social insurance has therefore become a growing institution of modern industrial society, and the I. L O. adopted from 1919 to 1937, 12 Conventions on various aspects of social insurance such as workmen's compensation, sickness insurance, old age insurance, invalidity insurance and survivors' insurance.

These Conventions and Recommendations provide that workmen suffering personal injury due to industrial accidents and some industrial diseases, or their dependants, shall be compensated on terms indicated by the Convention and also that a system of compulsory sickness insurance should be based on provisions at least

equivalent to those contained in these Conventions. Other Conventions also provide that member nations should set up or maintain schemes of compulsory old age insurance, invalidity insurance and survivors' insurance at the rate indicated by the Convention .

V. Principle of International Solidarity

The last, but not the least, important principle of labour legislation is international solidarity, or the improvement of national labour conditions through international labour agreements or Conventions. With the growth of industrial and commercial rivalry among various nations, the burden of which was partly borne by workers, the importance of international agreements was progressively realised. Attempts have been made to achieve this solidarity through international codes, reciprocity of treatment and growing similarity in labour policy.

International Labour Codes :—The essential element in international labour legislation is the adoption by the I. L. O. of draft Conventions and Recommendations and their ratification and application by national labour legislation. As a result, there have developed a number of international labour codes, of which the most important are those of (I) the hours of work, (II) minimum age for admission to employment, (III) protection of children, young persons and women against night and dangerous work, (IV) social insurance, (V) minimum wage-fixing machinery, (VI) right of association, and (VII) forced labour.

Reciprocity of Treatment :—The second element in the achievement of international solidarity is the reciprocity of treatment among the member States of the I. L. O., which has been achieved in the fulfilment of obligations under Conventions and Recommendations. Recommendation (No. 2), for instance, provides that a member nation shall grant the same benefit of its laws and regulations to a foreign workman and his family as that granted to its national workers.

Similarity in Labour Policy :—Another important factor in the growth of international solidarity is the growing similarity in national policy of different countries towards labour owing to several factors, such as increasing social contact among different nations, the rise of modern industries, the opportunities for exchange of views among the representatives of governments, employers and workers at the International Labour Conference, and the rise of international labour codes through which the I. L. O. is attempting to secure international uniformity.

Conclusion

In conclusion it might be pointed out that although the I. L. O. has been in existence for only a little over two decades and has been obliged to restrict its activities for the past two years due to war conditions, it has already achieved great success inasmuch as the number of member nations amounted to 62 by 1937, the numbers of Conventions and Recommendations were 67 and 66 respectively by 1939 and the number of ratifications amounted to 871 on 15th March, 1940.

The great need of the I. L. O. is indicated by the fact that there still exist the vestiges of slavery and serfdom in parts of the world, and considerable numbers of wage-workers still live in ignorance, misery and degradation even in industrially advanced countries. What is more significant is the fact that by far the majority of the population in advanced countries has become wage-earners. As compared with the total gainfully occupied persons, the proportion of wage-workers including salaried employees is 55 per cent in France, 68 per cent in Japan, 74 per cent in the United States and even 76 per cent in Great Britain, showing the importance of the moral and material improvement of wage-working classes in social progress.

The I. L. O. is not only a great international institution but also a great moral force :—first, although not a superstate, it has succeeded in enforcing its decisions and agreements in the forms of Conventions and Recommendations upon most of the important States; secondly, it has succeeded in establishing equality between employers and workers in industrial relations, both national and international; and finally, it has undertaken the moral and material improvement of the wage-workers all over the world including colonies, possessions and protectorates for international social progress and for the benefit of the whole humanity.

[The resume of the Calcutta University Special Readership Lectures, delivered in July, 1941.]



CULTURE AND MASS RELIGION

By Prof. A. C. BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

1. Opposition of Culture to Mass Religion

Culture and Mass Religion present strong points of contrast. A consideration of these may help to bring out the special characteristics of each. The following are among the more important points of difference :

(1) *Culture is individualistic, mass-religion collectivistic.*

Culture is an individual achievement, being the result of individual effort. A cultured society is a collection of cultured individuals.

The central element in culture is the awareness by an individual of what is essential in his own being as well as in what he experiences outside him—an awareness that leads to a secure self-possession accompanied by self-respect, independence and self-determination on the subjective side, and to a harmonious relation with the objective world of man and nature. The contact with the essence of reality keeps the cultured mind above the superficialities of life and gives a firm hold on its finer values. Thus culture opens out endless possibilities of self-improvement and happy union with reality on the higher plane.

Mass religion builds upon group-consciousness. It deals with types, as distinguished from individuals. Its appeal is to the type mind. It makes a pattern of the intellectual and temparamental qualities of a given group of people and adjusts its scheme to the needs and abilities of that group as represented by the pattern. It is by this technique that mass-religion moves multitudes. It measures its success by the bulk of the masses of mankind converted by it.

(2) *Culture is empirical, mass religion doctrinal.*

Hence, culture implies not so much a content, as a tone in the inner life of man; not so much an acquisition from without as a transformation within, in the inner being of man. Consequently it is too delicate for an intellectual grasp. In the last analysis it is no more than a delicate nuance in one's spiritual personality.

As it belongs to experience, so its reality remains vital only in a state of experience. It is essentially empirical. Hence to understand culture one has to enter into the experience of the man of culture, and this requires spiritual sympathy and constructive effort which lie beyond the highest capacity of the mass mind.

This presents a strong contrast to mass religion. Religion, as the masses understand it, is a doctrine, a creed, based upon a formula or law. It consists of second-hand material, in which an experience has been reduced to ideas, the concrete has been transformed into the abstract. Credal religion replaces the mysterious in experience by clear-cut catechisms. It consolidates its position by well-defined articles of faith.

(3) *Culture is intellectually free, mass religion dogmatic.*

Again, in mass religion the authority for the doctrine is arbitrarily accepted by faith and is unassailable to the intellect. It is, therefore. secure against the attacks of rationalism and science. The strength of mass religion lies in its independence of logic. Attempts made by certain protestant forms of religion to reconcile authority with intellectual liberty and individual judgement, in other words, to reconcile mass religion with reason have proved ineffectual. Having accepted the basic doctrine without question, the follower of the mass religion applies the intellect to draw deductive inferences from it. That is how, once the main assumption has been accepted, mass religion becomes clear and consistent.

On the other hand culture, being derived from individual experience, is far from being clear and definite. As the experience is subtle and evasive, it does not admit of a logical definition. Hence culture does not commit itself in terms of intellectual statements and is never dogmatic. It is perpetually engaged in realizing the delicate nuances of truth and is very exacting in its demand for reality. Taking its stand on a vital sense of the concrete, it does not allow itself to be led away by generalised abstractions or loose thinking.

So there is an inherent element of scepticism in culture which brings a critical attitude to the consideration of facts and ideals. But its noncommital attitude or scepticism never implies opportunism or cynicism. Culture is too much in earnest about reality to temporise with it, and has so high an aspiration, not unaccompanied. (as A. E. would say) by a fitting inspiration,

for the sublimest in experience that it cannot afford to be cynical. If culture eschews dogmatism it is due to its high sense of intellectual and spiritual integrity.

(4) *Culture is quietistic, mass religion pugnacious.*

Culture, relating to a state of being, is spiritual in quality. It exists independently of practical results, because it is concerned with "what is" and not with "what does" or "what knows." Its external expression is elusive and undefinable, like the emanation of perfume from a flower. And being unconnected with practical results it finds no need to justify itself.* It has hardly any need to assert itself. It works its way like light quietly displacing darkness. It is unobtrusive. Its battles are fought in the serenity of the soul. No blatant propagandists press its claim; no pugnacious preachers fight its cause. It triumphs through its quiet power. It conquers with an unbane smile. Culture is essentially liberal and humane.

Mass religion, on the other hand, faces the dust and din of battle. It argues, professes, protests. It is perpetually engaged in preaching and propaganda. It cannot quietly possess itself; it is constantly opposed to attacks from its rivals and must fight for its existence. Not seldom does it encounter an enemy who is reckless and ruthless, and who carries a battle of annihilation. Not seldom has it itself to fight recklessly and desperately. It has to meet not only argument with argument, but, as it often happens, force with force, cunning with cunning, in order to survive insidious onslaughts on its very existence.

Thus while culture draws forth the "sweetness and light" that is in human nature, mass religion is frequently called upon to demonstrate the "fire and energy" that is in it. Quite naturally the devotion to one's 'fane' of temple grows into 'fanaticism'—the blind fury of religious partriotism.

(5) *Culture is humanistic, mass religion supernatural.*

Mass religion borrows its vision from its prophet or saint, who is held greater than the scientist or philosopher because he is believed to know the supernatural. The popular mind admires the scientist for his natural knowledge, but reveres the prophet for his supernatural knowledge. And it also happens that the popular mind expects the supernatural knowledge to be obtained and communicated through the suspension of natural laws. It must have miracles.

Because the fundamentals of its creed are associated with miracle and magic, the popular position in religion cannot be assailed by logic or reason. What is irrational in its basic conception cannot possibly be disproved by reason.

Before the magnificence of the supernatural realities contemplated by popular religion, the world and man and human life sink into extreme insignificance. Small wonder that religiously-minded people of this type should have thought nothing of the value or importance of human life when they found that it had to be sacrificed for the glory of the Kingdom of Heaven

Culture on the other hand, approaches reality at the human end. It is essentially humanistic. It derives its support from the nobility in human nature. The sublimest thing in the universe in its view is the soul of man. It seeks the divine in the depths of the of the human. God is the soul of the soul. The kingdom of heaven is within man. It is the conscience in him that gives the law to man. The religious practice of the man of culture is not the supplication of a power above him; it is sinking within the depths of his being through contemplation. He does not seek a God lying beyond him; he seeks Him through self-realization.

While popular religion finds man petty, mean and worthless, to culture he is great, nay, divine. Culture holds human values to be supreme. All forms of culture recognize the dignity and nobility of man. In the eyes of culture it is immaterial what a man *believes*; the chief thing is what a man *is*. Hence while religion may sometimes be anti-social and immoral, culture that stands for human values is always for human nobility and goodness. So it matters very little whether cultured men are theists or atheists, or if theists whether monotheists or polytheists, because the essence of their ideals lies in the development of what is noble and good in man. They are humanists first and everything else afterwards. One reason why the rival creeds of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism in India lived generally in harmonious relation with one another is that, though pursuing different theologies, they possessed a common culture. Each wanted to make a gentleman ('ārya') of every man through right living ('dharma').

(6) *Culture is aristocratic, mass religion democratic.*

Culture being a process of self-development and self-realisation, it is essentially qualitative,

* "Culture," says J. C. Powys, in his extremely thought-provoking book, *The Meaning of Culture*, "like aristocracy goes its own way and does not bother about justifying itself."

because men are found to live in different stages of self-development and self-realisation. Hence cultured men form a superior class, an aristocracy; with their individuality, their sense of dignity, and their serene ways, they live aloof from the common multitude.

Mass religion attempts to make the multitude realize that in reality there is no high or low, that all are equal. It bases the democratic theory on the assumption that what seems to confer superiority on some men is really of no worth. Not only does it attack the aristocracy of wealth by saying that it is impossible for the rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven, it also tries to explode the aristocracy of intellect and the aristocracy of character. The true religion, it asserts, is not for the learned or the sophists; it is for the simple man with his faith and love. Religion is not even for the virtuous man so much as it is for the sinner. The strayed sheep and the prodigal son have better claims upon it than their steadier fellow-creatures.

Thus mass religion suggests that the poor, the ignorant and the wicked are, if anything, somewhat superior, in respect of their fitness for the kingdom of heaven and salvation, to the well-off, enlightened and innocent section of humanity. While this remains a suggestion, it forms a cardinal point in popular religion that the man of faith, however ignorant and immoral, is superior to the man of learning and character without the faith. Thus in spite of economic and social inequalities that practically exist in a community, religion propagates a theoretical sense of democracy and equality through its theology.

(7) *Culture is isolationalist, mass religion communal.*

With his individualism, and living a contemplative life, the cultured man is a lonely man. He remains sometimes in physical and always in mental detachment from his fellowmen. While moving in society he fortifies himself by convention and courtesy. He does not, as a rule, take sides in social or political controversies. He is too serene to be roused to zealous partisanships. He meets friend and foe with a bland smile. From his aristocratic heights he disposes of his interfering fellowmen with meticulous politeness. With a few material wants and little regard for fame and no fear or favour for any one, he lives his own unperturbed life, far from the madding crowd. The man of the world often suffers him as a crank, sometimes respects him as an innocent soul that means nobody any harm. But from the worldly point of view he is regarded as rather tame, generally unpractical, and sometimes altogether useless.

Cultured men understand each other and encourage each other through that understanding. Sometimes they form friendships. But they hardly ever form guilds or communities. They greet each other as ships on high seas hail each other, each plying its own course undisturbed.

Mass religion, on the other hand binds men together. It forms them into groups, sects, communities. Religious conformity brushes off human differences, rounds off angularities of individual beings and brings them as close as possible to a type. Mass religion aims not at unity, but at uniformity. Not only are its followers made to consider themselves equal with one another, but they are made, to an extent, to look alike. Some religions have carried the idea of uniformity to external forms of life—to dress, speech, etc.

To maintain its uniformity mass religion has sternly to discountenance nonconformity, or as it has been called, heresy. Hence the natural foundation of religious uniformity lies in intolerance. Intense religiosity—fanaticism in the literal sense—has invariably meant intolerance and, by positive reaction, solidarity and unity within the fold.

(8) *Culture is cosmopolitan, mass religion patriotic.*

Finally culture, by accepting the human values from an individualistic point of view, has been cosmopolitan; while mass religion, by working for communal grouping and solidarity of the group, has been patriotic. To the man of culture every other man, to whatever part of the world or whatever period of history he may belong, is a brother-in-spirit. He establishes spiritual sympathy and spiritual communion with him. But mass religion jealously guards its followers. Certain mass religions in their anxiety to preserve the integrity of their flock, presume every outsider to be a wolf. They encourage fraternity within the fold, but would have little short of hostility for people living outside it. For doctrinal conformity they would even relegate to hell those who had the misfortune to have lived on the earth before their own Messiah was born. All those who are outside the pale are held to be beyond salvation. Patriotism, with both the positive impulse of love for the group and the negative impulse of hate for others is systematically cultivated by these forms of popular religion.

The man of culture with his individualistic, humane and cosmopolitan outlook is surprised at the strange intolerance of the religion of the masses. But so is the man professing this religion, with his theology and patriotic spirit, shocked at the strange apathy of the man of

culture ! It is certainly in the interest of both that they understand each other's point of view.

II. Culture and Mass Religion in Historical Perspective

(1) *Culture forms a powerless minority.*

An investigation into the relation of culture and mass-religion cannot be complete without a comparison of their relative values in the life of a society. In the abstract culture is decidedly superior to mass religion; but in terms of concrete history, the same cannot be said about it.

The trend of human history has not always been favourable to culture. The qualities that contribute to survival in the struggle for existence are not all of them such as are derived from culture. For one thing the men of culture have not often been the men wielding political power. As a rule they have received appreciation and patronage from wise political leaders. But this has been uncertain, as political leadership and admiration for the higher values of life have not always gone together. Again the masses of people have been uncultured and ignorant. For a small minority to live in the midst of a large majority which is indifferent and apt only too often to be hostile to its pursuits and ideals is not always safe. It is in constant risk of annihilation. Athenian culture, the finest that Europe produced, flourished among a third of the people of Athens, the rest being slaves. It was great but short-lived. It survives only in books and marble.

The question arises : Can a minority that has enlightenment without power survive against a majority that has power without enlightenment ?

The answer that history gives is a clear 'No.'

Culture can survive through patronage, but this as we have seen above, is uncertain. It may try to grasp power, but this is highly improbable, as the function of culture is not to build parties and manage to obtain majorities; its inherent individuality and independence and spiritual and moral detachment are apt to incapacitate it for political organisation. Then only another alternative would seem to remain for culture, *viz.*, that the enlightened minority should safeguard itself by winning the respect and support of the unenlightened majority. In the past it has been done by men of culture going down to the multitude and giving them a mass religion.

(2) *Influence of Culture through Mass-Religion.*

Great were the sages in India who followed the path of culture and engaged themselves in self-perfection and pursuit of higher truths in the seclusion of the cave or ashrama; greater, from the survival point of view, were the sages and saints who went to the masses and spoke to them in words that they could understand and gave them ideas they could grasp and so founded mass-religions that spread like wild fire. These founders of mass-religions stood between higher culture and the blind fury of the ignorance and hate of the crude human nature. But for them Indian culture would have been driven out of the life of the living people and remained embedded in dead languages and ruined cities.

All praise for those scholars who continued the tradition of ancient Sanskrit learning and could read and appreciate the Ramayana in the original; but greater praise will certainly go to a Tulsidas who translated the Ramayana into the language of the masses and filled it with a spirit that appealed to all that was deepest in the mass mind. The philosophers who dedicated their lives to the solution of the most intricate problem of life and destiny were certainly worthy; but more useful to society were those among them who allowed their higher wisdom to be compromised so that they could descend to the masses of men and give them simple articles of faith which aroused all the loyalty and devotion of which they were capable. A Chaitanya, a Nanak, a Tukaram did more for the perpetuation of the culture and civilisation of India than others who preferred the path of severe isolation. Because their Acharyas had given them a religion that they understood, the masses in the south resisted the impact of foreign religions so stoutly. Because Tukaram and Ramdas and other saints had taught to them, therefore the people of Maharastra retained the religion of their fathers in spite of temptation and coercion from outside.

If for a moment we were to imagine that Sind had a Tukaram, or Kashmir a Tulsidas, or that Chaitanya had lived and taught in the home-land of his father, East Bengal, then these tracts would look far different in their religious structure from what they do now. Sind had very intelligent men, Kashmir had eminent scholars and East Bengal great masters of learning and scriptures; but they could not establish a sufficient hold on the mass-mind, and hence, when the impact of a foreign religion came, there occurred a landslide in Hindu society, in those religions, the vast masses moving away from its fold. Even if today Hindus in some parts of India are less vulnerable than those in other parts to the impact of foreign religions, it is because the masses there have been brought

nearer to the cultured classes by the propaganda of popular principles of religion recently carried out among them through revivalist movements.

(3) *Safeguard against Degeneration of Culture.*

By giving culture in a diluted and often somewhat coarsened form to the masses, the teachers perhaps took the risk of impairing its dignity and delicacy. Sometimes there was a deliberate sacrifice of the more delicate and spiritual qualities in the interest of mass appeal: but against this risk and the sacrifice, what a service did they render to culture by winning over vast masses of people as admiring followers who, in a severe detachment from it, would easily have turned its enemies ?

The remedy for the loss of the finer qualities lay with culture itself. History bears witness to the fact that culture was not satisfied by merely evolving and spreading a mass religion but, as it happened with the more advanced countries, engaged itself frequently in purifying and improving it. What is Reformation but the impact of culture on mass religion ? In fact the test of a mass religion is, how often and how completely it can pass through not only a reformation but also a renaissance—in other words, how vital is its contact with the life of higher culture.

If a religion like Hinduism has lived for millenniums, it is because at frequent intervals the tenets of its belief have been tested and restated through the experience of men of high culture and the rigidity of its forms has been overpowered through the expansion of the spirit.

Culture is fine, but certainly not great enough till it has found means to translate itself to the language of the masses of the people and reach down to their understanding and at the same time keep itself vigilantly engaged in upholding its true nature. For, even in order that a few should be enlightened, the many must be persuaded to prefer light to darkness.

PRICE MOVEMENTS IN INDIA DURING THE FIRST SIXTEEN MONTHS OF THE PRESENT WAR

(September 1939 to December 1940)

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It is common experience that during a war prices of commodities begin to rise, and in most cases they rise abnormally. Besides the general factors, which cause changes in the prices of commodities in normal times, there are some special factors which exert a great influence on them during the time of a war. When a war suddenly breaks out, prices of many commodities begin to swell up, because the big merchants and businessmen, who have stocks, generally take advantage of the psychology of the masses during the time of a war, when people become nervous and try to purchase more than normal quantities for future needs. These stockists either withhold their stocks in order to get higher prices in future, or charge a high price for their commodities. Therefore, prices of many commodities, especially articles which are brought from foreign countries, go up. But this cannot continue for a long time, because now-a-days government steps in to check such porfiteering.

But leaving aside the question of profiteering (which generally occurs at the sudden outbreak of a war) and its consequent effect upon the prices of certain commodities, (which, as we have said, is a short-period phenomenon), we find that when the war continues for a time, prices of many commodities tend to rise and with them the general price level as a whole. This is due to the following causes :—

(1) The war causes in two ways a great shortage in certain things. Firstly, for munition articles, army clothes and so forth there occurs an enormous government demand much in excess of normal supplies. Secondly, for various articles of ordinary civilian use, the contraction of available tonnage and difficulties of importing commodities due to submarine warfare which increase the insurance costs and freight rates, and the transference of labour and capital from peace-time industries to war industries cause supplies to fall much below the normal. On the other hand, demand for many commodities increases very much due to unforeseeable emergencies of the war. Thus, the maladjustment that occurs in this way between the demand for

and the supply of many commodities during a war tends to force up their prices.

(2) The vast expenditure which the belligerent countries have to incur on arms and ammunitions tends to increase the prices of war materials.

(3) In order to finance the war, the belligerent countries first take recourse to taxation and public loan. Prices do not rise so long as the war is financed by money raised from taxation and public loan. But a modern warfare is so very expensive that neither taxation nor public loan is sufficient to finance it. In such circumstances, the governments of belligerent countries resort to currency inflation. They set their printing machine into motion and begin to issue large volumes of notes in order to finance the war. This new and additional purchasing power, created by the government, tends to increase the general price level very much.

Thus we find that during a war, the general maladjustment between demand and supply of commodities, accompanied by vast expenditure of the war and currency inflation, exerts a great influence on prices of commodities of a country actually engaged in the war.

II

We have already observed that prices of commodities increase very much in those countries which are actually engaged in the war. But high prices of commodities in belligerent countries have their repercussions on prices in countries which are neutral and which may lie actually outside the war zone. As different countries of the world are closely linked up to the world market, no country can escape the shocks of the war. Besides, due to comparative scarcity of shipping facilities, freight rates for imports and exports go up. The costs of insurance against the risks of transport by sea also increase. Moreover, there is a continuous demand for war materials from the neutral countries on the part of the belligerent countries. And, finally, as there is a constant threat of extension of the war into neutral countries, they, too, have to spend vast sums of money on defensive preparations. Due to all these reasons, when there is a war, prices rise in all neutral as well as belligerent countries.

Changes in General Prices in India from September 1939 to December 1940

Since the outbreak of the present war on the 1st of September, 1939, the general level of prices in India, as in the rest of the world, has been moving upwards. The Calcutta Index Number of wholesale prices recorded a rise of 14 per cent above the pre-war level at the end of the first month of the war. Prices continued to rise in the next three months till they reached their peak in December, when the index recorded a rise from 100 in August, 1939 to 137 in December, 1939, *i.e.*, a rise of 37 per cent above the pre-war base.

But from January, 1940, the rising tendency of prices was arrested, and the succeeding months witnessed an almost general recession in prices. The Calcutta Index Number of wholesale prices which soared from 100 in August, 1939 to 137 in December, 1939, fell to 114 in June, 1940, and thus recorded a fall of 17·5 per cent from the peak reachd in December, 1939. Since then there has again been a gradual recovery of prices month by month and in December, 1940 the index stood at 120 *i.e.*, 17 points below the level reached in December, 1939.

Index Number of Wholesale Prices in Calcutta

Base August, 1939 = 100

1939 Rising				Highest	1940 Falling	
Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
100	114	118	131	137	130	126

Falling			Lowest	
Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July
121	121	117	114	114

1940 Recovery				
Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
115	119	121	122	120

It is evident from the above table that the general price level in India has witnessed a series of changes during the first sixteen months of the war, *viz.*, (*a*) a sudden rise in prices from September, 1939 to December, 1939; (*b*) a falling tendency of prices from the beginning of the year 1940 to July, 1940; (*c*) and again a gradual recovery of prices from August, 1940.

It is interesting to compare in this connexion the changes in wholesale prices in India with the changes in the same in the United Kingdom and in the U. S. A.

Index Number of Wholesale Prices in India, the U. K. and the U. S. A.

Base August, 1939 = 100

1939	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Calcutta	100	114	118	131	137
England	100	106	111	119	122
U. S. A.	100	103	103	103	103

1940	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July
Calcutta	130	126	121	121	117	114	114
England	126	129	130	133	134	135	..
U. S. A.	103	103	101	103	101	101	..

The above table reveals some important points of difference between the behaviour of

prices in these three countries. During the first four months of the war, prices in India increased at a much faster rate than either in England or in the U. S. A. Taking August, 1939=100, the Calcutta Index number of wholesale prices showed a rise of 37 per cent in December, 1939, while the United Kingdom Index rose by 22 per cent and that of the U. S. A. by only 3 per cent. While prices have followed an upward trend in England since the outbreak of the war, in America, prices, having risen slightly (*i.e.*, by about 3 per cent) remained almost steady during the next six months. Again, while prices began to fall in India from January, 1940 and reached their lowest point in June, 1940, prices in the United Kingdom continued their upward trend. The price-index fell in India from 137 in December, 1939, to 114 in June, 1940, while that of the United Kingdom rose from 122 in December, 1939 to 135 in June, 1940.

The reasons which have been responsible for the irregular and erratic movements of prices in India, during the first sixteen months of the present war can be stated as follows :

The Causes of the Sudden Rise in Prices from September 1939 to December 1939

The sudden outbreak of the war created a great panic in the minds of the consumers, who became very nervous and attempted to lay up stocks of commodity against the possibility of a very steep rise in prices in future. This gave a great opportunity for profiteering to merchants and businessmen who either charged high prices or held back supplies for a still higher price in future. Therefore, prices of many commodities began to rise by leaps and bounds. There was a greater demand for Indian produce from abroad, and this forced up the prices of many exportable commodities. Imports from foreign countries fell considerably due to increased costs of insurance and difficulties of transport which enhanced the prices of foreign goods. Finally, the belief that economic warfare would mean brighter prospects for Indian industries and agriculture, made the commodity market very sensitive. This, combined with heavy speculative operations in commodity markets, tended to force up prices very much. All these factors would go a long way in explaining the sudden upswing in prices during the first four months of the war.

The Causes of the Fall in Prices from January 1940 to June 1940

The sudden break in the rising tendency of prices from the beginning of the year 1940, and their gradual fall during the six months following were also due to several contributory factors, the cheif of which are mentioned below :

Firstly, the reversal in price trends was primarily due to speculators' reaction on realising that the course of prices was not what the experience of the last war had led them to expect. Secondly, the prompt adoption of the policy of price control by Central and Provincial Governements tended to lower the prices of many commodities, which had risen unusually due to profiteering by merchants and businessmen. Moreover, the fear of the possibility of regulation of future market by the Government and of increased Government control of prices tended to depress prices more and more. Thirdly, increased taxation, especially the taxation of Excess profits, led to a further drop in commodity prices. Fourthly, this downward trend of prices was further intensified with the loss of the entire European market for Indian goods since May, 1940, due to the adverse developments of the war. Finally, the locking up of money either in hoards or in gold or silver due to war panic had a depressing influence on prices.

The Causes that Led to a Recovery of Prices Since August, 1940

The factors that have been responsible for bringing about a slow recovery of prices since August, 1940, may now be indicated. Firstly, the improvement in war situation from this time onwards led to a gradual revival of business confidence, and Indian business activity resumed its upward course. This had a beneficial effect on prices. Secondly, the strenuous efforts of the Supply Department to make India a great supplier of arms and ammunitions for forces engaged in the war by utilising her economic resources has been an important factor for recovery of prices to a great extent. Thirdly, the modification of the policy of price control also tended to raise the prices of some commodities. Lastly, the gradual selling up of the stocks, increased trade with the British Empire and America, and the possibility of having alternative markets for Indian staples due to the recent decision of the Eastern Group Conference and efforts of the Roger Mission for bringing about the industrial development of India, are the other important factors which account for the recovery and the gradual upward trend of prices.

III

Changes in Prices of Particular Commodities

We have studied above the general trend of wholesale prices in India during the first sixteen

months of the present war. It is to be noted, however, that although the prices of most commodities rose, they rose in varying degrees.

The rise in prices was particularly sharp in the cases of raw jute and jute manufactures, raw cotton and cotton manufactures, wool, silk, wheat, rice and iron and steel. Prices of tea, sugar and mustard oil did not rise very much. Of the imported articles, prices of articles like chemicals, patent medicines, tinned provisions, toilet requisites, etc., rose markedly. Commodities like meat, cereals and pulses which are derived mostly from domestic sources also recorded substantial increases. After a period of about four or five months of the war, prices of some of the domestic goods began to fall. The fall in prices was very great in the case of raw jute and raw cotton. Prices of jute manufactures also fell heavily. Prices of cereals and pulses fell but little. Prices of imported articles, however, remained steady.

Price Changes in Groups of Commodities

So far we have studied the changes in general prices and prices of some particular commodities. Let us now study the effect of the war on the prices of groups of commodities. The unequal or divergent movements in the prices of groups of commodities tend to develop maladjustments between demand for and supply of different kinds of goods, which obstruct the process of automatic adjustment in the economic system. The experience of the last Great Depression bears testimony to this fact. Here we shall observe the effect of the war on changes, firstly, in prices of raw materials and manufactured goods; secondly in wholesale and retail prices; and lastly, in export and import prices.

Price Index of Raw Jute and Jute Manufactures and Raw Cotton and Cotton Manufactures

Changes in Prices of Raw and Manufactured Goods
Calcutta Wholesale Prices

Base August, 1939 = 100

	1939					1940	
	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
Raw Jute	100	135	134	205	228	217	228
Jute Manf.	100	148	159	221	218	185	164
Raw Cotton	100	128	152	173	190	176	172
Cotton Manf.	100	111	110	130	139	135	128
	1940						
	Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.
Raw Jute	175	174	149	142	110	93	93
Jute Manf.	144	140	123	119	95	107	128
Raw Cotton	161	168	123	106	128	122	125
Cotton Manf.	125	130	128	123	123	121	123

The above table indicates that the impetus of rising prices during the earlier period of the war tended to remove the discrepancy in the movements of prices between raw materials and manufactured goods. The wide gap that had existed before the war between the prices of these two groups of products was considerably narrowed; and this had been attained through a greater rise in the prices of agricultural commodities than in the case of manufactured goods. But from March, 1940, when there occurred a general slump in prices the discrepancy in the movements of prices between these two groups of products again began to manifest itself. Prices of raw materials fell much more than those of manufactured goods. The price index of raw jute went even below the pre-war index in August, 1940. So also the price index of raw cotton recorded a heavy fall. But the price index of both jute and cotton manufactures fell much less than that of raw materials in both the cases.

Changes in Wholesale & Retail Prices

As regards wholesale and retail prices, it is to be remembered that retail prices always lag behind wholesale prices. This lag was in evidence during the first eight months of the war. Since then the discrepancy has tended to be rectified. It is interesting to note in this connexion that in India the disparity between these two sets of prices had not been very great as compared with the other countries of the world during the period of the economic depression. This had been so probably due to the fact that the cost of living index in India is heavily weighted with commodities like food stuffs, which had fallen in price very considerably. In most countries of the west, retail prices, as measured by the cost of living index, had proved relatively rigid. Unlike the other countries of the world, the retail prices in India had fallen more than wholesale prices or at least had kept pace with them.

Bombay Wholesale Price and Cost of Living Indices
September, 1939 to September, 1940

Base August, 1939 = 100

	1939					1940	
	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
Wholesale	100	116	117	129	130	123	106
Cost of Living	100	101	103	104	107	108	106
	1940						
	Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.
Wholesale	115	117	114	110	111	108	109
Cost of Living	104	104	105	105	107	108	106

The table indicates that though the cost of living index rose slowly during the earlier period of the war, thereby increasing the discrepancy between wholesale and cost of living indices, yet the disparity between them tendend to be gradually corrected as from the month of June,

1940, when the wholesale prices began to fall, while the cost of living index continued to rise.

Changes in Export & Import Prices

Let us now study the effect of the war on the import and export prices in India. The nature of the changes in the indices of these two groups of prices will indicate the change in the barter terms of trade between India and other industrial countries with which she trades.

Price Indices of Indian Exports and Imports Based on Declared Values

1927-28 = 100

	Exports	Imports
April, 1939 ..	54	68
July, " ..	60	66
February, 1940 ..	83	81
April, " ..	76	89
July, " ..	72	82

During the last Great Depression India suffered very much because of the heavy fall in the prices of agricultural commodities. The comparatively high prices of manufactured goods tended to worsen the terms of trade of India, which diminished her national income and made her the worst sufferer in all respects. When the recovery set in from 1937-38, India's terms of trade began to improve gradually. The present war by increasing the prices of exports improved the situation a great deal and the terms of trade became favourable to India towards the close of the year 1939-40. But since then export prices began to fall a little while import prices continued steadily to go up, thus checking the tendency towards the improvement of the barter terms of trade of India.

IV

Comparison of Changes in Wholesale Prices During the First Twelve Months of the Last Great War with those in the Same During the Present War

It will be of some interest to compare in this connexion the changes in prices that had occurred during the first twelve months of the last Great War with those in the same during the first twelve months of the present war.

Calcutta Wholesale Index Number of Prices

Base July, 1914 = 100

1914 and 1939	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1914-15	100	104	100	102	99	102
1939-40	100	100	114	118	131	137

1915 and 1940	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May	June
1914-15	110	112	108	108	110	111
1939-40	130	126	121	117	114	114

Comparing the movement of general prices in India during the first twelve months of the two wars, we notice that the starting point was practically the same in both: the price indices being 100 in July, at 104 and 100 respectively in August and again coinciding at 103 about the end of the first week of September. But from this point onwards we notice an increasing divergence between the movements of the two. Whereas in 1914 there was an almost steady upward movement (with slight variations) upto December, in 1939 there was a very steep and continuous rise, the highest peak being reached in December. The price index for December stood at 102 in 1914 and 137 in 1939. From December onwards, however, we notice a slight convergence: in 1914-15, the price level rose from 102 in December to 112 in February, but in 1939-40, the price level fell from 137 in December to 126 in February. The steepness of the rise in the one case was almost equal to the steepness of the fall in the other. From February onwards, the two price movements were on more or less parallel lines up to April after which we notice another convergent tendency: the differences between the two price indices diminishing from 13 in April to 3 in June.

Broadly speaking, we may say that the general price movement was more steady in 1914-15, than in 1939-40. Though the variations from month to month in the intermediate period were great, still the situation at the end of the year compared to that in the beginning of the period was almost similar in 1914-15 and in 1939-40.

The average of the wholesale prices during the first twelve months of the last Great War, and of the present war, as measured by the Calcutta wholesale Index Numbers, stood at 115 and 120 respectively, (1914-15, Base July, 1914=100 and 1939-40, Base August, 1939=100). Thus, we find that, on the average, there has been a greater rise in prices during the first twelve months of the present war than that during the first twelve months of the last Great War. This difference may have been due to the following factors: (*a*) The transition from peace to war economy in 1914-15 meant merely a redistribution of resources as between different industries, because the war broke out in a period of full employment and stable prices. But, the war of 1939 came upon a state of growing employment and rising prices. Consequently, the rise due to the war was supperimposed upon the rise due to the recovery from the Depression. (*b*) The sea route between India and Europe was comparatively safer and freer in 1914-15 than in 1939-40.

AN HIMALAYAN RHAPSODY

By SIGRID PETERSON GOULD

It was morning just a little before eight as the bend on the upper chakkar was reached. And there, there lay vibrant the breath-taking beauty of the snows. What an expanse of etched, snow-tipped peaks; cloud-wreathed, and high-set; beyond ridge after ridge of sunlit, shade-swept hills!

Towering above all else rose the giant, top-most peak. Like an open fan, or, as if in courtesy, she stood, spreading her shimmering snow-clad beauty before us. On her head, gently placed, as if the fairies had left it there, a wreath rested. It was cloud-spun, etherial both in texture and hue—a part of the billowing train which touched the landscape. There in the warm love of gathering day she stood, a Nordic Snow Queen, a Norseman's bride!

To the right and left rose other peaks—lesser queens perhaps—but intriguing none-the-less with their chiselled profiles etched against the arched blue. Beneath their ermine thrones wind-swept ridges spilt downward into pools of nubby hillocks. And there close to the warmth of the valley lay mosaics of terraced paddy fields. And to the edge of village clearings rose fragrant deodars—tall, fresh-green, and resplendent with strength.

There were ground songsters, crossing and re-crossing the valley, adding life to the impersonal scene and looking like so many dry leaves fluttering in the sunlight. And there were jewelled sunbeams, sunbeams beating their warmth into our bodies until all was vibrant within.

There by the road-side, on a stone, we sat; wondering at so much beauty. Only the gurgly purr of a near-by hukka kept the scene deep-rooted in Indian soil—otherwise its beauty bore no national badge or coat-of-arms. The Psalmist sang true when he declared, "Thou preparest a table before me." And Greek Tragedians are the more understood for they found in tragedy what some find in beauty—that something which purifies human emotion. But beauty, impersonal, expansive beauty, does more. It resets the emotions until they, in soaring flight, burst forth into the song and rhythm of reverential ecstasy.

An hour had passed. The eyes had wandered often over diverse routes to catch the line, the colour, and the feel of it all. And yet so much strength of hills, interplay of sun and shade, expanse of gilt-tipped snows, and crumpled table-land could not comprehendingly be fathomed, or captured, by any single breast.

Once again, looking up from the near sun-lit patch to the tumbled, rough-hewn beauty of the hills beyond, we saw new details emerge. The highest of the hills rising upward close to the icy breath of the snows were tree-clad. And from our vantage point they seemed snugly wrapped as if cloaked in grey-green karracul. Just below rose the lesser ridges, tree-less and barren except for their close-croppd coat of deeper green. And then bneath these, running into the narrow heat of the valley, stood the last of the slopes richly forested with the stately deodar.

One long-sweeping ridge dominated the scene. The restive beauty of anyone of its upper peaks was enough to catch the eye. And instinctively, or as if by force, the eye once caught, was impelled downward over an unending cascade of drops and shimmering ravines. Its journey upward was with effort and the eye with labour must spend itself if it would regain the celestial, snow-bound beauty from which it had fallen.

A bob-white called from a far crag and a whistling thrush dropped his liquid carol into the melting loveliness below. Feelings tumbled into thoughts, and thoughts into song, until we echoed the poet's chant:

> "Life has loveliness to sell,
> All beautiful and splendid things,
>
> Spend all you have for loveliness,
> Buy it and never count the cost;
>
> And for a breath of ecstasy
> Give all you have been, or could be."*

It was enough! Peace, pain, wonder and regret had been rewoven into a deeper love for the true, the good, and the beautiful.

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* Acknowledgment is hereby made to *Barter*, by Sara Teasdale.

MYSORE UNIVERSITY UNION LITERACY CAMPAIGN

A Scheme Arranged on Scientific Lines

By N. N.

According to the rough figures available from the recent census of India, there has been a good growth in the number of literate persons. At least a part of this growth, especially among adults, can be traced to the literacy classes organised by various groups in all provinces and states of India.

A scientific method of literacy campaign was recently conducted by the members of the Mysore University Union. The following details about their scheme of work will prove helpful to all those who have an interest in this subject of vital national importance.

100 Literacy Classes

The University Union programmed for conducting 100 literacy classes in different localities of the city and it was estimated that about a thousand adult literates would be the result of those classes. Volunteer-teachers were readily forthcoming and when the classes began, there were 160 Kannada and 40 Urdu teachers ready for work.

The first important preliminary work the Union Literacy Campaign did was to evolve out an original method of teaching the alphabet to persons who had long ago passed the age of learning. For this purpose, a Kannada Literacy Chart, designed scientifically, was prepared.



Creating the interest : Literacy workers, headed by Professor Eagleton of the Mysore University, visit a Mysore suburb, inhabited mostly by Harijans. The people come forward to meet them, an open-air conference is held and arrangements for a literacy class are completed.

This alphabet chart is based on the principle of easy movement. Letters are grouped according to the similarity of form to facilitate movement of the hand. As letters of complicated movement try the beginners, letters of simple movement precede those of more complicated movement. This method of grading takes the learner gradually from the simple to the more complex letters.



After their graduation, the students are not left off. Their interest in literacy is continually kept up by inviting them into the library in their leisure hours.



The Primer class. The teacher, in the centre, sits with his students and directs their reading. A month at this book is enough to make any illiterate man thorough with the fundamentals of reading and writing



In this post-literacy meeting, held in the school-hall, the speaker, Mr. Srinivasa Murthy of the Mysore Educational Service, is talking about the miracles of science

Initial Propaganda

Before the literacy classes could be held anywhere, quite an amount of propaganda was necessary. A few weeks before the classes were to be held, workers of the campaign had gone several rounds of the city, talked to the people, fixed the buildings in each centre and appealed to leaders of the locality for support and co-operation.

By the date fixed for the inauguration of the classes, the buildings where they were to be held had been fixed and the adult-students enrolled. Of the enrolled students, more than half were absolutely begineers—they had never even attempted to read, or write. The rest were people who had once been literate but had lapsed into illiteracy later.

A few days after the inauguration, the classes were in full swing, with good and regular attendance. As most of the students were drawn from city workers, night was preferred for the lessons and each school would begin work at 7-30 P.M. and close at 9. The first fifteen minutes of a class would be spent for greetings and general conversation; one hour for instruction in reading and writing; and the last fifteen minutes for a short informative topic, either on a general subject or on some interesting news of the day.

The full literacy course of the University Union Scheme covered eleven weeks. In the end, to give each student an idea of his own ability, a literacy examination was held. This was the standard of literacy which the pupils had reached when they sat for the examination:

(1) To read and comprehend an article in a newspaper, a handbill or some advertisement.

(2) Simple commercial arithmetic of familiar weights, measures and coins. Multiplication tables from 1 to 10 and 12 to 16.

(3) To write a simple letter to a relation and an application to an office.

(4) A knowledge of very elementary ideas of history and geography of the country and its social institutions.



The class next to the primer and arithmetic class is the newspaper reading class. The scholars are slow at first, but after a few nights, as their interest in reading and in the news grows, they make rapid progress. At the end of their two months, they pick up completely writing, reading and arithmetic

Post-Literacy Courses

Though the adult students who have attended the classes for the prescribed eleven months can be considered literate, most of them



The suburb's Rama-mandir (a temple dedicated to God Rama and used for Bhajan purposes) is the school. Classes are held at nights, as the students are all workers. Here is a group of them, learning their alphabet for the first time. Special charts have been prepared for the purpose and within two days most of the scholars become thorough with their first lesson

will lapse into illiteracy if provision is not made to fix the literacy they have gained. So according to the Union Scheme, post-literacy and 'follow-on' courses will be held in future to sustain interest in reading. In these, they are taught further reading and more advanced writing and arithmetic. Also, they are encouraged and even compelled to use the library and the reading room continually. As mere reading would not interest them, a course of fortnightly lectures on various topics of general interest and information will be arranged and fortnightly reading sheet, in big print and simple language, will be published. It is also planned to bring out books specially suited for adult literates and produced with a view to interest them.

HAND-MADE PAPER

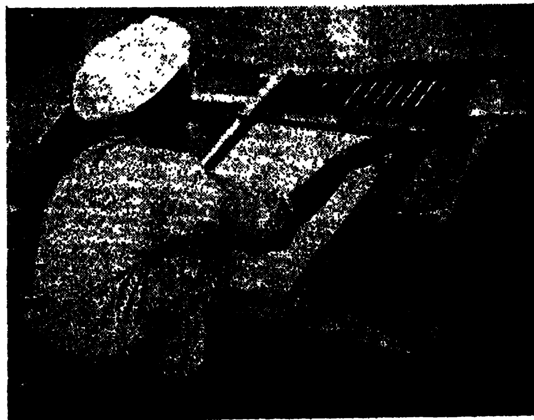
An Ancient Kashmir Industry

By B. P. SHARMA

Serious efforts have been made during the past few years to revive the hand-made paper industry in India, and this forms an item in the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress.

The hand-made paper industry in Kashmir which was on the verge of extinction has also received a fillip and the few families now engaged in this industry are again hoping to keep the industry alive.

The art was imported into Kashmir from Persia by Zain-ul-Abdin, the ruler of Kashmir (1420-1470), and this industry was very prosperous in Moghul times. Kashmir's hand-made paper was used for writing documents in the Moghul Court. No machine-made paper was imported into Kashmir till the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the second Ruler of the Dogra family. Maharaja Ranbir Singh himself was a great lover of Kashmir's art and industry, but during the closing years of his reign the machine-made paper appears to have been imported into Kashmir for the first time. In about 1888, the offices in Kashmir State were "modernised" and the demand for paper became greater. With the spread of education and also due to other



Lifting the pulp on the "screen"

reasons, the demand for paper rose and by slow stages machine-made paper which was cheaper

in cost replaced the old hand-made paper. But with all the pressure from machine-made paper, the hand-made paper industry dragged on and we still find a few families whose only source of income is paper-making.

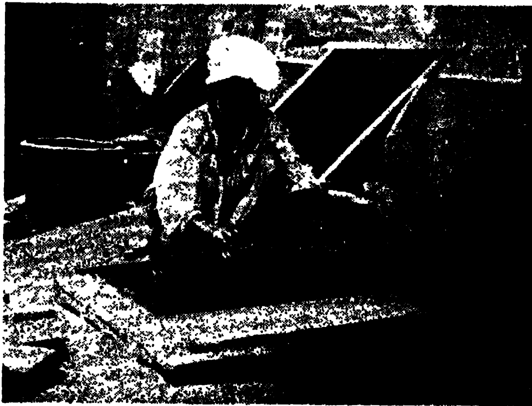
The method of production in Kashmir is altogether different from that followed in Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad or Manipur State. Kashmir's hand-made paper is considered to be better in durability and strength.

In Hyderabad State, hemp and jute form the raw material for production of paper; in Bombay Presidency old account books and waste paper obtained from paper-cutting machines is used for its production; in Madras also waste paper forms the raw material; whereas in Manipur State the fibre of a plant known as *Shu Arasa* is used.



Laying the pulp in sun for drying

In Kashmir, the method of production is rather different and in spite of the fact that the industry came into existence several centuries ago, the tradition is well kept by Kashmir manufacturers, because of the excellence of the original invention. Cotton waste, old clothes and rags form the raw material in Kashmir. This raw material together with a little quantity of hemp is pounded and then diluted in water. A small quantity of *sajji* (lime) is added after short intervals and the process is repeated till the material becomes finer and ultimately the flaments composing the fibre float separately in water.



Polishing and glazing the paper

The pulp thus floating in a large wooden tray is lifted on a "screen". After some time when the pulp on the "screen" is free from water, the same is laid on the ground, on a piece of cloth. The pulp is dried in the sun. The final process consists of polishing and glazing the paper with agate stone. The paper is then cut to different sizes with scissors.

Recently the machine-pulp in the shape of pieces of paper obtained from the paper-cutting machines and printing presses has also been introduced for the manufacture of hand-made paper. This process is being tried at the Government school for training of teachers for the Basic Schools, but the paper thus produced is far inferior in quality to that of the original hand-made paper.

The demand for Kashmir's hand-made paper has now increased and the local manufacturers have been booking orders from swadeshi-minded people in British India. Some of the Departments of the State, for instance, the Rural Reconstruction and Panchayat Department, are patronizing the industry and recently the Panchayat Department made an experiment for printing some of its summonses on Kashmir's hand-made paper, and it has been found that the paper is capable of being printed upon.



A corner of the Zoo, organised by H. H. Maharaja Joodha Shumshere

THE INDEPENDENT HINDU KINGDOM

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN

NEPAL is a narrow strip of mountainous country of an area of fifty-four thousand square miles, adjoining the North-east frontier of British India, being separated on the north from Tibet by the lofty snowy mountains of the Himalayas, on the east it touches Sikkim, on the west the British Hill Province of Kumaon and on the south, Bihar and Oudh. By far the greater portion of the country lies in the hills, but on the south between a low range of sandstone hills called the Chiriyaghata and the British Frontier, is a long narrow belt of country known as Terai, consisting partly of Sal forest and partly of level cultivated land. The average width of the Terai is about twenty miles. The country within the hills consists of three natural divisions formed by lofty mountain ranges, running at right angles to the main line of the Himalayas. These ranges form the basins of three large rivers, into which converge innumerable mountain streams; the country between them being broken up by lower hills with intervening valleys varying in extent. The three basins are those of :—

(1) The Karnali or Gogra river in the west;
(2) The Gundak in the centre, and
(3) The Kosi, in the east.

Besides them is a fourth, politically the most important, that of the Bagmati, the valley of Nepal proper, lying between the basins of the Gundak and the Kosi.

The River Kali forms the western boundary between Kumaon and Nepal. The basin of the Karnali on the Nepalese side contains the modern provinces of Jumla, Doti and Saliana, each having a chief town of the same name. It formerly consisted of twenty-two small principalities, known as the Baisia, all tributory to the Raja of Jumla. The town of Piuthana is situated about the centre of this district; it was one of the principal Nepalese arsenals, and is celebrated for its sword and khukri blades.

The central division is known as the Sapta Gandaki; from the seven rivers which unite to form the Gandak; the most easterly of these is the Trisulganga, which rises in a large lake, sacred to Mahadeva, near the summit of Mount Gosaithan, and flows through the Nayakot valley. This central division originally comprised, besides the kingdoms of Gorkha, twenty-four petty states known as the Choubisia, as well as the Baisia, tributary to Jumla. The modern provinces are Malibrun in the north-west, Khachi in the south-west, Palpa, including Batoul, in the south, and Gorkha in the north-west. South-west of Gorkha is the valley of Pokhra, larger than that of Nepal, with a capital of the same name; the town is large and populous, and is celebrated for its manufactures in copper.

The eastern of the three great basins is that of the River Kosi, known as the Sapta Kosi; here again seven small rivers converge to form the main stream. This division touches Sikkim

on the east and Nepal Proper on the west; it is divided by the River Arun, one of the seven. The country on its west bank to the River Dudh-Kosi, another of the seven, is that of the Kirantis, a low-caste hill tribe.

The fourth natural division, the most important though the smallest, and from which in modern times the whole country has been named, is Nepal Proper.

The outline of the central valley, which lies directly south of the snow-capped Gosainthan, is irregularly oval; the long diameter running from north-west to south-east is about sixteen miles in length, and the short diameter about twelve to fifteen miles. The inhabited area is about 300 square miles, and the elevation 4,500 feet above sea level. A circle of hills surrounds it on all sides, their elevation varying from 500 to 4,800 above the surface of the valley.

The shallow streams—Bagmati, Vishnumati and Monohara flow from North to South and before leaving the valley, unite and pass through a gorge in the south, ultimately joining with the River Gandak in British India.

The valley of Nepal is very densely populated, for besides containing three large cities, Kathmandu the capital, Patan and Bhatgaon, each formerly the capital of a separate kingdom, there are many towns and large villages, as well as a great number of smaller villages, and hamlets; the open country is also dotted with single houses. The population is estimated at half a million. The climate is temperate, resembling that of the south of Europe, except for the far greater humidity. The average yearly rainfall is 60 inches, three quarters of which falls between June and September. The average yearly mean temperature is 61 degrees, during the hottest months; the highest inside the house with doors and windows open is approximately 85 degrees, and hence fans are unnecessary. In winter heavy morning mist, lasting till nine or ten o'clock, fills the valley; hoar frosts are frequent and the thermometer sometimes falls in December to 28 degrees at night.

The word "Nepal" according to some means the land cherished by a deity, called "Ne." There are other derivations as well. Some say that the country was named after the great sage, "Ne-Muni," the founder of the Gupta dynasty and to some the word means the valley leading to heaven.

Nepal has been in Hindu times mostly a member of the Indian Empire. But for centuries, situated as it is between two large empires, those of China and India—Nepal has evolved a wise international policy, wherein she has hardly ever taken a false step. Thanks to that wise policy, her international position today is such as it had probably never been before. She enjoys and rightly so the complete confidence of her powerful neighbour.

Mānāksha, an early Lichchavi, wrested Nepal from Vaisali in 200 A.D. and established a direct government in Nepal, marking the event



Nayatapo temple at Bhatgaon

with the installation of Pasupati—which is a Mukhalinga of the style of the Naga-Vākātakas. Pasuprekshadeva, the third king, who is credited with the introduction of Hindu caste-rules and population from Hindusthan, is the founder of Pasupati's Temple.

Before the Lichchavi annexation Kirata dynasty had been the ruling power. Twenty-eight kings belonged to it. It was at the time of the fifteenth king—Sthunko—that Asoka visited Nepal.

Pasuprekshadeva's successor Bhaskaravarman, the great conqueror of India, is probably the grandfather of Samudragupta, the father-in-law of Chandragupta I. Bhaskaravarman was still probably the president of the Republic at Vaisali. He seems to have defeated Magadha and evidently his dominions were large enough to entitle Chandragupta I to call himself Maharajadhiraja. The seat of government changed from Vaisali to Nepal where his adopted son



Hills made arable. Nagarkote

Bhumivarmana succeeded and the plains passed on to Chandragupta I and his queen the Lichchavi lady.

Various Hindu dynasties—some of their kings embracing Buddhism from time to time—mostly from the plains of India ruled in Nepal.

The present *de jure* and *de facto* rulers are Rajputs who migrated to the Himalays in the early 15th century.

Various races inhabit Nepal. The Gorkhalis are the military and dominant class. All the aboriginals have been Hinduised and caste is the main pivot on which the whole structure of the society rests.

The Newars (undoubtedly migrated from India but the time when and the locality from which they migrated are still disputed) form the bulk of the inhabitants of Nepal Proper (the valley) and the trade and agriculture of the place are still in their hands. They never ruled the country but always have exercised some sort of influence in the administration of the land since the time of the Mallas who are now almost totally extinct. Newars profess both Buddhism and Hinduism. Enough remains of the old wood and stone carvings of the Newars to prove their artistic ability.

The Lingua Franca of Nepal is the Parbatiya language, a dialect of Hindi. Newars have a language of their own known as Newari. The character is a modification of Nagri.

Shaivism is now the most prominent religion in Nepal—the worshippers of Vishnu being rather few.

There are 3000 sacred shrines within the valley. The temples are of three kinds:—

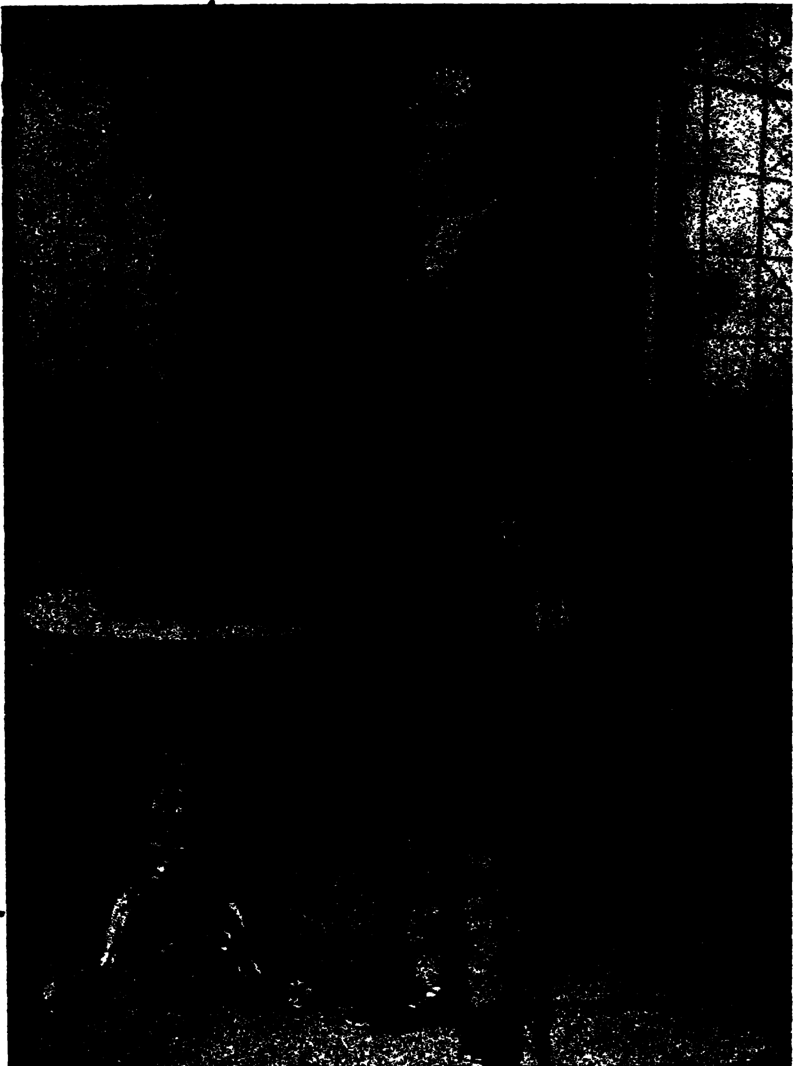
(1) Pagoda shaped, generally Hindu, a very few being Buddhist.
(2) Conical—domed, nearly always Hindu, a few only being Buddhist.
(3) Chaityas or Buddhist mound temples.



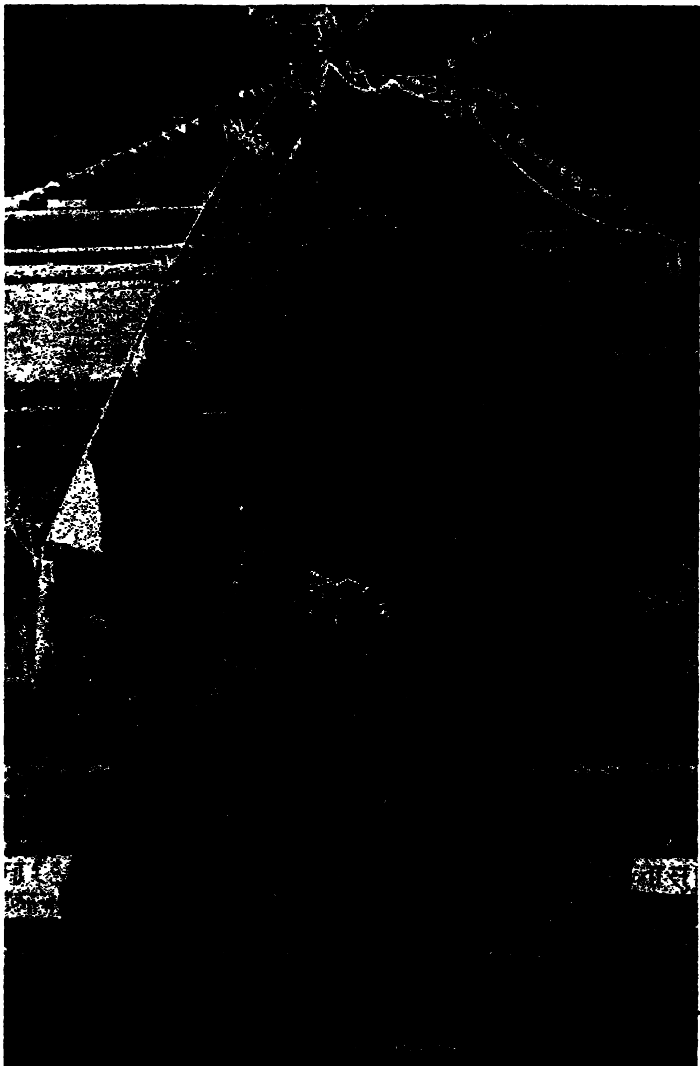
Hydro-Electric Power-house, Sundarijal

Besides these there are a few temples of Tribut style with symmetrical tiers.

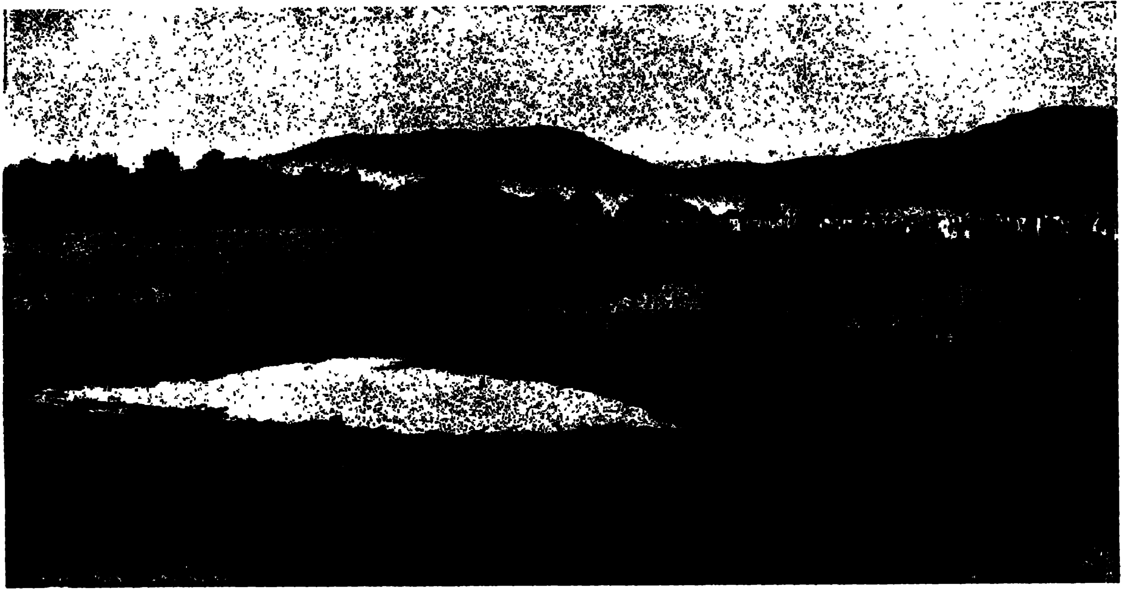
The most beautiful and characteristic temples of Nepal are the first type and they differ entirely from any temple seen in British



H. H. the Maharaja Sir Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur in his national costume



Entrance to Varahi Temple at Bhatgaon (specimen of woodwork)



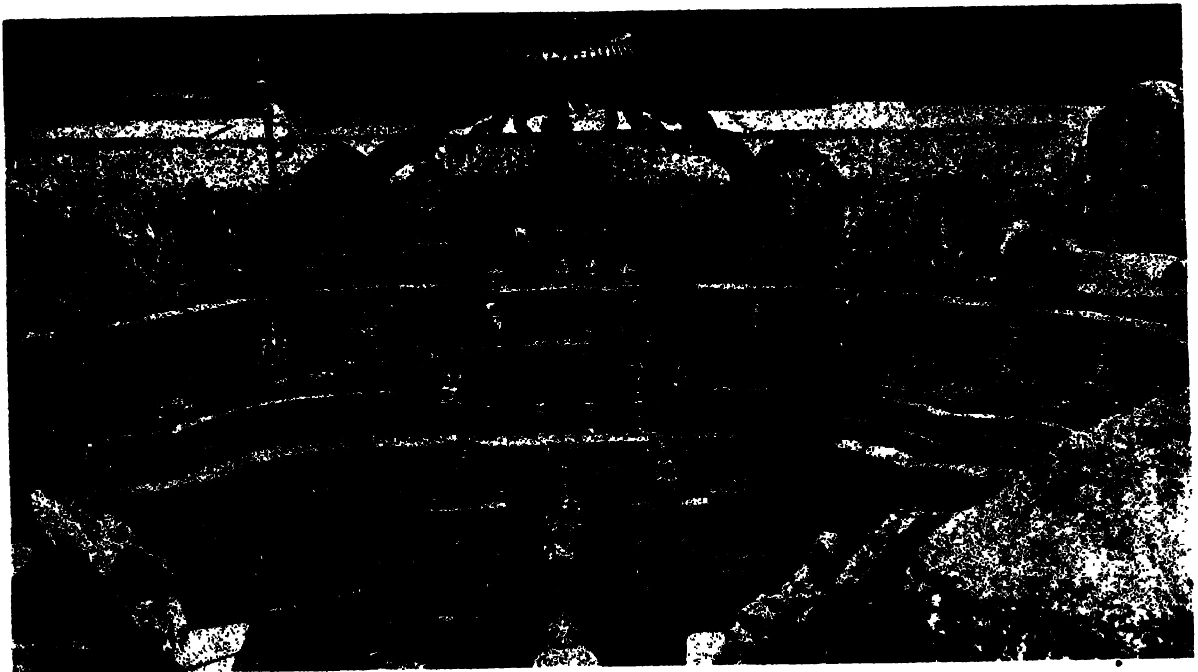
Snow-capped ranges of the Himalayas



Panoramic view of Kathmandu. Showing snow-capped ranges in the background



Krishna Temple at Patan



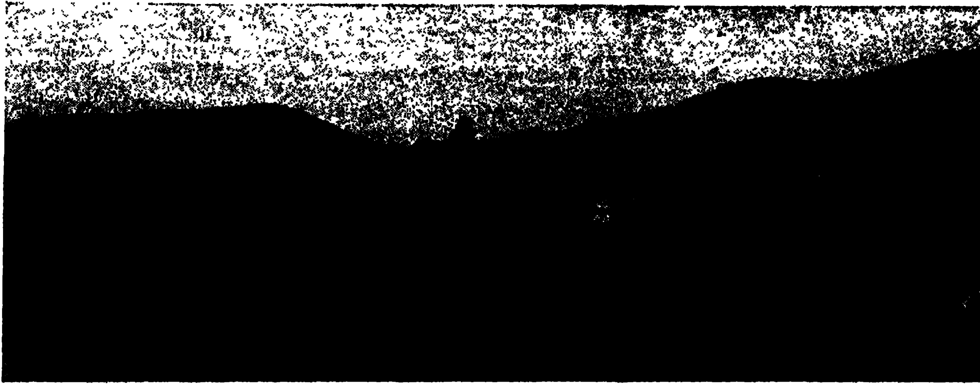
A fountain within an old palace. Note the miniature sculptures



H. H. the Maharaja Sir Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur as a Shikari



Moscow. A scene in the centre of the city



A village

India. These are built of good red bricks and massive and well seasoned timbers, ornamented with the most elaborate carving. These temples have from two to five stories, square in plan, each one smaller than the one below it; the highest being pyramidal and surmounted by a gilt pinnacle. At the junction of the stories are sloping roofs, running round all four sides of the building, with the corners turned up; these roofs are of tile (known as Jhinti), or of gilded copper or brass and are supported by wooden struts which slope upwards from the upright walls to the edges of their sloping roofs. The struts are almost always most elaborately, and generally grotesquely, carved with images of deities, demons or dragons; sometimes the carvings are very obscene. The temples are often raised on a masonry base, sometimes consisting of several platforms diminishing in size from the lowest, and often corresponding in number of that of the stories of the building. The lower storey is the shrine of the deity, the upper ones being store rooms for "properties," etc. From Chinese history it is evident that architectural style which is now known as the pagoda style was already in vogue in Nepal in the middle of the seventh century. Wang Hiuentse, the Chinese Ambassador, when he pased through Nepal in the year 657 A.D. saw there temples and secular buildings, the like of which he had not seen or known in his ow ncountry. The style travelled from Nepal to China, and not *vice versa*. Similar buildings are found in Malabar and Kulu.

The second class of temples is characterized by a conical pillar-like dome. The style is similar to that of some old temples in the plains of India; sometimes the dome or *sikharam* alone rises from a raised platform, but its lower portion is, as a rule, surrounded by a colonade. They are generally built of stone, and are nearly all Hindu; a few are Buddhist.

The third type is that of the Buddhist mound temples, and has many examples in different parts of India. The distinguishing feature of the Buddhist Chaitya is the *garbha* or mound, usually a solid dome or hemisphere of masonry, which is built over a small, strong chamber of brick and stone, and round a massive beam of wood fixed upright in the centre of the foundation of the chamber. The hemisphere reaches to about half the height of the central beam which projects above it, the top is somewhat flattened and on it is first built a square capital round the beam,—the eyes of Buddha, long, narrow and oblique, being painted on all



A flood scene. The sacred Bagmati river



A view of Nepal. The stupa of Bodhnath seen at a corner

four sides of it. Above this comes the spire which is either round and conical or square and pyramidal; it invariably consists of thirteen separate divisions, emblematic of the thirteen Buddhist heavens. The round conical form or spire is most common; it is composed of thirteen circular wooden platforms, built round the central beam, diminishing in size from below upwards, and separated from each other at distinct and equal intervals; the edges are covered with plates of copper gilt. Finally, the whole edifice is crowned by a well-shaped ornamental pinnacle, called the *kalas*, which is also copper gilt. Sometimes a canopy or *chhattra* is placed round the base of the pinnacle, which rests by wooden supports on the upper segment of the spire.



Headwork, Sundarijal Hydro-Electric

The central masonry chamber has nine compartments; the central one is occupied by the base of the upright beam. In the remaining eight, before the chamber is closed, are placed certain particular kinds of wood and grain, and a number of images of the Buddhas, their Saktis and Satwas besides those of Sakya or other saints. When the Chaitya is of a memorial or funeral character, human relics are also deposited in the chamber.

The solid dome may spring directly from the basement, or it may have a narrow plinth. The basement itself varies, but usually consists of a series of three terraces rising one above the other.

Nepalese art is of an intensely religious character and symbolic. No ornament is used without some definite idea, meaning or purpose. The highest from of Nepalese art are represented by three different methods of expression—painted picture, wood carvings and metal statuary.

Agriculture as an occupation is taken up by all classes, excepting the merchants and traders. As regards the densely populated valley itself, every available plot of land is utilized, the sides of the hills being terraced as high as possible. Rice is the most important crop, and during the rains the valley becomes one great rice-field. Various kinds of rice are cultivated, but there are two chief varieties, *viz.*, the Gaya or upland rice, the fields of which are not submerged, nor is it transplanted; it is sown about the middle of May and ripens early in September; the Puya

or lowland rice, the transplantation of which is an occasion of much festivity and liquoring-up on the part of those employed. It takes place in June and the crop is reaped in the last half of October. Part of the Puya rice is converted into "Hakna"; it is collected into heaps, which are then covered with clods of wet earth, the rice is left thus covered for eight or ten days until its has fermented, when the heaps are opened and the rice spread out and dried. Besides rice, Indian corn is grown in the rains, chiefly in the hills surrounding the valley, also red and yellow pepper, and in the cold weather, wheat, potatoes, radishes and other vegetables. The fields are freely manured, and have spread over them a black alluvial peaty substance called Koncha, wherever it is obtainable, mixed with a greyish-blue clay called Ong Shigulay by the Newars; this substance is probably of vegetable origin impregnated with iron. The plough is rarely used, the trenching being almost always done by hand with a short-handled *kodal* or spade.

The following is a list of Religious festivals of Nepal :

GORKHALI.—(1) Rakhi Purnima, (2) Janma Asthmi, (3) Dassera, (4) Dewali, (5) Basanta Panchami, (6) Holi and (7) Sivaratri.

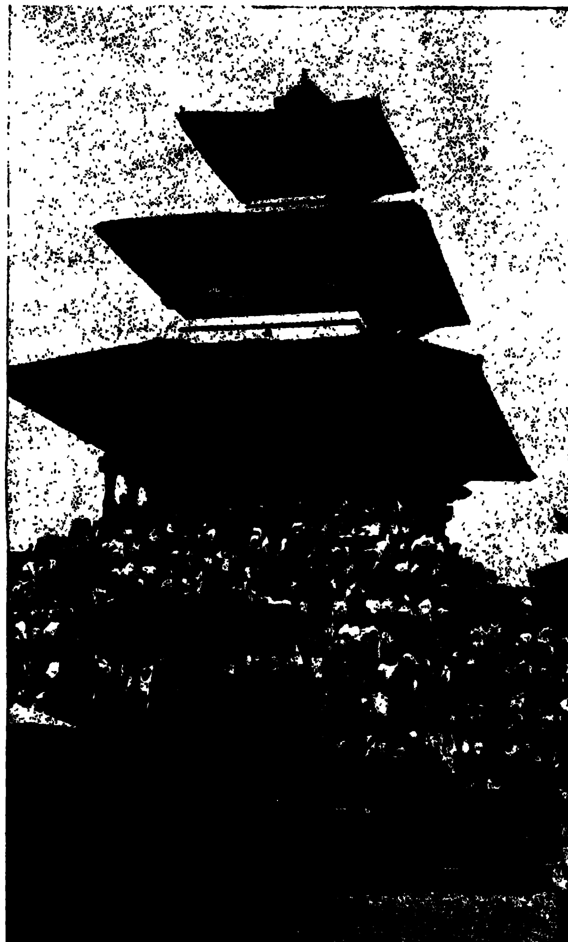
NEWAR.—(1) Macchandra Jatra, (2) Bhairav Jatra, (3) Neta Devi Jatra, (4) Devi Jatra, (5) Bajra Jogini Jatra, (6) Siti Jatra, (7) Ghanta Karna, (8) Bansa Jatra, (9) Nag Panchami, (10) Gai Jatra, (11) Bagh Jatra, (12) Indra Jatra, (13) Swambhu Mela, (14) Khica Puja, (15) Bhai Puja, (16) Festival of Narayana at Nilkantha, (17) Bala Chaturdasi, (18) Kartic Purnima, (19) Ganesh Chauthi, (20) Magh Purnima, (21) Small Macchendra Jatra, (22) Ghora Jatra and (23) Festival of Narayana at Balaji.

There are of course very many other unimportant ones, but the greater number of them seem to have been discontinued.

Such is Nepal, the only independent Hindu Kingdom on earth's surface, where Hinduism is still practised in its pristine purity and where the basic principles of administration are founded on the ancient Hindu economo-political theories. In Nepal the religious heritage is treated as sacred. The country has derived an inestimable advantage of power and permanence by putting a halo of sanctity round its tradition which is ever growing. Here the Ruler is a teacher who teaches more by example than by precept. Shastric injunctions of the moral codes are the guiding principles of the Maharaja.

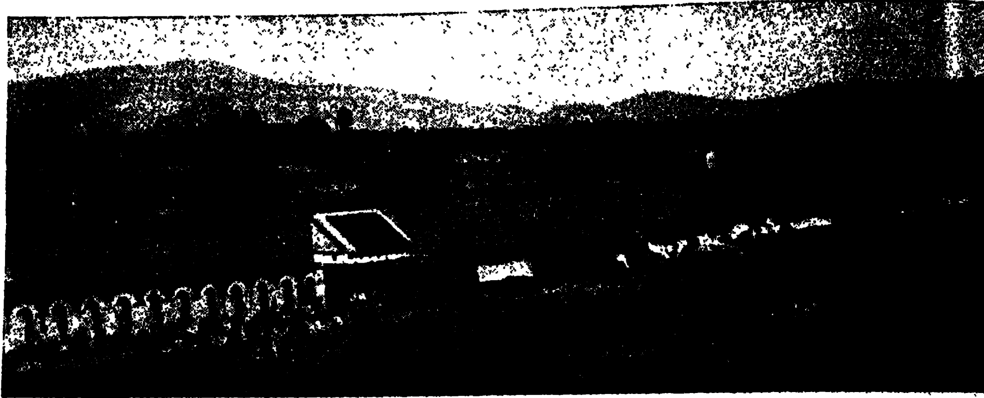
The social life of the Hindus in Nepal is in theory as well as in practice regulated by Shastras whose authorship is attributed to sages, Manu, Yajnavalkya, Vasistha, and many others.

To the foreigner, the secret of the Hindu is veiled in a dignified shyness which is not at all easy to penetrate. Most of the interpretations and information given by the foreigners are faulty and in most cases inaccurate. Their self-styled superiority has made them unfit to study the whole thing in a true scientific way.



A temple facing the Darbar Hall, Kathmandu

Their scorn and contempt for the Hindu social systems are mainly the outbursts of their pedanticity. Reverence begets knowledge. The puffed up foreigner engrossed with gross materialism lacks in this very essential element of knowledge. So we find in most of the description of the social life of Nepal, distortion of facts, sometimes intentional and in some cases due to ignorance. The social organism in Nepal, the play of its motive forces, is moreover, regulated infinitely more by custom, varying according to locality, than by legal formulae laid down in authentic and easily accessible texts.



A picnic on the river side

The present man at the helm of Nepalese affairs is Maharaja Sir Joodha Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana whose eleventh accession anniversary falls on the 1st of September 1941. In every walk of his life he is guided by the rules laid down in Hindu Shastras. By living the Hindu Shastras in his own life he has been able to prove that one has nothing to lose if a Hindu becomes a true Hindu.

"Hinduism is more a way of life than a form of thought. While it gives absolute liberty in the world of thought it enjoins a strict code of practice. The theist and the atheist, the sceptic and the agnostic may all be Hindus if they accept the Hindu system of culture and life. Hinduism insists not on religious conformity but on a spiritual and ethical outlook in life. 'The performer of the good—and not the believer in this or that view—can never get into an evil state,' *na hi kalyanakrit kaschit durgatim tata gacchati*. In a very real sense practice precedes theory. Only by doing the will does one know the doctrine. Whatever our theological beliefs and metaphysical opinions may be, we are all agreed that we should be kind and honest, grateful to our benefactors and sympathetic to the unfortunate. Hinduism insists on a moral life and draws into fellowship all who feel themselves bound to the claims which the moral law or Dharma makes upon them. Hinduism is not a sect but a fellowship of all who accept the law of right and earnestly seek for the truth." (Prof. Radhakrishnan : *Hindu View of Life*, p. 77).

The correctness of the preceding remark about Hinduism can well be tested in Nepal. Here the Maharaja and his people, in spite of unfavourable criticism from outsiders, are firm in their principles of orthodoxy.

Maharaja Joodha is himself not a bigot and he maintains enough of the spirit of tolerance which the Hindu religion teaches. His Highness who stands for justice, works for national progress while his very outlook is international and extremely humanitarian. Maharaja Joodha has done much to bring Nepal into prominence among the nations of the world. As remarked before, the administration of Nepal is based on the lines laid down in the Hindu Shastras, which enjoins that the administrator is to consider his subjects as his children, hence his popularity; and he is considered as one of the best rulers of modern times. Under his regime Nepal is undergoing an all round improvement in educational, industrial, agricultural, social, and religious fields. The noble ideals of Hinduism have found their best expression in the life of His Highness and they who have cherished the best tradition of "*Hindutva*" look up to him as the greatest exponent and foremost upholder of their ancient culture at the present day.

In Nepal Hinduism is a living tradition, and the spirit of tolerance—the most outstanding characteristic of the creed—is still prevalent there.

There are Muhammadans in this Hindu Kingdom. The State has made necessary arrangements to enable them to build their own mosques and every facility has been given to them for their spiritual development in their own way. There is neither conflict nor clash. Everyone is happy and friendship prevails over the two communities. Not only mosques but a charitable dispensary of the Yunani system of treatment has been founded by the Maharaja. One Muslim Hakim has been appointed by the Government and thus the immigrant Muslims of Nepal—quite a few in number—are enjoying the privilege of being treated in their own system if they prefer the same to other systems. Thus the Muhammadans living within Nepal territories have been allowed to maintain their own Arabic culture under an orthodx Hindu Ruler. These concessions and privileges have been granted to them because Hindu culture is not in favour of converting peoples, belonging to other faiths, through force or mild persuasion or by hook or crook. Here lies the greatness



H. H. the Maharaja of Nepal, at a ceremony in which he presented one thousand cows to Brahmins

and uniqueness of the Hindu civilization and the Hindu Ruler always upholds the message of universal brotherhood which was sounded in the Upanishads in the dawn of human civilisation. Independent Hindus are orthodox but not bigoted fanatics. This is the result of their training under the strict humanitarian discipline of Hinduism. The Hindu Ruler rules not with blood-stained glittering steel, though he is capable and brave enough to do so, but by the embraces of love, goodwill, tactful talent and on the principles of equity.

Progress in Nepal may be slow but steady under the present regime. She is adapting herself to the needs of the time, only to that extent which may be deemed necessary to maintain peace and required for the welfare of the general public. Greed and exuberance of created needs have no place there. Plain living and high thinking has been their motto. They have ample leisure to enjoy life because they are simple natured and simple minded. Their Ruler is their protector, who is ceaselessly trying to promote the happiness of his people, growing out of economic equilibrium and cultural adjustment.

Formerly there was no pension system in this country. On his 67th birthday His Highness has introduced the pension system for the military staff of the Government in addition to the provident fund which has been in vogue for the last six years. For the civil servants he has introduced a "Long Service Medal" which carries a proportionate annuity and a scheme for pension for them is under consideration.

Thus every year Nepal is witnessing some new progressive measures introduced by Maharaja Joodha for an all round national reconstruction and regeneration.

For irrigation and communication facilities in Terai a handsome amount has been sanctioned in the current year's budget. This is a magnificent work. His benevolence and charitable disposition are making Nepalese more and more happy and contented.

While dealing with economic developments social reforms have not escaped his notice. Constitutionally he has all the power to amend the social and customary laws of the land. Hinduism permits amendments. Hindus always bear a scientific outlook of life and are conscious of the needs of effective changes in an everchanging world. They believe that everything should be adjusted according to the need of the time, place, and the individual. So there is ample scope of growth in them and this is one of the most important factors why the Hindus have been able to withstand so many heavy onslaughts of barbaric invaders.

This year "Mourning Reform" has been enacted in Nepal. Formerly, principal mourners had to don white garments and were restricted from many privileges of normal life for one year. This is not compatible today with the callings of life of the many, neither can the



H. H. the Maharaja of Nepal, delivering his speech on the occasion of sending off troops to India

present day economic structure afford it any more. As soon as it was realised, His Highness changed the old custom. Now a mourner will be able to revert to his normal life after the primary mourning period (13 days) is over.

Maharaja Joodha wants to mitigate the sorrows and miseries of his people in every possible way. He wants to be true to the duty which has been assigned to him by Providence. He is struggling hard to make his country equal to other independent nations of the world and thus every moment of his waking hours is being occupied for the good of the many. His regime has been handicapped uptil now by two very severe disasters—one is the devastating earthquake of 1934 and the other is the present terrible war of civilised peoples. These have put much strain on him at this green old age of his and he is striving hard to steer his boat of administration with the rudders of hope, faith, work and service. Himself acting as the cox, he is guiding his ardent and strenuous oarsmen who are rowing very hard and with extreme caution. His faithful band of lieutenants are a great asset to him. Everyone of them has been initiated in the great ideals of nationalism and advancement. Their sincere co-operation and military discipline of obedience to their leader have been glorifying the regime in every possible way. This has only been possible because of His Highness' towering personality and well-intentioned heart.

It is worthwhile to note a passage from the editorial leader of the *Hindoo Outlook* of the 15th April 1941. It reads as follows :

"Nepal is the holy symbol of the once independent Hindudom, a glorious relic of India's past greatness. Today when Hindus have lost their culture and civilisation, vitality and valour, freedom and independence, they yet have the consolation that everything is not gone and something is still left . . . . . . At the very name of Nepal we can raise our head with pride. It is the only country in the world whose soil has never been sullied by a foreign conqueror's foot. Like an ever-vigilant sentinel, Nepal has always watched over the interests of Hindudom. When wave after wave of Muslim invaders were sweeping and submerging the plains of Hindusthan, when crowns and coronets of Hindudom were falling like houses of clay before the fierce onslaught of the Muslim fanaticism, it was the hilly tracts of Nepal that gave refuge to those proud and brave Rajputs who declined to lay down their arms before the invaders and took an oath before Chandika to continue struggle for the national independence of Hindu fastnesses."

Nepal has a great future and Maharaja Joodha is trying to make the foundation of the future edifice stronger.

His has been the function of roots. Perhaps he would never come to the limelight of fame, as self-advertisement and aggrandisement are not in his character. Forgetful as the human mind is, he may one day fall into oblivion even in the very land which he is glorifying today. But his efforts would be for the good of all. Here lies the greatness of a pioneer.

Decorations are being poured upon him from far and near but he is not much concerned with those. He is a soldier, he likes action. In

the battlefield he does not take pleasure in fighting because of the bloodshed, but because he champions the cause of righteousness.

All the trees grow well in Nepal—both of Alpine and plain regions. Similarly every man finds an equal opportunity to develop himself irrespective of caste or creed.

Here lies the greatness of Hinduism and its guardian. Maharaja Joodha is a devoted Hindu whose motto is right action.

Kathmandu, Nepal.

OUR DUTY

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN

"One word keep for me in thy silence, O World, when I am dead, 'I have loved'."

—Rabindranath Tagore.

"You are the reason why India should be free."

—Will Durant to Tagore.

Now that the inevitable has happened; Rabindranath whom parties could not hold and creeds could not limit, who like the wind—that bloweth where it listeth—has flung his bombs into the stagnant parlours of our thought, and thrilled the air with the spirit of unrest, has been freed from his mortal coil.

We owe him a good deal and now the time has come when we should be sincerely conscious of our debt and be honestly active.

During the Extra-ordinary Oxford Convocation at Santiniketan I was present and had the opportunity of having a fairly long talk with the Poet over matters relating to Visva-bharati. What I could gather then was that he seemed to be rather worried about the financial position of the Institution which he bequeathed to the Nation.

Should we not try to pay due respect to our legacy ? Visva-bharati is widely known in the international cultural sphere and if we fail to enrich her by our individual service and active co-operation, there will be exposed another weak spot in our national character which will prove to the world that we are a nation unfit for freedom.

We have talked much. Let us open our purse strings and contribute to the Visva-bharati Fund as a fitting memorial to the Great Departed Soul.

"Who is there to take up my duties ?" asked the setting sun.

"I shall do what I can, my Master," said the earthen lamp.

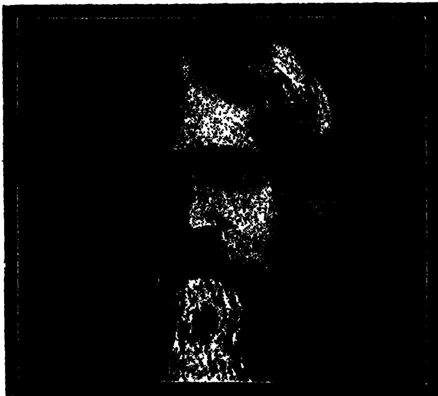
—Rabindranath Tagore.

Kathmandu, Nepal,
7th August, 1941

NOBEL PRIZE FOR INDIAN POET.

STOCKHOLM, Nov. 13.—The Nobel prize for literature for 1913 has been awarded to the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore.—Reuter.

Mr. Tagore who is fifty-two years old, is a Bengal poet, beloved and almost worshipped in his own country. He is one of those rare authors



RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

who have produced fine literature in two languages. After a few delicate lyrics in English periodicals he gave us "Gitanjali," or "Song Offerings," and later "The Garden," both volumes being translations into rhythmic English prose of his own poems in Bengali.

—*The Times*, London, Nov. 14, 1913

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

MISS IRA CHOUDHURY has this year passed the Senior Cambridge Certificate Examination at a comparatively young age of fifteen years. She



Miss Ira Choudhury

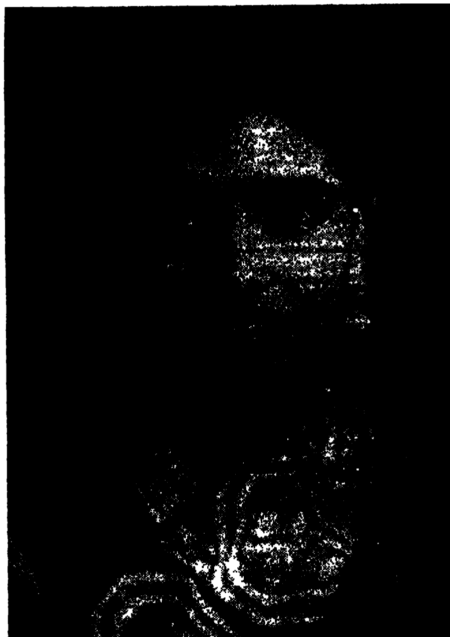
is also well versed in music, dancing and painting. She is the daughter of Sj. Manilal Choudhury, retired Superintendent of Jubbulpore Spence Training College.



Lady Vidyagauri Nilkanth, Srimati Sarojini Mehta, and Miss Vatsala Mehta

LADY VIDYAGAURI NILKANTH, the first lady graduate of Gujerat (sitting on the right), her daughter Srimati Sarojini Mehta, M.A., and her grand-daughter Miss Vatsala Mehta (standing behind) who graduated recently. The Gujarati community may well take pride in this accomplishment.

MISS DIPALI TALUQDAR, eldest daughter of Professor Jiban Chandra Taluqdar of Agra has passed the B.A. examination of the Agra University this year with First Class Honours, standing second in order of merit. She had already distinguished herself by securing a high position in the domain of classical music. Her



Miss Dipali Taluqdar

gramophone and radio songs are prized everywhere.

SRIMATI SURABALA KARMAKAR, daughter of Mr. Basanta Kumar Karmakar, a member of the Bogra Bar, has passed with credit the M.B. Examination from the Medical College of Calcutta, standing second in Surgery and topping the list of girl candidates.

She is the first lady from the Bogra district to take the medical degree.

MISS MEERA MUKHERJEE, daughter of Mr. P. C. Mookerjee of Delhi, has secured a first class in the last B.Sc. examination of the Benares Hindu University. She stood first amongst the students of the Natural Science Sections; her position amongst all the B.Sc. candidates of this year being fourth.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

"तोमार कीर्त्तिर चेये तुमि जे महत्,
ताइ तव जीवनेर रथ
पश्चाते फेलिया जाय कीर्तिरे तोमार
बारंबार।"

—रवीन्द्रनाथ

[" It is because you are greater than your achievement
That the chariot of your life
Leaves behind your achievement
Again and again." (Translation)]

—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

"Thy voice is on the rolling air;
I hear thee where the waters run;
Thou standest in the rising sun;
And in the setting thou art fair.
What art thou their? I cannot guess;
But though I seem in star and flower
To feel thee some diffusive power,
I do not therefore love thee less;
My love involves the love before;
My love is vaster passion now;
Though mix'd with God and Nature thou,
I seem to love thee more and more.
Far off thou art but ever nigh;
I have thee still, and I rejoice;
I labour, circled with thy voice;
I shall not lose thee though I die."

—*Tennyson.*

There is no single word which can adequately describe the myriad-minded Rabindranath Tagore of seemingly multiple but really one and undivided peerless personality. Poet, artist, sage, seer, thinker, philosopher, knower and lover of man and the universe, loving servant of humanity—his passing has evoked paeans of praise from countless men and women in his motherland and abroad, irrespective of creed, colour, caste, class, community and political party. All differences and discordant notes have been hushed in the realized presence of this great unifier of spirits. There was, and there is, no one loved and adored by more persons in the land he lived in and abroad than he the beauty of whose inner being was fittingly matched but not surpassed by the beauty of his person. He was, and is king of our hearts.

On the twenty-fifth of Baisākh of the Bengali year, corresponding to the eighth of May, 1941, Rabindranath Tagore completed eighty years of his life. He breathed his last on the 7th of August, 1941. Lives eighty years long, though not common, are not extremely rare either. But it is not the length of a life but its quality that really matters. We read in the Yogo-Vāsishtha :

Taravopi hi jivanti, jivanti mrigapakshinah,
Sa jivati mano yasya mananena hi jivati.

"Plants also live, and birds and beasts live;
But he lives (truly) whose mind lives by thinking."

Rabindranath Tagore's life was eminently such a life of thought and of action in accordance with his thought.

He loved his land and its people as well as other lands and their peoples. The death of such a person would have been considered a calamity at any time, but at the present crisis in the world's history his death in the full possession of his intellectual powers is an irreparable and immeasurable loss to all mankind.

Within the compass of a magazine article it is not possible to give an adequate idea of the genius, personality and achievements of such a person,—they are so great and varied. Only an humble attempt is made in the following pages in that direction.

The poet wrote in one of his poems :

Do not in this way see from the outside—
Do not look for me in externals :
You will not find me in my sorrow and my joy,
Do not seek in my bosom for my anguish,
You will not find me in my joy,
The poet is not where you seek him :
You will not find the poet in his life-story.[1]

If he cannot be found in his biography, perhaps then he may be discovered in his works ? True, but "the self-concealment of genius in literature" may baffle the seeker there, too, sometimes. In his *My Boyhood Days* the Poet conjures up before our eyes a picture of his earlier years and of his father's family. His *Reminiscences*, too, are of some help. But as they cover only the first twenty-seven years of his life, they do not help one to understand the growth of his personality during the next fifty-four years. And few are alive today from whom relevant personal information could be obtained.

He is our greatest poet and prose-writer.

1. English translations of the Bengali originals quoted in this article are by the writer. Where the translation is the Poet's own, reference is made to the English publication where it appears.

There is hardly any department of Bengali literature that he has not touched and adorned, elevated, and filled with inspiration and lighted up by the lustre of his genius. He began to write very early in life—exactly how early it is not possible to say. He translated Shakespeare's *Macbeth* into Bengali when he was only nine years of age. So he was an author for seventy-one years. He would feign consign almost all his juvenile productions to oblivion—though most of them would do credit to any ordinary poet, but at the earnest request of the Publication Board of Visvabharati he agreed to their separate publication. They would fill several big volumes. The Bengali works to whose publication he never objected have been estimated to fill twenty-five volumes, totalling 17,000 royal octavo pages. But this estimate is likely to be exceeded, as he went on composing poems till the very last week of his life.

Besides these Bengali works of his, there are original English works by him and translations of some of his Bengali works by himself and others.

He did not write any epic poem. The age for epics is dead and gone,—somewhat as the earth has left behind the age of the mammoth and the megalosaurus. It is not merely because men are too busy today to write or read big books that epics have ceased to be written in our day. Epics are mostly concerned with wars and dynastic ambitions. But though wars have become more frightful and destructive than ever before and dictators of totalitarian states have their ambitions, these things have lost their glamour and no longer provide poets with inspiring themes.

In his Bengali book of poems *Kshanikā* he refers humorously to the idea of his writing an epic in the poem entitled "Kshatipuran," ("compensation") which has been paraphrased in an abridged form in *The Gardener* thus :

> My love, once upon a time your poet launched a great epic in his mind.
> Alas, I was not careful, and it srtuck your ringing anklets and came to grief.
> It broke up into scraps of songs and lay scattered at your feet.
> All my cargo of the stories of old wars was tossed by the laughing waves and soaked in tears and sank.
> You must make this loss good to me, my love.
> If my claims to immortal fame after death are shattered, make me immortal while I live
> And I will not mourn for my loss nor blame you.

These "scraps of songs" have immortalized him.

Difficult as it undoubtedly would be to give an exhaustive list of Rabindranath Tagore's multifarious achievements from early youth upwards, even the departments of literature and knowledge which he touched and adorned would make a pretty long list. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., D. Litt., C.I.E., said of the poet in the course of his presidential address at the preparatory meeting for the Tagore Septuagenary Celebrations :

> He has tried all phases of literature—couplets, stanzas, short poems, longer pieces, short stories, longer stories, fables, novels and prose romances, dramas, farces, comedies and tragedies, songs, operas, *kirtans, palas,* and, last but not least, lyric poems. He has succeeded in every phase of literature he has touched, but he has succeeded in the last phase of literature beyond measure. His essays are illuminating, his sarcasms biting, his satires piercing. His estimate of old poets is deeply appreciative, and his grammatical and lexicographical speculations go further inward than those of most of us.

Perhaps he has written more lyric poems than any other poet, ancient or modern.

Tennyson, in his poem addresesd to Victor Hugo, called that great French author "Victor in Drama, Victor in Romance, Cloud-weaver of phantasmal hopes and fears", "Lord of human tears", "Child-lover", and "Weird Titan by thy winter weight of years as yet unbroken...." All these epithets and many more can be rightly applied to Rabindranath Tagore.

By way of supplementing and elaborating what Pandit Haraprasad Sastri has written of Rabindranath's literary productions, it may be observed that he wrote much on religious, educational, social, political, historical, economic, and philological subjects, and on music. He is an authority on metre. He was perhaps the greatest literary critic in Bengali. As a writer of letters he is unrivalled in Bengali for the number, volume, variety, and excellence of his epistles. Even post cards written by him are part of literature. In the writing of prose poems and of free verse, too, he is unrivalled. Four years ago he wrote a scientific book, *Visva-parichaya* ("Introduction to the Universe"), which has gone through six editions. In the production of charades in Bengali he perhaps stands alone. Then there is that unclassifiable work *Pancha Bhuter Diary* ("Diary of the Five Elements"), imaginary conversations which are like a transcript of his own talks in Bengali. He is the creator of some dance-plays, too. The aggregate of what he has done for the Bengali language and literature exceeds what any other author has done. It is remarkable that in the decade following 1930, during the latter part of which he was twice seriously ill, he produced some three dozen new books, including primers, nursery rhymes, nonsense verses and picture books for children, and several dance-dramas. Two books of poems and

a book of reminiscences of his boyhood days appeared during his last illness. Two more were expected to be issued. Many new songs have been composed during this period. The articles and essays written during this period have not yet been published in book form.

All this he was able to do, not merely because he was a man of genius but also because he was a scholar whose range of reading was very extensive and varied. In addition to what he read in Bengali, Sanskrit and Pali, and of English literature proper and of the literature of other countries in English translations, he read English books, as a glance at his reading shelves revealed, on the following and other subjects :

Farming, philology, history, medicine, astro-physics, geology, bio-chemistry, entomology, co-operative banking, sericulture, indoor decorations, production of hides, manures, sugar-cane and oil, pottery, looms, lacquer-work, tractors, village economics, recipes for cooking, lighting, drainage, calligraphy, plant-grafting, meteorology, synthetic dyes, parlour-games, Egyptology, road-making, incubators, wood-blocks, elocution, stall-feeding, jiu-jitsu, printing.

His reading of books on so many subjects was no mere idle pastime. He made practical use of *all* his studies. He was no sentimentalist He had a scientific mind. His friendship with Sir J. C. Bose was not accidental but was due to kinship of soul.

Milton wrote in his day, when knowledge was neither so vast nor so varied and specialized as today, that the poet should take all knowledge as his province. Rabindranath Tagore's ideal was similar to that of Milton.

Had he not been famous as a great poet and prose-writer, he would have become famous for the range and variety of his studies. Yet such was the genuine humility of the poet that in a poem written early this year and translated as *The Great Symphony*, he declared :

How little I know of this mighty world.
Myriad deeds of men, cities, countries,
rivers, mountains, seas and desert wastes,
so many unknown forms and trees
have remained beyond my range of awareness.
Great is life in this wide Earth
and small the corner where my mind dwells.

An impression seems still to prevail in some quarters that Rabindranath Tagore's genius was not recognized even in Bengal before he won the Nobel Prize. It is quite wrong. On his completing the fiftieth year of his life, all classes, all professions and ranks, the representatives of the spirituality, character, culture and public spirit of Bengal, combined to do him honour in the Calcutta Town Hall in a way in which no other author in Bengal had been honoured before, or, has been since. There were also other magnificent celebrations of the occasion. And all this took place before the Nobel Prize in literature had been awarded to him. The fact is, he became famous outside Bengal after winning the Nobel Prize, but was already famous here before that event. Before that event competent and discriminating literary critics in Bengal had given him even a higher place than the award of the Noble Prize would seem to indicate.

At that time he had, no doubt, some detractors. But after the Nobel Prize award they were hushed into silence. Highly sensitive as he was, he sometimes mistook the voice of his detractors as the predominant voice of Bengal.

Some works of his have been translated into more languages of the world than those of any other modern Indian author or perhaps of any other author of the world. Most of his works and some kinds of works of his in Bengali, *e.g.*, those which are full of humour and wit, have not yet been translated into English or thence into other Western and Eastern languages. In the translations of the works which have been translated, much, if not all, of the music, the suggestiveness, the undefinable associations clustering round Bengali words and phrases, and the aroma, racy of Bengal and India, of the originals have been lost. No doubt, the translations of the poems and dramas, particularly when done by the poet himself, have often gained in directness, in the beauty and sublimity of simplicity, and in the music and strength belonging to the English or other language of the translations. But admitting all this, one is still constrained to observe that, for a correct estimate and full appreciation of Rabindranath's intellectual and literary powers, his gifts and genius, it is necessary to study both his original works in Bengali and their English translations, as well as his original works in English, like *Personality*, *Sādhana*, *The Religion of Man*, etc. A study of his works in their Bengali originals is essential for a correct estimate of his genius and literary achievement.

The German translations of some of his works sold in such large numbers that, if it were not for the phenomenal fall in the exchange value of the mark during and after the last great World War, he could have received millions of rupees as royalties on them, setting him free for ever from pecuniary anxiety for Visva-bharati.

At the most perhaps one-sixth of his Bengali works have been translated into English. Some of the best of them remain untranslated. In a letter to a friend he once wrote that no real adequate translation from one language into another was possible.

It speaks much for the discernment of the non-Bengali appraisers of his literary achievement that they have assigned to him a very high place after reading only some of his works in mere translations.

It speaks much also for the powers of appreciation of the Oxford University that, knowing him mainly from the translations of some of his works and from inadequate accounts of his career and personality, it pronounced the following eulogium on him when admitting him to the Degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa* .

> The fourth brother who is present before you now has by his life, his genius and his character augmented so greatly the fame of his house that, did his piety and modesty not forbid, none would have a better right to say in Scipio's famous phrase : "My life has crowned the virtues of my line." You see in him a great scholar and a great artist, both in prose and in verse; one who has written poetry, romance, satire, history; who has left scarcely any field of literature untouched and has touched nothing that he has not adorned. How rarely has such richness of imagination been combined with such elegance of style ! How astonishing is the range of his versatile genius, wisdom and laughter, terror and delight, the power of stirring our deepest emotions ! And yet we are always conscious of his essential humanity, of a man who thinks nothing beneath his notice, if only it is concerned with mankind. You see in him a musician who seems to obey no rules and yet has invented a thousand new melodies; a distinguished philosopher deeply versed in natural philosophy, in ethics and in theology and who has at the last achieved that complete serenity of mind sought by how many and won by how few. Yet all dedicated as he has been to those pursuits, he has not lived for himself alone; for deeming good education for the young the most venerable of all institutions he has been the founder and director of this famous Academy, whose purpose is by wise methods to inculcate among its students a love of pure learning. Let it also be said that he has not valued a sheltered life so far above the public good as to hold himself wholly aloof from the dust and heat of the world outside; for there have been times when he has not scorned to step down into the market-place; when, if he thought that a wrong had been done he has not feared to challenge the British raj itself and the authority of its magistrates; and when he has boldly corrected the faults of his own fellow-citizens. What m re can I say ? Here before you is the myriad minded poet and writer, the musician famous in his art, the philosopher proved both in word and deed, the fervent upholder of learning and sound doctrine, the ardent defender of public liberties, one who by the sanctity of his life and character has won for himself the praise of all mankind.

His hymns and sermons and some of his other writings on spiritual subjects let us unconsciously into the secret of his access to the court of the King of kings, nay to His very presence, and of his communion with Him. His devotional songs and other writings in a spiritual vein have brought solace and healing to many a soul in travail and anguish. Many of his patriotic songs are hymns as well.

Insight and imagination are his magic wands, by whose power he roams where he will and leads his readers, too, thither. In his works Bengali literature has outgrown its provincial character and has become fit to fraternize with world literature. Currents of universal thought and spirituality have flowed into Bengal through his writings.

In philosophy he is not a system-builder. He has been acclaimed as a Vedantist. He is of the line of our ancient religio-philosophical teachers whose religion and philosophy are fused components of one whole. His position as a philosophical thinker was recognized by his selection to preside and deliver the presidential address at the First Indian Philosophical Congress in 1925, and also when he was asked to deliver the Hibbert Lectures, which appeared subsequently as *The Religion of Man*. Both his poetry and prose embody his philosophy.

The theme of *The Religion of Man* has been thus explained by the Author :

> India has ever nourished faith in the truth of the Spiritual Man, for whose realization she has made in the past innumerable experiments, sacrifices and penances, some verging on the grotesque and the abnormal. But the fact is she has never ceased in her attempt to find it, even though at the tremendous cost of losing material success. Therefore I feel that the true India is an idea, and not a mere geographical fact. I have come into touch with the idea in far-away places of Europe, and my loyalty was drawn to it in persons who belonged to countries different from mine. India will be victorious when this idea wins the victory—the idea of "The Infinite Personality, whose light reveals itself through the obstruction of Darkness." Our fight is against this darkness. Our object is the revealment of the light of this Infinite Personality of Man. This is not to be achieved in single individuals, but in one grand harmony of all human races. The darkness of egoism which will have to be destroyed is the egoism of the Nation. The idea of India is against the intense consciousness of the separateness of one's own people from others, which inevitably leads to ceaseless conflicts. Therefore, my own prayer is, let India stand for the co-operation of all peoples of the world.
>
> My religion is the reconciliation in my own individual being of the Super-personal Man, the Universal human spirit. This is the theme of my Hibbert Lectures.

Rabindranath was not simply a literary man though his eminence as an author is such that for a stranger the Bengali language would be worth learning for studying his writings alone.

It does not in the least detract from his work as a musician to admit that he was not an *ustād* or "expert" in music, as that term is usually understood, though he was trained in Indian classical music. He had such a sensitive ear that he appeared to live in two worlds—one, the world of visible forms and colours, and another, which one may call the world of sound-forms and sound-colours. His musical genius and instinct were such that his achievement in

that art extorted the admiration of many "experts". This is said not with reference only to his numerous hymns and patriotic and other songs and the tunes to which he himself set them, or to his thrilling, sweet, soulful and rapt singing in different periods of his life, but also in connection with what he has done for absolute music. He was not only the author of the words of his songs, possessed of rare depth of meaning and suggestiveness and power of inspiration, but was also the creator of what may be called new airs and tunes.

It is said that among European musicians Franz Peter Schubert holds the record for the number of songs composed by him. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition) says of Schubert that "He was the greatest song-writer who ever lived." His songs "number over 600, excluding scenas and operatic pieces."

According to a rough estimate Rabindranath Tagore has composed some 2,000 songs, all of which he set to music. These do not include his dance-plays and operas. He continued to the last to compose new songs, never repeating himself.

About fifteen years ago, I had the good fortune to be present at some of the meetings in Germany and Czechoslovakia where he lectured and recited some of his poems. To such a meeting at Dresden I have briefly referred in my article on "Rabindranath Tagore at Dresden." His recitations were such that even though the poems recited were in a language not understood by the vast majority of the audience, he had to repeat them several times at their earnest request. Those who have heard him read his addresses and deliver his extempore speeches and sermons in Bengali know how eloquent he could be as a speaker, though his delivery in years past was often so rapid and his sentences branched out in such bewildering luxuriance as to make him the despair of reporters. No wonder, he shone also as a conversationalist. His humorous and witty repartees and his improvised playful poems were unrivalled. Many a time and oft did gems of wit and wisdom drop from his lips in the course of conversations. It is greatly to be regretted that only infinitesimal fragments of them are on record. Fuller transcetrips would have constituted literature of priceless worth.

He was a master and a consummate teacher of the histrionic art. Those who have seen him appear in leading roles in many of his plays have experienced how natural and elevating acting can be. From the prime of his manhood upwards he was in the habit of reading out his new poems, discourses, short stories, plays and novels to select circles. On such occasions, too, his elocution and histrionic talents came into play.

If it is true that the credit of reviving the performance of music in public by respectable women goes to the Brahmo Samaj, that credit belongs in great part to the Tagore family and Rabindranath Tagore. They have also made it possible for girls and women of respectable classes to act in public. The poet has also rehabilitated in Bengal dancing by respectable girls and women as a means of self-expression and innocent amusement and play. The new dances he has created, in which he has personally trained many girl students of Santiniketan, are entirely free from the voluptuousness and worse features of many prevalent dances. In the course of a letter written to His Excellency President Tai Chi Tao on the significance of artistic education in Visva-bharati, the Poet said:

> Tonight we shall present before you another aspect of our ideal where we seek to express our inner self through song and dance. Wisdom, you will agree, is the pursuit of completeness; it is in blending life's diverse work with the joy of living. We must never allow our enjoyment to gather wrong associations by detachment from educational life; in Santiniketan, therefore, we provide our own entertainment, and we consider it a part of education to collaborate in perfecting beauty. We believe in the discipline of a regulated existence to make our entertainment richly creative.
>
> In this we are following the ancient wisdom of China and India; the *Tau*, or the True Path, was the golden road uniting arduous service with music and merriment. Thus in the hardest hours of trial you have never lost the dower of spiritual gaiety which has refreshed your manhood and attended upon your great flowerings of civilisation. Song and laughter and dance have marched along with rare loveliness of Art for centuries of China's history. In India, Sarasvati sits on her lotus throne, the goddess of Learning and also of Music, with the Golden Lyre—the *Veena*—on her lap. In both countries, the arcana of light have fallen on divinity of human achievements. And that is Wisdom.

Tagore's patriotic songs are characteristic. They are refined and restrained, and free from bluff, bravado, bluster and boasting. Some of them twine their tendrils round the tenderest chords of our hearts, some enthrone the Motherland as the Adorned in the shrine of our souls, some sound as a clarion call to our drooping spirits filling us with hope and the will to do and dare and suffer, some call on us to have the lofty courage to be in the minority of one; but in none are heard the clashing of interests, the warring passions of races, or the echoes of old, unhappy, far-off historic strifes and conflicts. In many of those written during the stirring times of the Swadeshi agitation in

Bengal more than three decades ago, the poet spoke out with a directness which is missed in many of his writings, though not in the *Kathā-o-Kāhinī* ballads, which make the heart beat thick and fast and the blood tingle and leap and course swiftly in our veins.

To Andrews Fletcher of Salton, a famous Scottish patriot, is attributed the authorship of the observation that "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." He is generally quoted, however, as having said so with respect to songs. Both ballads and songs have much to do with the making of nations. Rabindranath's songs and ballads—the former to a greater extent than the latter, have been making and shaping Bengal to no small extent and will continue to mould the character of her people, literate and illiterate, town-dwellers and village-folk, and their culture and civilization.

But it is not merely as a maker of songs that he took part in the Swadeshi movement. His socio-political addresses, the annual fairs suggested or organized by him, were part of the same national service. He worked earnestly for the revival of weavings and other arts and crafs of the country, particularly village arts and crafts, and contributed his full share to making education in India Indian as well as human and humane in the broadest sense, and to the sanitation, reconstruction, reorganization and rejuvenation of villages. Even official reports have praised him as a model landlord for his activities in these directions in his estate.

He loved and worked for the welfare of his tenants in his zamindari with all his heart, and they in their turn loved and revered him. Once upon a time he had to go out on business with the English Magistrate of the district in which his estate was situated. But though in those days a District Magistrate, and particularly an English one, was held in great awe, the rayat who was asked to arrange for the conveyance of Rabindranath and the Magistrate, brought only one palanquin. When taken to task, he explained that he thought it only natural and proper that anybody who chose to accompany him (Rabindranath) should walk, even though he were an Englishman and the District Magistrate.. On further expostulation the rayat brought for the magistrate a gouty pony.

His scheme of constructive "non-co-operation," or, properly speaking, of constructive self-reliance, in education, revival of village crafts, village reconstruction, etc., was outlined in some of his writings and addresses more than thirty years ago, was part of his Swadeshi-movement politics. It is to be found in his lecture on Swadeshi Samaj, deliverd on 22nd July, 1904, and in his presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Pabna, 1908.

The attention which he continued to bestow on the welfare of villages to his dying day and which found expression in the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-bharati at Sriniketan, was in part born of the disillusion to which he referred in the *Crisis of Civilization* :

> There came a time when perforce I had to snatch myself away from the mere appreciation of literature. As I emerged into the stark light of bare facts, the sight of the dire poverty of the Indian masses rent my heart. Rudely shaken out of my dreams, I began to realise that perhaps in no other modern state was there such hopeless dearth of the most elementary needs of existence. And yet it was this country whose resources had fed for so long the wealth and magnificence of the British people. While I was lost in the contemplation of the great world of civilization, I could never have remotely imagined that the great ideals of humanity would end in such ruthless travesty. But today a glaring example of it stares me in the face in the utter and contemptuous indifference of a so-called civilized race to the well-being of crores of Indian people.

The "No-tax" movement adumbrated in his plays *Prāyaschitta* ("Expiation") and *Paritrān* ("Deliverance") and the joyful acceptance of suffering and chains by its hero, Dhananjaya Bairāgi, a Mendicant, embody his idea of what the attitude of leaders and the rank and file should be on such occasions. Both plays are dramatic renderings of an earlier work, a historical romance named *Bou-Thākuranīr Hāt* ("The Bride-Queen's Market"), published in 1884. Of these plays *Prāyaschitta* is the earlier one, published in May, 1909. Translations of some portions of its dialogues and of some of its songs are given below. Dhananjaya Bairāgi appears in the play *Muktadhārā* also.

Dhananjaya Bairāgi, a Sannyāsi and a number of villagers of Madhabpur, going to the King:

> THIRD VILLAGER : What shall we say, Father, to the King ?
>
> DHANANJAYA : We shall say, "we won't pay tax."
>
> THIRD VILLAGER : If he asks, "why won't you ?"
>
> DHANANJAYA : We will say, "if we pay you money starving our children and making them cry, our Lord will feel pain. The food which sustains life is the sacred offering dedicated to the Lord; for he is the Lord of life. When more than that food—a surplus, remains in our houses, we pay that to you (the King) as tax, but we can't pay you tax deceiving and depriving the Lord."
>
> FOURTH VILLAGER : Father, the King will not listen.
>
> DHANANJAYA : Still, he must be made to hear. Is he so unfortunate because he has become King that the Lord will not allow him to hear the truth ? We will force him to hear.
>
> FIFTH VILLAGER : Worshipful Father, he (the King) will win, for he has more power than we.
>
> DHANANJAYA : Away with you, you monkeys ! Is this a sample of your intelligence ? Do you think,

the defeated have no power? Their power stretches up to heaven, do you know?

SIXTH VILLAGER: But, Father, we were far from the King, we could have saved ourselves by concealment,—we shall now be at the very door of the King. There will be no way of escape left if there be trouble.

DHANANJAYA: Look here, Panchkari, leaving things unsettled in this way by shelving them, never bears good fruit. Let whatever may happen, happen; otherwise the finale is never reached. There is peace when the extremity is reached.

Let us take next what passes between Dhananjaya, the Sannyāsi, leader of the people, and King Pratāpāditya.

PRATAPADITYA: Look here Bairagi, you can't deceive me by this sort of (feigned) madness of yours. Let us come to business. The people of Madhabpur have not paid their taxes for two years. Say, will you pay?

DHANANJAYA: No, Maharaj, we will not.

PRATAPADITYA: Will not? Such insolence!

DHANANJAYA: We can't pay you what is not yours.

PRATAPADITYA: Not mine!

DHANANJAYA: The food that appeases our hunger is not yours. This food is His who has given us life. How can we give it to you?

PRATAPADITYA: So it is you who have told my subjects not to pay taxes?

DHANANJAYA: Yes, Maharaj, it is I who have done it. They are fools, they have no sense. They want to part with all they have for fear of the tax-gatherer. It is I who tell them, "Stop, stop, don't you do such a thing. Give up your life only to Him who has given you life (that is, die only at the Lord's bidding, but not by depriving yourselves of the food which He has given you);—don't make your King guilty of killing you (by allowing him to take from you the food which is necessary for keeping your bodies and souls together)."

I do not wish to add to the length of this article by quoting similar passages from the play *Paritrān*, based on the same story, or from *Muktadhārā*. Let me take some other passages from *Prāyaschitta*.

PRATAPADITYA: Look here, Bairagi, you have neither hearth nor home; but these villagers are all householders—why do you want to lead them into trouble? (To the villagers) I say, you fellows all go back to Madhabpur. (To Dhananjaya). You, Bairagi, have to remain here (that is, he will be arrested and jailed).

VILLAGERS: No, that can't be so long as we are alive.

DHANANJAYA: Why can't that be? You are still lacking in sense. The King says "Bairagi, you remain." You say, "No that can't be." But has the luckless Bairagi come floating like flotsam (that is, is he not master of himself with a will of his own)? Is his remaining here or not to be settled only by the King and yourselves?

(*Sings*)

Whom have you kept by saying 'he remains'?
When will your order take effect?
Your force will not endure, brother.
That alone will endure which is fit to endure.
Do what you please—
Keep or kill by bodily force—
But only that will be borne which He will bear
Whom all blows strike.
Plenty of coins you have,
No end of ropes and cords.
Many horses and elephants,—
Much you have in this world.
You think, what you want will happen.
That you make the world dance to your tune;
But you will see on opening your eyes, that
That also happens which doesn't usually happen.

(ENTER MINISTER)

PRATAPADITYA: You have come at the nick of time. Keep this Bairagi captive here. He must not be allowed to go back to Madhabpur.

MINISTER: Maharaj—

PRATAPADITYA: What! The order is not to your liking:—is it?

UDAYADITYA: (Pratapaditya's son and heir)—Maharaj, the Bairagi is a saintly man.

VILLAGERS: Maharaj, this cannot be borne by us! Maharaj, evil will follow from it.

DHANANJAYA: I say, you all go back. The order has been given, I must stay with the King for a few days; the fellows can't bear this (good luck of mine)!

VILLAGERS: Did we come to petition His Majesty for this? We are not to have the Yuvaraj (heir-apparent), and are to lose you, too, to boot?

DHANANJAYA: My body burns to hear what you say. What do you mean by saying you will lose me? Did you keep me tied up in a corner of your loin-cloths? Your business is done. Away with you now!

Owing to an accidental conflagration, the jail where Dhananjaya was imprisoned is reduced to ashes. He has come out.

DHANANJAYA: Jai, Maharaj, Jai! You did not want to part with me, but from where nobody knows, Fire has come with a warrant for my release! But how can I go without telling you? So I have come to take your order.

PRATAPADITYA (sarcastically): Had a good time?

DHANANJAYA: Oh I was so happy. There was no anxiety. All this is His hide-and-seek. He thought I could not catch Him concealed in the prison. But I caught Him, tight in my embrace; and then no end of laughter and songs unending. I have spent the days in great joy—I shall remember my Brother Prison.

(*Sings*)

O my chains, embracing you I enjoyed
The music of your clanking.
You kept me delighted, breaking my pride.
Playing games with you,
The days passed in joy and sorrow.
You encircled my limbs
With priceless jewellery.
I am not angry with you,—
If anybody is to blame, it is I.
Only if there be fear in my mind,
I regard you as terrible.
All night long in the darkness
You were my comrade.
Remembering that kindness of yours
I salute you.

PRATAPADITYA: What is it you say, Bairagi! What for were you so happy in prison?

DHANANJAYA: Maharaj, like your happiness in your kingdom was my joy in prison. What was lack-

ing (there)? (The Lord) can give *you* happiness, but can't He give *me* any joy?

PRATAPADITYA: Where will you go now?

DHANANJAYA: The road.

PRATAPADITYA: Bairagi, it strikes me at times that your way is preferable; my kingdom is no good.

DHANANJAYA: Maharaj, the kingdom, too, is a path. Only, one has to be able to walk aright. He who knows it to be a path (to the goal), he is a real wayfarer; we sannyasis are nothing in comparison with him. Now then, if you permit, out I go for the nonce.

PRATAPADITYA: All right, but don't go to Madhabpur.

DHANANJAYA: How can I promise that? When (the Lord) will take me anywhere, who is there to say nay?

All the passages quoted above are free translations from the original. It is also to be noted that the poet has named the leader of the people in these three plays "Dhananjaya," which means, "He who has conquered (the desire for) riches." One may take that to indicate the poet's idea of the essential qualification of a leader of the people.

As the poet has denounced Nationalism in his book of that name, taking the word to mean that organized form of a people which is meant for its selfish aggrandizement at the expense of other peoples by foul, cruel and unrighteous means, and as he is among the chief protagonists of what is, not quite appropriately, called Internationalism, his profound and all-sided love of the Motherland, both as expressed in words and as manifested in action, has sometimes not been evident perhaps to superficial observers. But those who know him and his work and the literature he has created, know that he loves his land

> with love far-brought
> From out the storied Past, and used
> Within the Present, but transfused
> Thro' future time by power of thought.

His penetrating study of, and insight into, the history of India and Greater India have strengthened this love. Especially noteworthy is his essay on the course of India's history.

The origin of what is called his Internationalism has sometimes been traced to his revealing and disappointing experiences during the Anti-partition and Swadeshi movement of Bengal in the first decade of this century. Such experiences are not denied. But his love of the whole of humanity and interest in their affairs are traceable even in the writings of his boyhood when he was in his teens. And in maturer life, this feature of his character found distinct expression in a poem named "Prabāsi," written more than forty years ago, and published in the first issue of the Bengali monthly *Prabāsi*, which begins with the declaration that his home is in all lands, his country in all countries, his close kindred in all homes there, and that he is resolved to win this country, this home and these kindred.

In his patriotism there is no narrowness, no chauvinism, no hatred or contempt of the foreigner. He believes that India has a message and a mission, a special work entrusted to her by Providence.

He writes in "Our Swadeshi Samaj":

> The realization of unity in diversity, the establishment of a synthesis amidst variety—that is the inherent, the *sanatana*, Dharma of India. India does not admit difference to be conflict, nor does she espy an enemy in every stranger. So she repels none, destroys none, she abjures no methods, recognizes the greatness of ideals, and she seeks to bring them all into one grand harmony.

Again:

> In the evolving history of India, the principle at work is not the ultimate glorification of the Hindu or any other race. In India, the history of humanity is seeking to elaborate a specific ideal to give to general perfection a special form which shall be for the gain of all humanity; nothing less than this is its end and aim. And in the creation of this ideal type, if Hindu, Moslem or Christian should have to submerge the aggressive part of their individuality, that may hurt their sectarian pride, but will not be accounted a loss by the standard of Truth and Right.

Tagore's ideal is the same as that of Rammohun Roy, who, he says, "did not assist India to repair her barriers, or to keep cowering behind them,—he led her out into the freedom of Space and Time, and built for her a bridge between the East and the West."

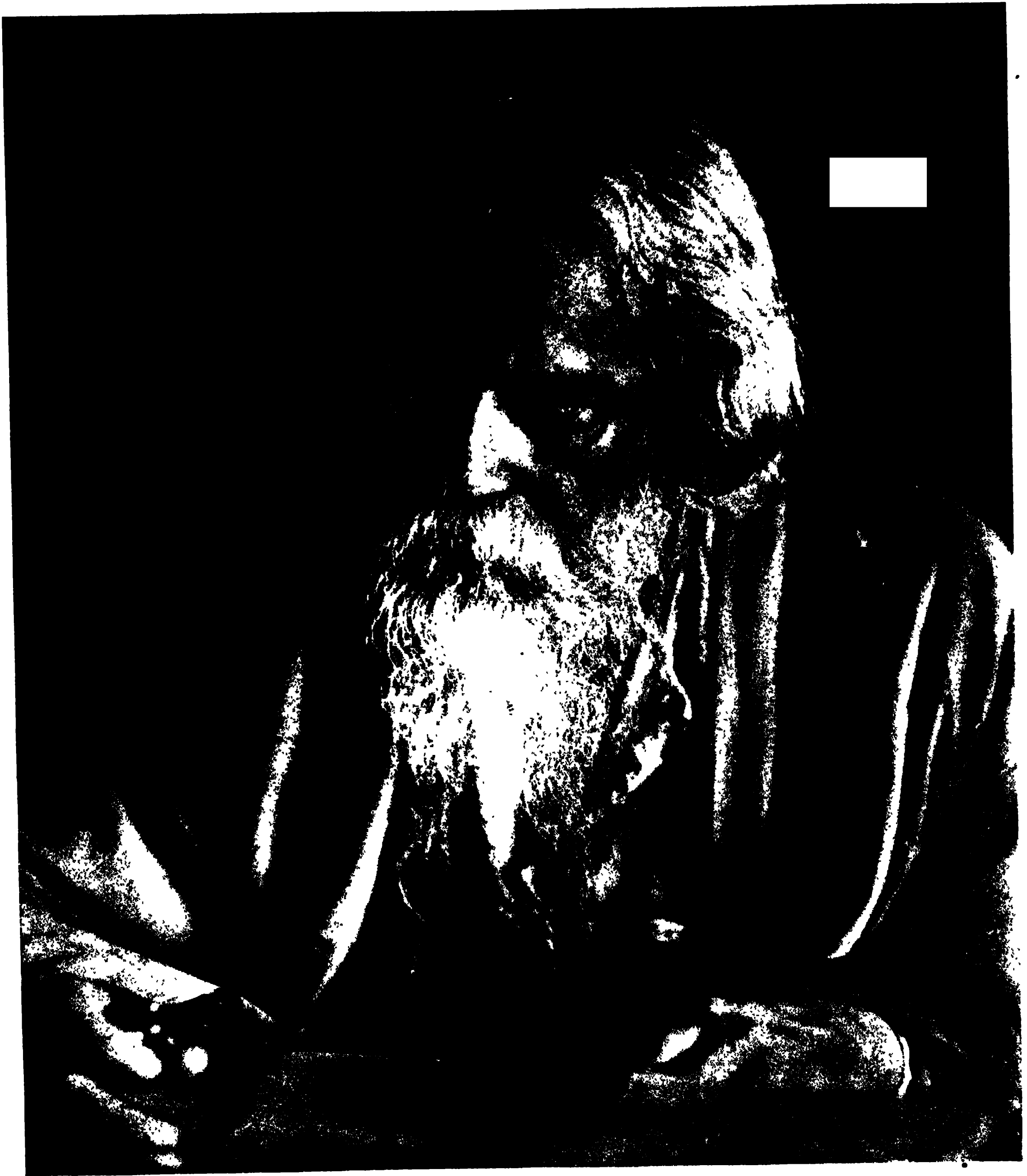
This statement of India's ideal is supported by Mr. C. E. M. Joad in the following passage in his book, *The Story of Indian Civilization*, published, much later, recently:

> Whatever the reason, it is a fact that India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness of Indians to effect a synthesis of many different elements both of thoughts and of peoples, to create, in fact, unity out of diversity.

Rabindranath is above all sectarianism, communalism and racialism, as is evident from his poem "Bhārata-Tirtha," of which a few lines are translated below:

> No one knows at whose call
> How many streams of humanity
> Came from where, in irresistible currents,
> And lost their identity in this (India's) ocean (of men).
> Here Aryan, here non-Aryan,
> Here Dravid and Cheen,
> Hordes of Saka, Huna, Pathan and Mughal
> Became merged in one body.
> The door has opened in the West today,
> All bring presents from there,
> They will give and take, mix and mingle,
> Will not turn back—
> In this India's great
> Human ocean's shores.

. . . . .



RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Prabasi Press

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Come O Aryan, come, non-Aryan,
Hindu-Mussalman,
Come, come today, you English,
Come, come, O Christian.
Come, Brahmana, purifying your mind,
Clasp the hands of all,
Come, O ye outcasted and 'fallen,'
May the burden of all ignominy
Be taken off your backs.
Come, hasten to the Mother's anointing;
For the auspicious vessel has not yet been filled
With water from all shrines,
Purified by the touch of all
(castes, creeds and classes).

The poet never denied that other countries, too, may have their own special messages and missions. He did not dismiss the West with a supercilious sneer, but respected it for its spirit of enquiry, its science, its strength and will to face martyrdom in the cause of truth, freedom and justice (now, alas ! gone to sleep), its acknowledgement and acceptance of the manness of the common man (now also, alas ! not manifest), and its activities for human welfare, and wished the East to take what it should and can from the West, not like a beggar without patrimony or as an adopted child, but as a strong and healthy man may take wholesome food from all quarters and assimilate it. This taking on the part of the East from the West, moreover, is the reception of stimulus and impetus, more than, or rather than, learning, borrowing, aping or imitation. The West, too, can derive advantage from contact with the East, different from the material gain of the plunderer and the exploiter. The study of his writings and utterances leaves us with the impression that the West can cease to dominate in the East only when the latter, fully awake, self-knowing, self-possessed and self-respecting, no longer requires any blister or whip and leaves no department of life and thought largely unoccupied by its own citizens.

His hands reached out to the West and the East, to all humanity, not as those of a suppliant, but for friendly grasp and salute. He was by his literary works and travels, among the foremost reconcilers and uniters of races and continents. He has renewed India's cultural connection with Japan, China, Siam, Islands-India, Iran and Iraq by his visits to those lands. His extensive travels in Europe and America also have established cultural and friendly relations with the *peoples* of those lands. The Greater India Society owes its inception to his inspiration.

In spite of the cruel wrongs inflicted on India by the British nation, and whilst condemning such wrong-doing unsparingly, he has never refrained from being just and even generous in his estimate of the British people. Therefore it is that his disillusion has been so agonizing, as revealed in his eightieth birthday pronouncement on the *Crisis of Civilization*, published in the May number of *The Modern Review* this year, from which I extract below only the last few paragraphs.

The wheels of Fate will some day compel the English to give up their Indian empire. But what kind of India will they leave behind, what stark misery ? When the stream of their centuries' administration runs dry at last, what a waste of mud and filth they will leave behind them ! I had at one time believed that the springs of civilization would issue out of the heart of Europe. But today when I am about to quit the world that faith has gone bankrupt altogether.

As I look around I see the crumbling ruins of a proud civilization strewn like a vast heap of futility. And yet I shall not commit the grievous sin of losing faith in Man. I would rather look forward to the opening of a new chapter in his history after the cataclysm is over and the atmosphere rendered clean with the spirit of service and sacrifice. Perhaps that dawn will come from this horizon, from the East where the sun rises. A day will come when the unvanquished man will retrace his path of conquest, despite all barriers, to win back his lost human heritage.

Today we witness the perils which attend on the insolence of might; one day the full truth of what the sages have proclaimed shall be borne out :

"By unrighteousness man prospers, gains what appears desirable, conquers enemies, but perishes at the root."

It will be recalled that he was the first to publicly condemn the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, and that he gave up his knighthood in protest. He was not in favour of the negative aspect of the Non-co-operation movement and strongly opposed the leaving of schools and colleges by students and their active participation in politics.

His politics are concerned more with the moulding of society and character-building than with the more vocal manifestations of that over-crowded department of national activity. Political freedom he prizes as highly and ardently as the most radical politician, but his conception of freedom is full and fundamental. To him the chains of inertness, cowardice and ignorance, of selfishness and pleasure-seeking, of superstition and lifeless custom, of the authority of priest-craft and letter of scripture, constitute our bondage no less than the yoke of the stranger, which is largely a consequence and a symptom. He prized and insisted upon the absence of external restraints. But this does not constitute the whole of his idea of freedom. There should be inner freedom also, born of self-sacrifice, enlightenment, self-purification and self-control. This point of view largely moulded his conception of the Indian political problem and the best method of tackling it. He wished to set the spirit free, to give it wings to soar;

so that it may have largeness of vision and a boundless sphere of activity. He desired that fear should be cast out. Hence his politics and his spiritual ministrations merged in each other. Quite appropriately and characteristically have the lips of such a poet uttered the prayer :

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
> Where knowledge is free;
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
> Where words come out from the depth of truth;
> Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
> Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
> Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever widening thought and action—
> Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake. (*Gitanjali*).

The people of India should bear it in mind that the poet left this world before India had awakened to this heaven of freedom, and that it is their duty to do their best to bring about the fulfilment of his prayer.

Age and bodily infirmities did not make him a reactionary and obscurantist. His spirit was ever open to new light. He continued till the last to be a progressive social reformer. His intellectual powers were then still at their height. His latest poetic creations did not betray any dimness of vision, any lack of inspiration or fertility; nor are there in any of them signs of repetition. He continued to be among our most active writers. This was for the joy of creation and self-expression and fraternal giving, as he loved his kind, and human intercourse was dear to his soul. His ceaseless and extensive reading in very many diverse subjects, including some out-of-the-way sciences and crafts, and his travels in many continents enabled him to establish ever new intellectual and spiritual contacts, to be abreast of contemporary thought, to keep pace with its advance and with the efforts of man to plant the flag of the master-who-knows in the realms of the unknown—himself being one of the most sanguine and dauntless of intellectual and spiritual prospectors and explorers.

When Curzon partitioned Bengal against the protests of her people, the poet threw himself heart and soul into the movement for the self-realization and self-expression of the people in all possible ways. But when popular resentment and despair led to the outbreak of terrorism, he was the first to utter the clearest note of warning, to assert that Indian nationalism should not stultify and frustrate itself by recourse to such violence. Such warnings had been given by him on other occasions, too. Though he had nothing to do with active politics for decades, he did not hesitate to give the nation the advantage of inspiring messages and outspoken pronouncements for the presidential chair at meetings on momentous and critical occasions. He was unsparing in his condemnation of the predatory instincts and activities of nations, whether of the military or of the economic variety. He always believed that war can never be ended by the pacts of robber nations so long as they do not repent and give up their wicked ways and the spoils thereof. The remedy lies in the giving up of greed and promotion of neighbourly feelings between nation and nation as between individual men. Hence the poet-seer repeatedly gave in various discourses and contexts his exposition of the ancient text of the *Isopanishad* :

> All this whatsoever that moves in Nature is indwelt by the Lord. Enjoy thou what hath been allotted to thee by Him. Do not covet anybody's wealth.

In pursuance of this line of thought, while the poet expressed himself in unambiguous language against the use of violence by the party in power in Russia, and while he held that private property had its legitimate uses for the maintenance and promotion of individual freedom and individual self-creation and self-expression and for social welfare, he saw and stated clearly the advantages of Russian collectivism, as will be evident from his book *Rashiar Chithi* in Bengali and the following cabled reply to a query of Professor Petrov of V. O. K. S., Moscow :

> Your success is due to turning the tide of wealth from the individual to collective humanity.

How the poet felt for the humblest of human beings may be understood from many of his poems and utterances; *e.g.*, the following from *Gitanjali* :

> Pride can never approach to where thou walkest in the clothes of the humble among the poorest, and lowliest and lost.
> My heart can never find its way to where Thou keepest company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost.
> He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and His garment is covered with dust. Put off the holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil.

Long before the Congress raised the cry of removal of "untouchability," in the poet's household and in Santiniketan generally it had come to be the practice to employ "untouchable" cooks and other servants.

In spite of all his genuine sympathy and love for the poor and the down-trodden, he felt

in all humility that he had not become one with them. In *The Great Symphony* he mourns :

> Not everywhere have I won access,
> my ways of life have intervened
> and kept me outside.
> The tiller at the plough,
> the weaver at the loom,
> the fisherman plying his net,
> these and the rest toil and sustain the world
> with their world-wide varied labour.
> I have known them from a corner,
> banished to a high pedestal of society
> reared by renown.
> Only the outer fringe have I approached,
> not being able to enter
> the intimate precincts.

Thirty-one years ago he wrote a poem, included in the Bengali *Gītānjali*, addressed to his Motherland, referring to the treatment accorded to the "untouchables". Its first stanza runs as follows (translation) :

> O my hapless country, those whom thou hast insulted—
> To them shalt thou have to be equal in thy humiliation.
> Those whom thou hast deprived of the rights of man,
> Kept them standing before thee, not taking them in thy lap,
> All of them shalt thou have to equal in humiliation.

Rabindranath has prayed in one of his poems, "Give me the strength never to belittle the humble and the poor." God granted this sincere prayer and gave him this strength in abundant measure.

As regards the poet's ideal of womanhood, the passage in *Chitra*, beginning,

> I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self

is well known. But to get a complete idea of what he thinks of Woman, many other poems and prose writings of his have to be read. For instance, among poems : "Sabalā" ("The Strong-souled woman") in *Mahuā*, written with reference to the word "Abalā" ("The Weak"), a Sanskrit word denoting woman; the series of poems named "Nāmni" in the same work; "Nāri" in *Arogya*; etc. *Gora* and some of his other novels and many short stories enable the reader to know his ideals of womanhood, though he wrote as an artist, not as a preacher.

Regarding our unfortunate sisters, stigmatized as fallen women, though their betrayers, ravishers, and exploiters are *not* called "fallen" men, read the poet's "Patitā" ("The Fallen Woman") in *Kāhini*, and "Karunā" ("Compassion") and "Sati" ("The Chaste Woman") in *Chaitāli*. These, too, have not yet been translated into English. The story of Nanibālā in *Chaturanga* should also be read in this connection.

As an educationist, he preserved in his ideal of Visva-Bharati, the international residential university, the spirit of the ancient ideal of the *tapovanas* or forest-retreats of the Teachers of India—its simplicity, its avoidance of softness and luxury, its insistence on purity and chastity, its spirituality, its interplay of influence between teachers and students, its reverence for the Infinite Spirit, its practical touch with Nature, and the free play that it gave to all normal activities of body and soul. Up till his last serious illness, whenever he was at Santiniketan he would periodically conduct the service and prayers in the Mandir and pour out his soul in elevating and inspiring discourses. While the ancient spirit has been thus sought to be kept up, there is in this open-air institution at Santiniketan no cringing to mere forms, however hoary with antiquity. The poet's mental outlook is universal. He claims for his people all knowledge and culture, whatever their origin, as their province. Hence, while he wanted the youth of India of both sexes to be rooted in India's past and to draw sustenance therefrom, while he had been practically promoting the culture of the principal religious communities of India as far as the resources of the institution permitted, he had also extended a friendly invitation and welcome to the exponents of foreign cultures as well. China's response has taken the concrete shape of the Cheena-Bhavana for the study of Chinese culture. Chinese, Tibetan and Islamic studies—and, of course, the study of Hindu and Buddhist culture and of the teachings of the medieval saints of India, have long been special features of Visva-Bharati. All this has made it possible, for any who may so desire, to pursue the study of comparative religion at Santiniketan. He wanted that there should be no racialism, no sectarian and caste and colour prejudice in his institution.

Visva-Bharati stands neither for merely literary, nor for merely vocational education but for both and more. Tagore wanted both man the knower and man the doer and maker. He wanted an intellectual as well as an artistic and aesthetic education. He wanted the growth of a personality equal to meeting the demands of society and solitude alike. Visva-Bharati now comprises a primary and a high school, a college, a school of graduate research, a school of painting and modelling and of some crafts, a music school, a school of agriculture and village welfare work, a co-operative bank with branches

and a public health institute. Here students of both sexes have their games and physical exercises. The poet's idea of a village is that it should combine all its beautiful and healthy rural characteristics with the amenities of town life necessary for fullness of life and efficiency. Some such amenities have already been provided in his schools. There is co-education in all stages. It was one of the cherished desires of the poet to give girl students complete education in a woman's University based on scientific methods, some of which are the fruits of his own insight and mature experience.

As in everything else that he wrote and spoke upon, he was an original thinker in Education.

When he is spoken of as the founder of Visva-Bharati, it is not to be understood that he merely gave it a local habitation and a name and buildings and funds and ideals. That he has, no doubt, done. To provide funds, he had, in the earlier years of the school, sometimes to sell the copyright of some of his books and even temporarily, or for good, to part with some of Mrs. Tagore's jewellery. His subsequent efforts to collect funds are well known. In the earlier years of the institution, he for a time acted as its clerk, he took classes in many subjects, lived with the boys in their rooms, entertained them in the evenings by story-telling, recitations of his poems, games of his own invention, methods of sense-training of his own devising, etc., and occasionally ran races with them, being challenged to do so, and always defeated them. For he had then a splendid physique, and was trained in wrestling by professional wrestlers in boyhood and youth. Many a day at that time would Mrs. Tagore, who was an expert in the culinary art, regale the boys and their teachers with dishes prepared by herself. In those days when the number of teachers and students was small, the institution was like a home for them all. Even more recently the poet was known to take some classes. And he continued to keep himself in touch with the institution in various ways.

He brought out from Japan one of the best jiujitsu experts to train his boys and girls in that art of self-defence, and gave them facilities to learn *lathi-play* and fencing also. Santiniketan possesses fine foot-ball grounds and fields for other games. Its foot ball teams are among the best in the mofussil in Bengal.

Student self-government, unsectarian prayers and worship, and Season Festivals are characteristic features of Visva-Bharati. The poet also introduced the "honour system" of keeping no watch over his students in examinations. The opportunities which the pupils of Santiniketan have had to render service to the neighbouring villages, have resulted in the establishment of the Prasād Vidyālaya and the Pearson School for the Santals.

Silent meditation for 15 minutes every day for each student sitting in the open apart from others, is the rule and practice for the school at Santiniketan.

That Tagore is an independent thinker in education has been recognised. But one of the group of institutions constituting Visva-Bharati, namely, Sikshā-Satra, has not received due public attention, and is perhaps practically unknown even to Indian educationists. It was founded in 1924. Its origin and principles were stated when it was founded, and re-stated by Mr. L. K. Elmhirst in Visva-Bharati Bulletin No. 9, December, 1928, from which I make a few extracts below.

> To dig our own cave in the earth, where we could creep out of sight, much to the disgust of the matter-of-fact gardener, to chop sticks with a real axe, to be given a pair of boots to polish, a fire to light, or some dough to knead and bake—these were our keenest joys; yet only too often had we to be content with toy bricks, toy houses, toy tools or toy kitchens; or, if serious work was provided, it was in the nature of sweated labour, which fatigued without giving play to our creative instincts.
>
> The aim, then, of the Siksha-Satra is through experience in dealing with this overflowing abundance of child life, its charm and its simplicity, to provide the utmost liberty within surroundings that are filled with creative possibilities, with opportunities for the joy of play that is work,—the work of exploration; and of work that is play,—the reaping of a succession of novel experiences; to give the child that freedom of growth which the young tree demands for its tender shoot, that field for self-expansion in which all young life finds both training and happiness.

As regards the age at which the child's education at the Sikshā-Satra should begin, it is stated:

> It is between the ages of six and twelve that the growing child is most absorbed in gathering impressions through sight, smell, hearing and taste but more especially through touch and the use of the hands. From the start, therefore, the child enters the Siksha-Satra as an apprentice in handicraft as well as house-craft. In the workshop, as a trained producer and as a potential creator, it will acquire skill and win freedom for its hands; whilst as an inmate of the house, which it helps to construct and furnish and maintain, it will gain expanse of spirit and win freedom as a citizen of the small community.

Some of the crafts which the pupils can learn are mentioned in the Bulletin. It is stated that,

> From the earliest years it is well to introduce to the children some special craft, easily grasped by small hands, which is of definite economic value. The product should be of real use in the home, or have a ready sale outside. . . . In the carrying out

of every one of these crafts, again, some art, some science, some element of business enters in.

The Sikshā-satra scheme is substantially what afterwards came to be known as the Wardha scheme.

Rabindranath has been a journalist from his teens. He has often written with terrific directness. In years past he successfully edited several monthlies, and contributed till almost the last month of his life to numerous more. He has written for many weeklies, too. He was the only man in Bengal I knew who was capable of filling a magazine from the first page to the last with excellent reading in prose and verse of every description required.

His contributions to periodicals have been copious all along, and in such work he was regular, punctual and methodical. It is easy and pleasant to read his beautiful handwriting. As an editor, he was the making of many authors, who subsequently became well-known, by the thorough revision to which he subjected their work.

His beautiful Bengali handwriting has been copied by so many persons in Bengal that even those who have had occasion to see it very frequently cannot always distinguish the genuine thing from its imitation.

There is an impression abroad that no English translation by Rabindranath of any of his Bengali poems was published anywhere before the *Gitanjali* poems. That is a mistake. As far as I can now trace, the first English translations by himself of his poems appeared in the February, April and September numbers of the *Modern Review* in 1912. This is how he came to write in English for publication :—Some time in 1911 I suggested that his Bengali poems should appear in English garb. So he gave me translations of two of his poems by the late Mr. Lokendranath Palit, I.C.S. Of these "Fruitless Cry" appeared in May and "The Death of the Star" in September, 1911, in *The Modern Review*. When I asked him by letter to do some translations himself, he expressed diffidence and unwillingness and tried to put me off by playfully reproducing two lines from one of his poems of which the purport was, "On what pretext shall I now call back her to whom I bade adieu in tears ?", the humorous reference being to the fact that he did not, as a schoolboy, take kindly to school education and its concomitant exercises. But his genius and the English muse would not let him off so easily. And I, too, had not ceased to remind him that his Bengali poems should be translated by himself. So a short while afterwards, he showed me some of his translations, asking me playfully whether as a quondam school master I considered them up to standard. These appeared in my *Review*. These are, to my knowledge, his earliest published English compositions. Their manuscripts have been preserved.

He was all along very diffident in writing English, though even when he was a student of Henry Morley in his teens that strict judge of English praised his style and diction before his British class-mates. The subject of what Rabindranath wrote and submitted to the professor was "Englishmen in India," who came in for much severe criticism in his composition. Henry Morley asked his British students to note what Rabindranath had written, as many of them were likely in future to serve in India in some capacity or other.

I have referred to his beautiful hand. All calligraphists cannot and do not become painters, though, as Rabindranath burst into fame as a painter when almost seventy, the passage from calligraphy to painting might seem natural. I do not intend, nor am I competent, to discourse on his paintings. They are neither what is known as Indian art, nor are they any mere imitation of any ancient or modern Oriental or European painting. They are unclassed. One thing which may perhaps stand in the way of the commonalty understanding and appreciating them is that they seldom tell a story. They express in line and colour what even the rich vocabulary and consummate literary art and craftsmanship of Rabindranath could not or did not say. He never went to any school of art or took lessons from any artist at home. Nor did he want to imitate anybody. So, he is literally an original artist. If there be any resemblance in his style to that of any other schools of painters, it is entirely accidental and unintentional. In this connection I call to mind one interesting fact. In the Bengali *Santiniketan Patra* ("Santiniketan Magazine") of the month of Jyaistha, 1333 B.E., published fifteen years ago, Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, the famous artist, described (pp. 100-101) how his uncle Rabindranath was instrumental in leading him to evolve his own style of indigenous art. Summing up, Abanindranath writes :

> Bengal's poet suggested the lines of Art, Bengal's artist (*i.e.*, Abanindranath himself) continued to work alone along those lines for many a day. (Translation).

It was my happy privilege some twenty-three years back to live at Santiniketan as the poet-seer's neighbour for long periods at a stretch. During one such period, my working room and sleeping room combined commanded an uninterrupted view of the small two-storied cottage, "Dehali," in which he then lived—only

a field intervening between. During that period I could never at night catch the poet going to sleep earlier than myself. And when early in the morning I used to go out for a stroll, if by chance it was very early I found him engaged in his daily devotions in the open upper storey verandah facing the east, but usually I found that his devotions were already over and he was busily engaged in some of his usual work. At mid-day, far from enjoying a siesta, he did not even recline. During the whole day and night, he spent only a few hours in sleep and bath and meals, and devoted all the remaining hours to work. During that period I never found that he used a hand-fan or allowed anybody to fan him in summer. And the sultry summer days of Santiniketan are unforgettable!

His serious illness before the last and the infirmities of age had necessitated changes in his habits. But even then he worked longer than many young men. Not long ago during Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Santiniketan, he had to extort a promise from the poet that he would take some rest at mid-day.

Both in youth and in old age he would sometimes make experiments in dietetics, which he had studied carefully. He strongly condemned the waste of food-values in a poor country like ours. In his opinion, research in dietetics should take into consideration both the taste and the nutritive values of food-stuffs. His own palate he had succeeded in bringing under control. There was a time when *neem* leaves were a principal part of his daily menu. Home-made bread prepared from dough kneaded with a little castor oil at one time formed part of his meals. He liked to take vegetables uncooked and preferred gur to sugar. He was not given to smoking tobacco in any form. It was not his habit even to chew *pān* or betel leaves with bits of nut and spices.

I have all along looked upon him as an earnest "Sādhak." He was not, however, an ascetic, though earlier in life he practised some austerities—nor is he, of course, a lover of luxury. His ideal of life is different. "Deliverance is not for me in renunciation," he has said in one of his poems.

Deliverance is not for me in renunciation. I feel the embrace of freedom in a thousand bonds of delight.

Thou ever pourest for me the fresh draught of thy wine of various colours and fragrance, filling this earthen vessel to the brim.

My world will light its hundred different lamps with thy flames and place them before the altar of thy temple.

No, I will never shut the doors of my senses. The delights of sight and hearing and touch will bear thy delight.

Yes, all my illusions will burn into illumination of joy, and all my desires ripen into fruits of love. (*Gitanjali*).

The poet has been so reticent regarding his personal relations that, before Srimati Hemlata Devi, eldest daughter-in-law of his eldest brother, wrote an article on "Rabindranath at Home," in the Bengali monthly *Prabāsi*, little was known of his home life. Her pen picture revealed what a loving and devoted husband, what an affectionate father and what a kind and considerate master to his servants he was. He was a widower since November 23, 1902. We can here extract only a few sentences from an English translation of Srimati Hemlata Devi's article, beginning with his ascetic experiments.

Sometimes the Poet would begin dieting for no earthly reason with such rigid determination that the whole family would feel concerned. . . . On occasions when his dieting reached almost the "starvation level," we would approach his wife to exert her influence and prevent a catastrophe. She knew her husband better and so she did nothing of the kind. I remember she once said: "You do not know, he insists on doing what he is asked not to do; one of these days his body itself would protest and then he will take to his food."

He is an affectionate father. He nursed his first child—a baby daughter—with a mother's care. . . . . We have ourselves seen the Poet feeding the baby, changing her linen and making the bed.

And then this sacred picture of the poet tenderly nursing his wife during her last illness:

Members of the family still remember the picture of the Poet patiently sitting by the sick bed, nursing his wife literally day and night close on two months before death finally released her from her pain. His constant ministering to her comfort was instinct with love and concern. Electric fans were not known in those days; I see a distinct picture of the Poet moving a palm-leaf hand-fan, to and fro, fanning his wife to sleep with tender care. In those days in affluent households it was almost a custom to engage paid nurses. The Poet's house was perhaps the first exception.

If Rabindranath Tagore had not been a great poet and sage and seer, this devoted and tender nursing of his beloved should and could have rendered him adorable for all time.



LETTERS FROM A DISTINGUISHED VISITOR TO SÂNTINIKETAN

[Countess Kerstin Hamilton, wife of Count H. A. Hamilton, Director-General of Telegraphs, Sweden, visited Santiniketan in 1935. She came there with her son Herbert Hamilton, a young artist. She studied Sanskrit and Indian mysticism at Visvabharati under Prof. Kshitimohan Sen Sastri and her son took training in art at Kalabhavan under Sjt. Nandalal Bose.

Countess Hamilton is a celebrated Swedish writer and highly respected in her own country by her people for her devotion to social welfare work and to the cause of International fellowship and world peace.

She took keen interest in the activities of Visvabharati and also made contribution to the Weaving Department of Santiniketan. I happened to be the medium to bring her in contact with Sjt. Rathindranath Tagore, General Secretary, Visvabharati. I was in Sweden when she visited Santiniketan, from where she wrote the following letters to me and to her daughter—Madeleine. She wrote the last letter on her return to Sweden when I was at Sriniketan, Visvabharati.

LAKSHMISWAR SINHA].

My dear L.

I was so glad to see you the little time you were here. Hope, you are not so tired now and have a good time in Dalarna. Yesterday we had a letter from mother and I am now going to translate it for you, so you can see how she is faring.

"Now we are guests of the general secretary and his wife. They are still in Calcutta but their daughter, very sweet, is our hostess together with many other people—friends and servants. It is painful to take breakfast while the "housekeeper" and two other servants are standing at our side and one cannot say a single word to them. . . . . Beautiful garden, great rooms and bathroom. The lizards are running over the walls. The jackals are howling in the evenings. With a bowl of brass or tin puts one water over oneself. I cannot yet think that I am here. I do not know when our house will be ready. It is lying a little out of the way and beautiful in a garden.

"We were in Calcutta from Monday till Thursday. Tuesday we removed to the house of Tagore. An old and charming palace! In the evening there was wedding—very ceremonial—and afterwards dinner. We were eating with our fingers sitting on the floor with a leaf as plate. The meal was finished with betel. The ladies were eating for themselves and the men for themselves. Herbert was taken care of by a youngman Tagore. The day after was a show with Tagore himself. Very beautiful. We have only seen the poet for a moment but he was charming. He is away for some days but hoped that we should have "a happy time together," when he comes back. Thursday we were going with a very slow train for not to be obliged to change with all our baggages, and we arrived here in the evening.

"Rathi Babu's house looks as a palace in the legends—illuminated and beautiful and our arrival brought everybody into play. Yesterday we were with the Director—looked on the weaving, etc. Aina was invited to breakfast and an English lady, Miss Booth, but the dinner we took alone with the daughter, which I think is an adopted daughter, her name is Nandini. She liked us both she said. I gave her my green ear-drops. Someone has interviewed us. . . . . People are wonderfully kind. Here is an atmosphere of peace, rather plain and now very dry. But in the garden of Rathi Babu the flowers are in bloom. —As soon as we are coming to our house I shall write you a better letter. Don't be anxious for us, we are living as kings. Have just spoken with the teacher of Herbert,—Nandalal Bose. Charming. My professor is in Calcutta but will come home tomorrow."

Wonderful letter and we are happy both father and I for it. . . . .

Stockholm
26.12.35.

Yours
Madeleine

My dear L.

Very welcome on the 7th: News from mother and which I am going to translate:

"We have so much to tell, so I don't know how and where to begin. And still I have a feeling that I am dreaming, that it is not a reality. To begin with, we did not leave the boat before Tuesday,—we arrived Monday morning when Aina met us, so we went to visit Tagore, but we only saw Rathi Babu and Pratima Devi, both charming and kind. So we lived in the house of Tagore, and were there under the wedding. Very interesting—many charming women—they are as beautiful as flowers—s f and (gracila) graceful and full of charm.

There we met the family, but impossible to tell who is who because everyone in the family was with everyone. After many and beautiful ceremonies, there was a dinner. The day after there was a theatre with the Poet himself and the pupils from the school. Indeed very beautiful! And so we were going the day after to Santiniketan. As they did not like us to come to our own house, before they themselves were here, we have lived nearly a week with Rathi Babu. The evening before yesterday, we came to our house which I like very much. It is surrounded of a big garden. We have a veranda round the house... Here it is very comfortable. ... They have liberally provided us with everything but we have brought some tea cups, and a saucepan, and have lent a primus of Aina. There is something wrong with it and when we were trying to boil water for tea—fruitlessly, there came Pratima Devi as a saver and immediately sent for tea from her house. They have even sent us breakfast today though we had succeeded to get water boiled and just taken breakfast. Then came a servant with a tray and we must take breakfast again. Lunch and dinner we take in Tata-Building, together with a very nice and pleasant French lady who is as Aina a donation here. She is "mother' in the house of the girls and I like her very much. More kind people than the Tagores are impossible to find, and so thoughtful. Even their servants are kind. Yesterday they came with a mattress for Herbert and immediately they arranged our beds for night—without someone had asked for it. An old gardener is asked to boil bathing water whenever I want it and Rathi Babu has taught us how to ask for things. Just now came a man and gave me 100 rupees. The thoughtful Rathi Babu guessed perhaps that I was without money—and which was rather true. Because it takes a little time until money come from Calcutta.

"Herbert has begun with his lessons and he loves his teacher. It is a wonderful man and he radiates goodness and artistic talent.

* * *

"I myself have been taken to the most eminent Sanskrit scholar. I liked him immediately—he was a wonderful man. He said that the proposed time of my stay is short to learn Sanskrit and he thought that it would be difficult to find a teacher who dared give me lessons, but he would think and if he could not find anyone, he himself would give me lessons. I spoke to Rathi Babu of my interest in Indian philosophy and my desire to learn it. The learned scholar is Prof. Sen who has been in Benares and round India, so a more ideal teacher I cannot get. And the kind Rathi Babu spoke with the Poet so that he would ask the Professor to take me as his pupil. Certainly I felt ashamed to take his time but Rathi Babu says that I have more use of a short lesson from him than a long one from another. I think Prof. Sen is surely going to help me.

"Everything is different here but I like it. We have met so many people but it is difficult to remember all the names. I have only seen the Poet for a moment in Calcutta. After that he became ill and arrived here the day before yesterday. I am allowed to see him as soon as he has got some rest. . . . . . .

"The whole day we have had visitors. The morning I was with the French lady, so came our Bengali teacher and he was here for four hours. So came Nandini. So Aina, Pratima Devi and at last Rathi Babu, oh, there was a man too, a very great man who guards the gate and looks after everything. He asked if I had it comfortable, if there was anything he could do for me. . . . . . . One comes and goes in Indian house how one likes. Everything is open for everyone. And we shall never be afraid to come to the house of Rathi Babu when we want. I am rather afraid to trouble but today I shall go and thank him for the breakfast and the money. It is difficult to know how to deal and to be—the habits are different in different countries. I have asked them to tell if there are things which hurt them because, it is an institution and it is just possible that we are doing things which are not good. I am afraid, here comes so many bad examples from the West and it is why one wants to be very prudent. I feel that I am with the most sensible people in the world. They are all so dignified and speak with low voice. They have a sharp glance for people. I love them and most I love Rathi Babu—he is the most charming man one can think of—interesting to speak with and so good. His wife is very beautiful to look at and is very kind and nice. Here is peaceful and delightful. When comes Laks.? Give our greetings to him, we wish he was here now."

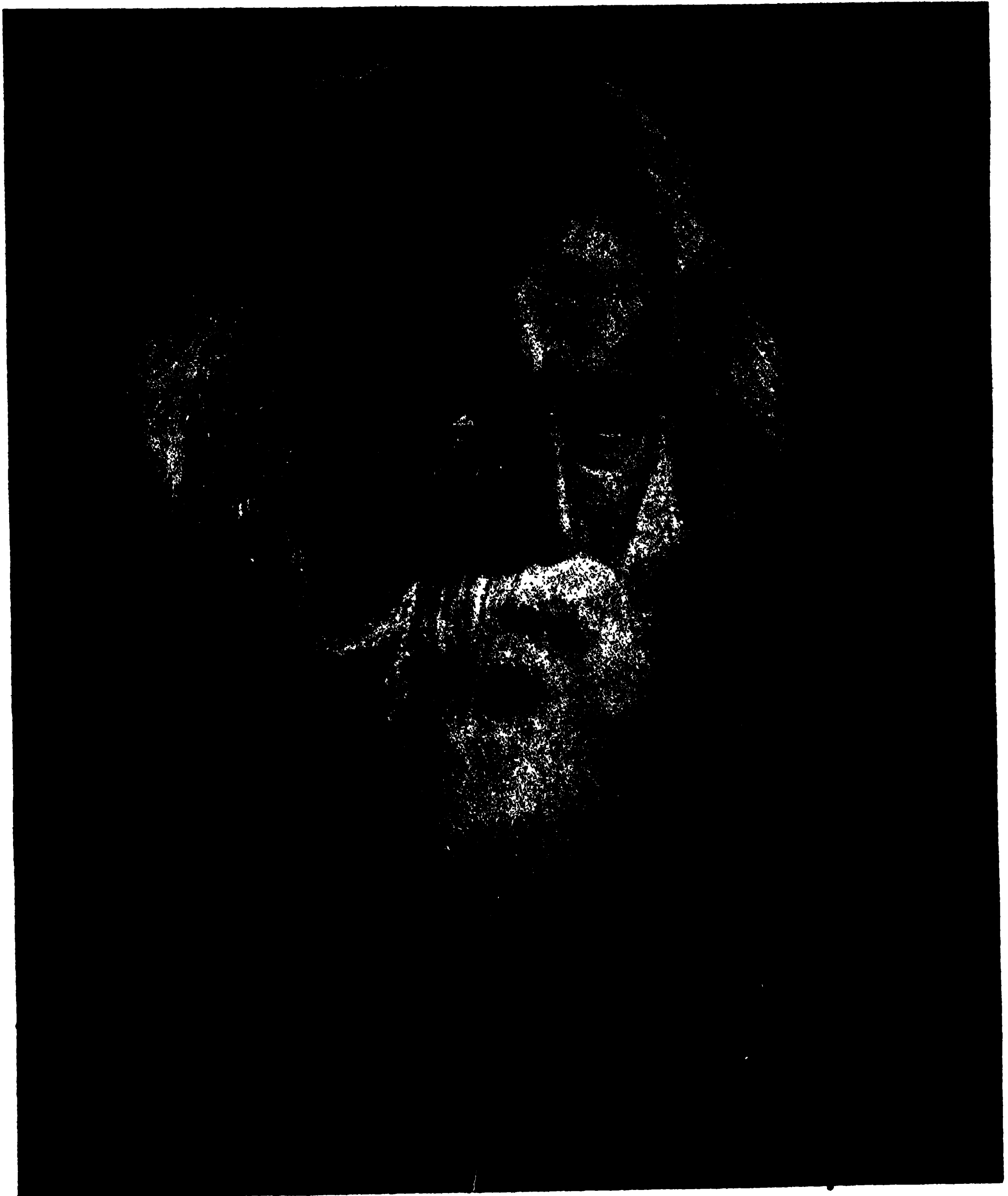
—Best wishes to you from
Your
Madeleine

P.S.—The letter was written on the 20th December.

My dear L.

Your letter made me glad to recieve—thank you so much, my dear Boy! I wrote you, more than a week ago. . . . .

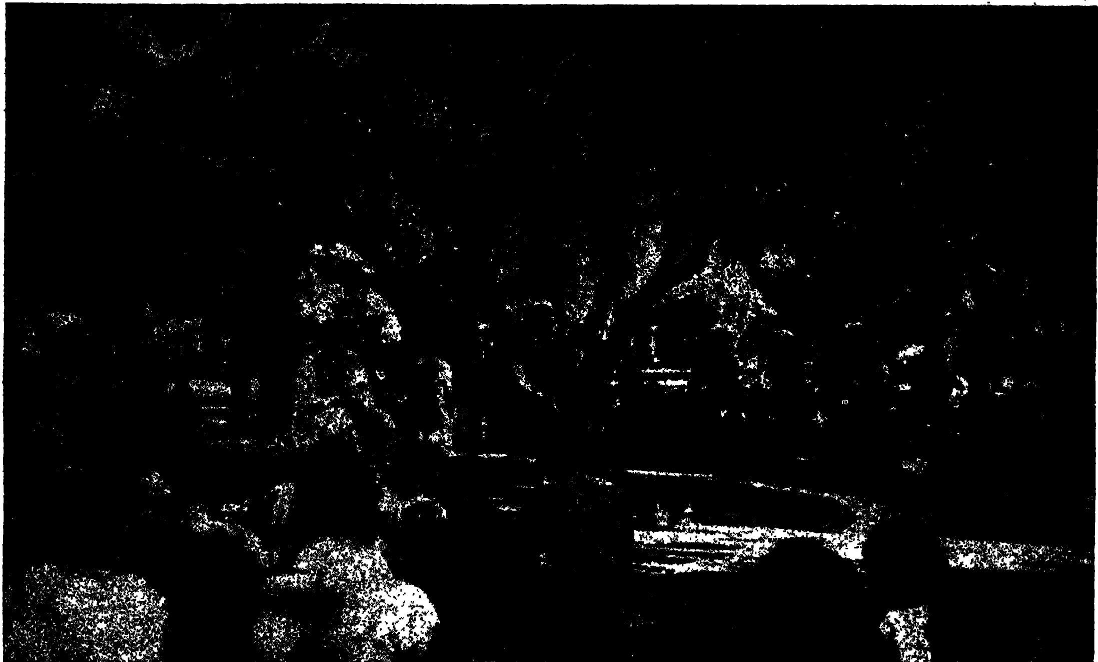
IN MEMORIUM
RABINDRANATH TAGORE




Rabindranath Tagore
1 Baisakh 1335









We have still nice weather and not too hot, so I feel well. And Santiniketan is a lovely place with lovely people. Madeleine has of course told you everything about us ! You know where we live and how kind all people have been. And you know how I love my teacher. He is the most wonderful man I ever have met. I both admire and love him of all my hearts, but I can't find word in English to express what I feel. I can only tell you, he gives me what my inner heart always has longed for. And of course I love Gurudeva. He has been extremely kind to me, and to have a little talk with him is as to be removed to the realm of peace, goodness and eternal love.

* * *

I have not seen Gurudeva for some days. He is very busy now, composing music to "Chitra" that they are going to perform in Calcutta in this month. And there he has to give a lecture in Calcutta on Saturday. He seems to be tired and in need of rest. But that is hardly possible for him to get. All have claim on him !

I work rather hard with my Sanskrit and I have no time for Bengali lessons. It was too much to study both and then I preferred to work with the Sanskrit. The Poet says that I ought to stay here for two years to really know Sanskrit but I will know Sanskrit so much after these few months that I shall be able to work alone afterwards and I must be satisfied with that.

I only try to learn the grammar now, because Prof. Sen does not teach me Sanskrit but Indian mystics. The latter is much more interesting—it is the living life but as he says it is good for me to go on with Sanskrit also, I have continued this work. A very nice young man—I think a pupil of Kshitimohan, helps me, because he himself—I mean Prof. Sen is so busy that he could not give me lessons more than three times in a week. He sends you his kind greetings. And so does Herbert.

* * *

Lots of love and all my best wishes.

Yours
Kerstin

Santiniketan. 5. 2. 1936.

P.S.—I love the Indian moon ! She is lovely kind and tender—not at all as our cold northern old moon.

LAST LETTER FROM SWEDEN

My dear L.

I hope you do not believe that I have forgotten you, though I have not written for so long time. Thank you very much for your letter—I feel ashamed when looking at its date—it was in Nov. you wrote it and now we have reached the middle of February. In December I fell ill and the whole family celebrated the Christmas in beds.

* * *

I do not think I have told you that Madeleine got a baby in the beginning of November. It is a nice little girl and she is of course very happy—I mean Madeleine, because I do not know if the child feels happy to have been born in this terrible world of ours.

* * *

We fear a new war here in Europe and if a modern war comes, then I think we may witness the end of this culture. But it is not only the European culture that is at stake. It is the culture of the whole world. We dare not make preparations for the future. We do not even know what tomorrow will bring.

I hope, without daring to believe in it, that we shall be able to leave Sweden for India next year. My husband will finish his work with the end of this year and then I hope we can go to India for a time. I dream of it, as my longing back is as great now as ever before. .... I want to see Gurudeva again and I should love to get lessons of my teacher.

* * *

Give my greetings to my friends at Santiniketan and to yourself best wishes and thoughts.

Yours
Kerstin

Stockholm. 17. 2. 1938.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA : *By A. B. Rudra, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Oxford University Press. 1940. Price Rs. 10.*

The office of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India has no precedents or parallels; it is unique. Its occupant combines in himself the status and functions of the King, the Prime Minister and the Civil Servant. He has the status and immunity from criticism of the King, the responsibility and powers of the Prime Minister and the duty of the Civil Servant to carry out orders of the Secretary of State ! He is, like the President of the United States of America, not responsible to the Legislature, but, unlike him, can legislate without its consent. He is like himself and like nothing else.

In the matter of immunity from criticism he is ahead not only of the Governor-Generals in the Dominions but of the King himself in England. Parliament has the full and unfettered right to discuss His Majesty's conduct on a substantive motion. But the criticism of the conduct of his Viceroy in the Indian legislature even on a substantive motion is not permissible. If in recent times the conduct of the King was not debated in Parliament it was because he acted only on the advice of his Ministers, and they were subject to Parliamentary control. In India his Viceroy is not bound to act on the advice of anybody, even his Council. In fact, there are vast regions of power in which the Council has no jurisdiction, but only the Viceroy. And yet his conduct, even when he acts on his own individual responsibility, is not open to debate in the Indian Legislature. "It is unreasonable" says Dr. Rudra, "that, while his actions may be criticised in the press and on the platform, the duly elected representatives of the people should be unable to comment on his actions in the most appropriate forum."

Apart from this, the Viceroy enjoyed legal immunity which, according to Dr. Rudra, has so far been extended by the Government of India Act of 1935 that it is now "practically complete."

It is true that the conduct of the Viceroy is not immune from criticism in the British Parliament by means of a substantive motion drawn up in proper terms. But the control of Parliament has hardly ever been real. The real control, such as it was, rested with the Secretary of State. The relation between the two has been the theme of much constitutional debate. It has officially been admitted that it all depended on the personal equation of the two as to who was the principal and who the agent. A materful Viceroy treated the Secretary of State as his Ambassador at the Court of St. James. Even so masterful a Secretary of State as Lord Morley, with great prestige and large following in Parliament and backed by the unanimous opinion of the Cabinet, gave in to the reactionary policies of the Viceroy, Lord Minto.

In the relations between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State extra-statutory and private and personal correspondence plays a large part. On occasions private correspondence largely supplanted official communications, a practice which was strongly condemned by the Mesopotamia Commission. Lord Curzon gave out that the true story of each Viceroyalty was really written in the weekly personal and private correspondence between the two officers, which, if published, would necessitate the re-writing of history as now known. An example of it is furnished by Lord Birkenhead's letter to Lord Reading on the earlier appointment of the Simon Commission.

"We could not afford to run the risk that the nominations of the 1928 Commission should be in the hands of our successors. You can readily understand what kind of Commission in its personnel would have been appointed by Colonel Wedgwood and his friends. I have throughout been of the clear opinion that it would be necessary for us, as a matter of elementary prudence, to appoint the Commission not later than summer of 1927. . . . . I should, therefore, like to receive your advice if at any moment you can discern an opportunity for making this bargain-counter or for further disintegrating the Swarajist Party."

Such has been the British governance of India; perhaps it is so still. Will it be so hereafter ?

P. Kodanda Rao

LYRICS AND SONNETS : *By H. Gilbert. Published by the Hosali Press, 6, Ulsoor Road, Bangalore.*

INDIAN FANCY. A Book of Verse : *By C. L. Narain. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 29, Ludgate Hill, London E.C. 4.*

CHRISTMAS, 1935 AND OTHER VERSES : *By D. C. Datta, M.A. Published by Stephen Allen, 47, New Theatre Road, Calcutta. 1941.*

POEMS : *By S. N. Sirkar, M.A. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 29, Ludgate Hill, London E.C. 4.*

POEMS : *By Mohon. Published by M. V. Mohon, Esq., B.A. (Bom.), College Back Road, Dharwar. 1941.*

Whether Indian writers should attempt writing poetry in English instead of in their vernacular is a question which can be answered only after a close scrutiny not of one individual writer but of a group writers. Nobody will doubt the sincerity of this attempt

as regards these five small volumes of poetry; in form and technique they are English, but in spirit they remain Indian. Each of these volumes represents a compromise between the personal sensibility and the aspirations of the poet and an external and, therefore, superficial form imposed upon them from outside. It is most doubtful whether personal experiences of an emotional character can be expressed at all in a foreign medium, especially if we consider that words evoke different associations and meanings when used by an Englishman or by an Indian. The literary critic, therefore, is confronted with a two-fold difficulty: when praising these poems for the ideas or experiences communicated in them, he will do injustice to the English language; and if, on the other hand, he judges each poem at its face-value he will have to do injustice to the writer. A communication of experience through the medium of poetry is possible only if harmony is established between form and contents. Even the deepest and most genuine emotion is liable to evoke laughter, if expressed in unidiomatic or even faulty language, if instead of realized experiences we find clichés, stock-responses, and conventional attitudes.

The five volumes under discussion represent experiences of all possible kinds. Mr. Gilbert's range from Raindrops to the Victoria Memorial. Some of the nature descriptions are convincing; but his genuine love for the Indian landscape can in no way serve as an excuse for the innumerable technical deficiencies in his use of the English language.

The influence of Shelley's poems on all the five writers is obvious; it is indeed unfortunate that Shelley provides them with ready-made formulas, stock-responses of the most doubtful kind which makes the reading of some of these poems almost painful to a lover of English poetry. Such is the case with Mr. Mohon's poems some of which are no more than imitations (if not parodies) of Shelley; here it is no longer the form and technique alone that are second-hand, even the emotions seem to be borrowed. The following stanza needs no comment for anyone acquainted with Shelley's Skylark:

> "Hail thou spirit of heaven!
> Angel blithe and singing,
> Winging,
> Where new life is springing
> In the Clouds. With our endless strue all
> earth is riven."

We appreciate Mr. Datta's range of knowledge and experiences. His poems indeed cover a wide range of almost cyclopedic dimensions. There are translations and adaptations from Goethe, Chandidas, and Vidyapati. And there are poems addressed to Shakespeare, the Ex-King-Emperor Edward VIII, the Goddess Dullness, the Spirit of Vedavyasa, the memory of Caliph Omar, a dying baby, and a fallen rose. The rest are conventional love-songs.

Mr. Narain's "Indian Fancy" consists of love poems of a frolicsome sentimentality. They are written in a peculiarly jerky and un-English style, a kind of spiritualised telegram; for instance:

> "Beauty's form, melody's charm,
> Ringing unheard—
> Heart hearing, rapture sets
> Heart and senses.
> Move! Cannot! Senses reel
> Musing, melting."

It is left to the reader to put the words together and to make a meaning out of this verbal chaos.

Mr. Sirkar's pompous solemnity is almost refreshing after all these emotional outbursts. There is a good deal of morality and religion in them; but fortunately it never goes very deep. The complete lack of a sound and healthy sense of humour (a characteristic that is common to all the five volumes) is at times slightly irritating, especially in his political poems. All subject-matters are dealt with in the same pompous and over-solemn way, be it "A Lover's Song," "A Prayer," "Poland's Bravery," or "Hitler's State Entry into Warsaw."

A. A.

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE (EXTRA VOLUME): *Selections from Sir C. W. Malet's Letter-Book (1780-1784): Edited by Dr. Raghubir Singh, M.A., D.Litt.*

Charles Warre Malet came to India as a Factor of the East India Company in 1770, and four years after was appointed head of the English factory at Cambay with aditional duties of Resident in the Court of Mirza Momin Khan, Nawab of Cambay. He spent ten long years in Cambay during which he laboured hard both as a politician and scholar. It was Malet who saved Raghunath Rao and his jewels from falling into the hands of the partisans of Nana Fadnis in 1775, and advocated conquest of Gujrat by the Company on behalf of Raghunath Rao. Malet was appointed Resident at Poona in 1785, and played some part as a diplomat advocating a forward policy against Indian powers. The learned editor rightly observes, "the importance of this Letter-Book (of Malet) mainly lies in the fact that it gives us a running commentary on the contemporary events, campaigns, treaties and also on the policy that was being pursued by the English from time to time . . . . his discussion about the true nature of the Maratha Government and his minute analysis of the causes of its weakness, are not only interesting but very illuminating as well."

Dr. Raghubir Singh directed by his worthy master, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, has rescued for India the only copy of Sir Charles Warre Malet's Letter-Book in MS hitherto known to exist from a London bookshop. His money and labours have been well spent in the cause of historical research in India, and this Selections from Malet's Letter-Book is indeed a contribution unique in many respects.

K. R. QANUNGO

THE ENGLISH NURSERY SCHOOL: *By A. F. M. Abdul Huq. Published by the General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Mr. Abdul Huq's pamphlet is to be welcomed as an attractively got-up short introduction to a subject of fundamental importance to the education and future well-being of India—the possibilities of the nursery school and the adaptation of its methods to our needs. It contains a summary of what is being done in England for the healthy physical, mental and social development of children between the ages of two and five, together with useful appendices indicating the lines on which Indian educationists have begun to work out the problem in this country. A bibliography is given, and it is to be hoped that many will be stimulated to study the subject in more detail. The chief omission, and one which might have been remedied even within so short a compass, is the absence of any chapter describing what is already being done in India, or discussing the peculiar problems to which the system has to be adapted here. The need of the middle-class child in our cities is in some respects even greater than that of the slum-dweller or peasant, and the opportunities of the Mother's Club are limitless.

MARJORY SYKES

INDUSTRIAL PROTECTION IN INDIA: *By K. P. Khara, M. Com., LL.B. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. 1939.*

This book is based upon a thesis by the author for the M. Com. Examination of the University of Bombay. It is divided into four parts dealing respectively with general problems of protection, developement of India's fiscal policy, working of the new policy of discriminating protection with reference to various industries and critical examination of the present policy. In examining the working of the policy of discriminating protection since 1923 the author deals with the claims of each industry whose case has so far been examined by the Tariff Board, the recommendations of the Board, the action of the Government and the results that have been noticeable upto 1937-38.

In conclusion, the author makes a strong appeal for a National Economic Policy based upon protection and safeguarding of Indian industries, liberalisation of the policy of discriminating protection, abandonment of the policy of levying excise duties recently adopted by the Government, establishment of a permanent Tariff Board and adoption of a more sympathetic policy of Railway rates and Shipping facilities.

As Sir Purshottam Das Thakur Das points out in the foreword written by him, this thesis appears to be the first of its kind reviewing all the industries inquired into by the Tariff Board since its inception. The facts stated are reliable and well arranged, and undoubtedly the book will be read by the students and public men with great profit.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

THE WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION: *By the Hon. Mr. C. J. Varkey, K.S.G., M.A., M.L.A., with a Foreword by Dr. Zakir Husain, Ph.D. and an Introduction by the Hon. Dr. P. Subbarayan, M.A., B.C.L., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, M.L.A. Published by the Oxford University Press. Cr. 8vo. Pp. xviii+176. Price Re. 1-12.*

Since the publication of this treatise there has been no dearth of material piled up in this field, and several useful and informative books and reports have appeared. It may be said, however, to the credit of the author, that the Wardha Scheme of Education is still the most comprehensive and systematic treatise on the subject, no aspect of the scheme being ignored, no merit or defect of the scheme being passed over without a critical appraisal.

The first chapter which traces the genesis and history of the scheme shows how the Wardha scheme of education is only the culmination of the efforts made over a quarter of a century to evolve a national system of education suited to the genius of the people. In explaining Gandhiji's ideas on education the author has clearly shown that they are in complete accord with the views of modern educationists who hold that the primary object of education is to develop the individual within rather than to help him to absorb certain facts or acquire certain stuffs. The case for a minimum course of seven years urged by Gandhiji has been very ably supported although the author feels that school education should begin at five plus. In dealing with the fundamental features of the scheme the author rightly points out that the principle of education through a basic craft is hardly different from Dewy's formula of "learning by doing" which has so profoundly influenced the instructional methods of today. The method of correlating all teaching with the basic craft or with the pupil's physical and social environments has been discussed and the distinction between education through a craft and education plus craft training has been rightly stressed. Other important features discussed in connection with the syllabus are the emphasis placed on the mother-tongue, the introduction of Hindusthani as a second language, the place of English in the basic scheme of education, its emphasis on non-violence as a living faith and its self-supporting aspect.

The chapters devoted to queries and criticisms dispel all doubts from the minds of *bonafide* educators in regard to the soundness of the basic principles and the feasibility of the organisational details of the scheme. As a critical study and appreciation of the Wardha scheme of education the treatise can hardly be improved upon and those, who are interested or concerned in matters educational should not fail to read it.

SARAT CHANDRA DUTT

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY: *By M. N. Roy. Published by the League of Radical Congressmen, Dehra Dun. Pp. 60. Price annas four.*

The shifting kaleidoscopic view of diplomacy in the world due to the war naturally offers many puzzling problems and occasions for differences of interpretation. In this lucid and well-informed brochure Comrade Roy seeks to explain the main considerations of Soviet tactics and policies, in the background of history and contemporary developments. A perusal of the brochure will profit all seekers of light in the complications of the present European tangle.

PLEA FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER: *By Narayana Kausika. Published by N. G. V. Aiyer, Nemmara (Cochin). Pp. 147. Price Re. 1-4.*

In this pamphlet, the author seeks to build up a case for a new world order based on the Gandhian doctrines of truth and non-violence, albeit modified to make it "dynamic" and "scientific" with an infusion of the "new socialism," propounded by the same author in another book. The three chapters are entitled "War and World Politics," "Gandhian Economics," and "Universal Religion"; there is little of world politics or economics or a study of religions and religious ideas, however, in the effusions.

BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEA

OXFORD PAMPHLETS ON WORLD AFFAIRS.

"Race" in Europe: By Julian Huxley. (No. 5).

The Fourteen Points and The Treaty of Versailles: By G. M. Gathorne-Hardy. (No. 6).

Colonies and Raw Materials: By H. D. Henderson. (No. 7).

"Living Space" and Population Problems: By R. R. Kuczynsbi. (No. 8).

Turkey, Greece and The Eastern Mediterranean: By G. F. Hudson. (No. 9).

The Danube Basin: By C. A. Macartney. (No. 10).

The Dual Policy: By Sir Arthur Salter. (No. 11).

Encirclement: By J. L. Brierly. (No. 12).

The Refugee Question: By Sir John Hope Simpson. (No. 13).

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and Germany's Eastern Policy: By J. W. Wheeler-Bennett. (No. 14).

Czechoslovakia: By R. Birley. (No. 15).

Propaganda in International Politics: By E. H. Carr. (No. 16).

The Blockade, 1914-1919: By W. Arnold-Forster. (No. 17).

National Socialism and Christianity: By N. Micklem. (No. 18).

Who Hitler Is: By R. C. K. Ensor. (No. 20).
The Nazi Conception of Law: By J. Walter Jones. (No. 21).
The Sinews of War: *By Geoffrey Crowther*. (No. 23).
Blockade and the Civilian Population: By Sir William Beveridge. (No. 24).
Paying for the War: By Geoffrey Crowther. (No. 25).
The Naval Role in Modern Warfare: By Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond. (No. 26).
The Baltic: By J. Hampden Jackson. (No. 27).
Britain's Air Power: By E. Colston Shepherd. (No. 28).
The Life and Growth of the British Empire: By J. A. Williamson. (No. 29).
Palestine: By J. Parkes. (No. 31).
India: By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. (No. 32).
Labour under Nazi Rule: By W. A. Robson. (No. 33).
Russian Foreign Policy: By B. Ward. (No. 34).
Was German Defeated in 1918?: By C. Falls. (No. 35).
The Gestapo: By O. C. Giles. (No. 36).
War and Treaties: By Arnold D. Mcnair. (No. 37).
Britain's Blockade: By R. W. B. Clarke. (No. 38).
South Africa: *By E. A. Walker*. (No. 39).
The Arabs: By H. A. R. Gibb. (No. 40).
The Origins of The War: By E. L. Woodward. (No. 41).
What Acts of War Are Justifiable: By A. L. Goodhart. (No. 42).
Latin America: By Robin A. Humphreys. (No. 43).
The Military Aeroplane: By E. Colston Shepherd. (No. 44).

Special Pamphlets.

The Challenge to Liberty: By Viscount Halifax.
Lies As Allies or Hitler At War: By Viscount Maugham. Price 6d.

Published by the Oxford University Press, Mercantile Buildings, Lalbazar, Post Box 530, Calcutta. Each Pamphlet, except the last, priced at 3d.

Some pamphlets of this series were noticed in the last August issue of this journal. We can but repeat the same remarks.

Every day that passes the world finds itself more and more entangled in and trampled under the wheels of Mars. In rapid succession nation after nation has collapsed not only due to the superiority of the war machinery of their enemies but to various other causes. Modern warfare is not an affair of the military strategists and technicians alone but also of the man in the black out. The mobilization of public opinion being an important factor, every citizen should have the opportunity to receive information and enlightenment about the various factors and phases of the War. Every booklet of this series deals with a particular question connected with the War and their authorship guarantees their value. Though the treatment of the subjects are not altogether free from bias still they are no less informative. Some of the pamphlets deserve more than passing notice; for instance, the association of Prof. Rushbrook William's name with the pamphlet on India raises high hope but one is sorely disappointed. In fact pamphleteering is done with a purpose and that purpose is well served by these pamphlets. The initiators of this series deserve congratulation for providing the public at a nominal value with literatures on such important topics, which at least will set them on the track.

SOUREN DE

THE TRIAL CELESTIAL: *By Suryadutt J. Bhatt. Published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. Pp. 57. Price Re. 1.*

This is an one-act play in two scenes. The subject is as old as the hills; namely, Faith *vs.* Reason; the style is witty and satirical in the vein of Voltaire. The outstanding impression left on the reader's mind after a perusal of the play is that it is a propagandist plea for cultivating the dynamics of doubt as against resting reposefully in the arms of certain idols and traditional faith.

There are two, rather three, main characters: God Almighty, the Old Man of fanatical faith and Voltaire. The Old Man goes to Heaven; there he has to unlearn most of what he learned on earth. He is awakened out of the slumber and stupor of popular slogans and shibboleths by being subjected to a severe cross-examination at the hands of Voltaire and an Astral Spirit. At last he comes to an original, self-evolved, self-argued realization of the "truth of life." The subject of Faith *vs.* Reason is so abtruse and one which has been worn threadbare; yet the author has dealt with it with well-nigh Chestertonian cleverness,—a composite of paradox and pun.

G. M.

THREE FAMOUS TALES: *By A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M.A., I.C.S., F.R.S.L., Bar-at-Law. Published by G. V. K. Swamy & Co., Educational Publishers, Kumbakonam. Crown 16mo. Pp. 1-75. Price annas ten.*

This appears to be the latest publication of Mr. Ayyar who has taken upon himself the task of popularising the folktales of India among the English-reading people of culture and has published several volumes on the subject, one of which was reviewed in the pages of this journal in March, 1932. The three tales included in the present booklet are those of Sunahsepha, Nala and Damayanti, and Bimbisara. The first story is entitled "Human Sacrifice Stopped" while the other two are not given any special didactic heading. The sources of the first two stories are respectively indicated to be the *Aitareya Brahman* and the *Mahabharata*, while the last one, which is a popular theme both in the Jain and Buddhist literature, is stated to have been taken from "ancient Indian folklore" without revealing the exact source from which it has actually been taken. It may be noted here that the latter portion of the first story does not agree with what is found in the *Aitareya*. The style followed in the book is easy and attractive, and the ordinary reader will relish the stories. For the benefit of the reader, especially a non-Indian, some of the Indian terms (geographical, ritualistic and the like) have been explained in the footnotes. Among these the explanations of a few terms like Brahman (p. 8), one of the four principal priests in a Vedic sacrifice, Ahimsa (p. 64) and Ajatasatru (p. 71) do not appear to be strictly accurate.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

TEACH YOURSELF GUJARATI: *By S. M. Kapadia. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Pp. 216+xvi. Price not mentioned.*

The book is designed to teach English-knowing people the Gujarati language in course of three weeks.

It contains a small English-Gujarati vocabulary, and seems to be a useful publication. The printing and get-up is neat, and the size handy.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BENGALI

CARNIVAL : *By Phalguni Roy and Sudhiranjan Mukhopadhyay. Published by Rupkatha Publishing, 105, Russa Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

A small book, containing six short stories, equally contributed by the two authors. The stories are sentimental, modern in technique and delightful to read. Though bright and attractive like the lights of a Carnival on a winter-night, they appear to be far removed from our daily surroundings and fail to leave any lasting impression.

SANDHANE : *By Srimati Jyotirmala Devi, Sri Aurobindo Asram, Pondicherry. Published by the Culture Publishers, 25A, Bakulbagan Row, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-12.*

Renu and Supriya start for higher education in England. On their way, they meet Nirmal, a young artist, unconventional and strongly impulsive by nature, for whom Supriya, in spite of her strenuous effort to control herself, feels an irresistible attraction. But she is already betrothed to Anupam, an uncompromising idealist, for whom, she has a high regard. Her inner struggle has been powerfully depicted. Nirmal's sacrifice at the end gives the story a brilliant finish. The book marks a departure from the common trend of Bengali fiction. The mode of presentation is excellent. But, the novel suffers to some extent from too much philosophy and want of action.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MARATHI

STRI-JIVAN VISHAYAK KANHI PRASHNA (SHRI MATUSHRI JAMNABAI SMARAK GRANTHA-MALA, VOL. I) : *By Mrs. Kamalabai Tilak, M.A. Published by herself at Shevanti Bag, Camp Road, Baroda. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 2-12.*

The late Maharaja Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda donated a sum for the publication of books dealing with the uplift of the women in India, to commemorate the memory of his mother Shri Jamnabaisaheb Gaekwar, and the present volume is the first publication in the series. The book contains a comprehensive survey of the problem relating to the women of India and it supplies a great want in the literary output of the Marathi language. Different portions of the problem relating to the women of India, such as their economic position, their domestic status, their social environment, had been separately dealt with in pamphlets, brochures, newspaper articles and small booklets. But the entire subject had not been till now treated in a synthetic and connected form until the appearance of this book. A mention of the names of some of the chapters of the book would convey an idea of the field traversed in this book. A rapid historical survey of the women's status from ancient times, infant marriage, the position of widows, the physical deterioration of women, property rights of women, women's morality, the question of female labour, the system of purdah, the institution of marriage, divorce, contraception, the economic independence of women, women's education, a comparative study of the status of women in the east and the west, are some of the questions treated in this book and they exemplify the range of the author's survey. Whilst giving a retrospect of the various subject dealt with, the author has also made her own suggestions for remedying some of the evils encountered in the survey. Not all of them will commend themselves to all, nor command general acceptance. In some cases, even the prognosis of the evils would be differed from. For instance her description of the field traversed by her is itself objected to. It is said that she had confused the position of women in general with that of the Indian women and the latter again with the position of Brahmin women. But it should be borne in mind that the author has written in a language which can be read mostly in Maharashtra and dealt mostly with the condition of Hindu women which for the greater part is familiar to the likely readers of the book. A more ambitious treatment of the subject encompassing the women of the whole world would have ushered in the discussion of the book diverse and contradictory environments which could hardly have done justice to in a book of the present magnitude. Hence the present work can be said, on the whole, to be a very useful and instructive one.

D. N. APTE

HINDI

ATMA-PARINAYA : *By Sj. Virendra Kumar. Published by Hindi Sahitya Samiti, Indore. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 2.*

The book under review is a collection of eleven short stories from the pen of a budding story-teller. Most of the stories tell the pitiable tale of a woman's sufferings. The reader feels the depth of the author's feelings in "Atma-Parinaya" and many other stories and is well-impressed by his skilful probing into the recesses of the human heart. The stories are remarkable for their lucidity and simplicity of style and psycho-analysis of the happenings of everyday life. Though touching and full of pathos, the stories betray an appreciable restraint and are free from modern cynicism.

M. S. SENGAR

TAMIL

PURATHIRATTU, A CLASSICAL ANTHOLOGY : *Edited by Rao Sahib S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, B.A., B.L., Reader in Tamil, Oriental Research Institute, Madras. Published by the University of Madras. Second Edition, 1939. Pp. lxv+281. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This anthology of 1,570 stanzas appears to have been compiled some 500 years ago. Almost all the fine stanzas on Dharma, Artha and Kama found in the then extant Tamil literature—some of them not even available at present and some again only rarely procurable—are included in the collection, thereby supplementing and enhancing the usefulness of Thirukkural, the great work of Sage Thiruvalluvar.

The learned editor deserves our thanks for his learned introduction and the great pains he has taken to make a thorough study of more than a dozen copies of the work in manuscript—many of them in cadjan leaves, and give us the various readings. The Tamil scholars and public libraries in the Tamilnad will do well to have each a copy of this monumental work.

MADHAVAN

KANNADA

SACHITRA BHARATA YATRE : *By D. K. Bharadwaj. Published by Bharat Yatrika Sangha, Madras. Crown 8vo. Pp. 200.*

This is a pilgrim's guide to important places of pilgrimage in Northern India. The conception, plan and execution of this work are the result of the experiences of Mr. D. K. Bharadwaj, a member of A.-I. C. C.

A hand-book of the type now written by D. K. Bharadwaj was a great desideratum and the necessity of a book of this kind was keenly felt both by the organizers of the tours and the travellers. The plan and arrangement of the book are really good. Besides serving as a Tourist's guide, the book under review creates inquisitive interest in the minds of the general readers about the several sites of historical and mythological importance. The book deals only with a few important places of pilgrimage in Northern India. Bharadwaj has Pandharpur as his starting point and goes on describing Nasik, Benares, Prayag, etc. Kannada is deficient in books of travel and Bharadwaj deserves our congratulations for having supplied this desideratum.

V. B. NAIK

TELUGU

RAJAJI CHITTI KATHALU : *By Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar. Translated by Mr. A. C. Kuppuswamy. Published by the Hindi Prachara Press, Thyagarayanagar, Madras. Pp. vi+200. Price Re. 1.*

The book contains ten short stories of great merit. *Devana* and *Parvati* deserve special mention. C. R., besides being an astute politician, is a writer of extraordinary calibre. His enlivening humour and keen perception are invariably found in his writings. He cares more for realism and aptitude than for dry-as-dust fiction. That is why some of the stories in this book are daringly realistic. His stories are characterized by a delicate touch of pathos and human appeal. A rare story-teller.

The translation is rather disappointing and leaves much room for improvement.

A K Row

MALAYALAM

THE CHOTTANIKKARA TEMPLE : *Published under the auspices of the Devasom (Temple) Department of the Cochin Government. Publishers: V. Sundara Iyer & Sons, Trichur, Cochin State. Ernakulam, 1116 M.E. 1941. Cr Pp 152. Illustrated Price Re. 1.*

There are numerous temples in India, including the Native States, but most of the worshippers do not concern themselves much about the history and antiquity of the temples in which they say prayers and offer daily oblations. The reputation of sanctity of a particular temple, located at a particular place, is attributed to the traditions associated with it, and more efficacious will be the worship in it if a devotee actually knew its correct history and how it came to be so venerated and sanctified. There are several famous temples in the Cochin State of which no authentic history was existing except in folk-lores and traditions. With a view to popularise temple-worship in like manner, the late Maharajah H. H. Rama Varma, of Cochin, a *litterateur* himself and a devout Hindu, had entrusted the Devasom Committee with the compilation of the history of every temple of the State, of which no authentic history was existing except in folk-lores and traditions. In compliance with his desire, the Committee is publishing the history of temples in a series entitled "Go Sri Moola Series" of which this is the first issue. The book gives the history of the Chottanikkara temple compiled from traditional and cultural evidences, and has shown its importance as a temple of great antiquity. The book is interesting and informative and a valuable addition to Malayalam literature. Every Hindu of the State ought to possess a copy.

P. O. MATTHAI

GUJARATI

JUI ANE KETAKI : *By Vijayrai K. Vaidya, B.A. Printed at the Anand Printing Press, Bhavnagar. 1939. Cloth bound. Pp. 311. Price Rs. 2-8.*

"Soft and Harsh": This is how Mr. Vijayrai divides his literary work as a reviewer or critic between 1922 and 1935. He both condemns and applauds according as he considers the author's work deserving or undeserving at the time he puts down his thoughts. In some cases, second thoughts would make him change his views, but having written and published what he did, he has presented it to the reader in that form. His place as a reviewer, and as one who would not miss the minutest detail is an established one. He is a literary artist and has creative genius: both these help him in his self-imposed task, along with wide reading.

CHHELLO FAL : *By Dhansukhlal K. Mehta. Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1940 Cloth bound. Pp. 349. Price Rs. 3.*

"The Final Crop" is a collection of thirty-two short stories, written in his usual vein of subtle humour by Mr Mehta. They comprise original writing as well as adaptation, and it is difficult to distinguish between the two, unless told so by the author. One could not find a better book than this to while away one's idle moments in the company of healthy literature. He is fully proficient in his art.

VASUDHA : *By Sundaram (Tribhuwan P. Luhar). Printed at the Lakshmi Printing Press, Baroda 1939. Thick card bound. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 2.*

Ninety-one poems written in the modern style of rising young poets, Sundaram being a distinguished member of that group, are to be found in this collection. Like others written by his friends this one too has a commentary, which explains many things in the text. It is a representative work.

LIONS OF SIND, PART I : *By Rao Saheb Maganlal D. Khakkhar, J.P. Printed at the Anand Printing Works, Bombay. 1940. Thick card board. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 2.*

Eight stories bordering more on folklore than genuine history, describing feats of courage and acts of chivalry of old Rajput Rulers of Cutch, Kathiawad and Sind, are set out here in a pleasing simple and entertaining style. To students of research, they will surely lend some help.

K. M. J.

RECENT BENGALI BOOKS

Books registered during the quarter ending the 31st March 1940. Periodicals and text-books have been omitted.

Art

Bharater Silpa-Katha. Topics about Indian Art. By Asit Kumar Haldar. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 7+253+8 plates. 11th January, 1940.

Gopesvar-Gitika. Dvitiya Bhag. Songs of Gopeswar Banerji with notation by Ganesh Chandra Banerji. Part II. Pp. 1+2+50. 8th January, 1940.

Sabjir Katha. Topics about vegetables. By Harimohan Manna. Instruction in the cultivation of vegetables. Pp. 12+224. Illustrated. 6th January, 1940.

Saral Esraj Siksa. Pratham Bhag. Easy lesson on Esraj (a kind of stringed musical instrument). Part I. By Hrishikes Biswas. Pp. 2+56. 12th February, 1940. 2nd edition.

Kum Kum Svaralipi. Notation of Kum Kum. Edited by Timirbaran. Contains songs in the screenplay "Kum Kum" with notations. Pp. 20. Illustrated. 2nd February, 1940.

Cheleder Myajik. Pratham Bhag. Magic for children. Part. I. By. P. C. Sarkar. Pp. 6+4+107. Illustrated. 29th February, 1940. 2nd edition.

Suta Pariksar Niyamabali. Rules for examining yarns. Pub. by Charu Bhushan Chaudhuri, Khadi Pratishthan, 15, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 7. 5th February, 1940.

Biography

Tapas-Kahini. Pratham Kisti. Stories of saints. Part I. By Syed Abdul Mannan. Pp. 1+46. 30th November, 1939.

Hajrat Mohammad. A life-sketch of Hazrat Muhammad, the last Prophet of Islam. By Khan Bahadur Ahshan Ulla, Al-Hajj, M.A., I.E.S. Pp. 8+3 +251. 28th February, 1940. 3rd edition.

Smritir Arghya. An Offering of Memory. By Basanta Kumar Pal. An autobiography of the author. Pp. 12+4+1+576. 20th December. 1939.

Bir Sabharkarer Samksipta Jibani O Kalikata Abhibhasan. Short life of Savarkar the hero, and (his) Calcutta Speech. Comp. by Prabhas Chandra Chaudhuri. Pp. 42. 20th February, 1940.

Kaliprasanna Simha. An account of the life and deeds of the late Kaliprasanna Sinha, the well-known litterateur of Bengal. By Brajendranath Banerji. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Sahitya-Sadhak Charitmala No. 1. Pp. 64. 26th January, 1940.

Krishnakamal Bhattacharyya. An account of the life and deeds of the late Krishnakamal Bhattacharyya, the renowned educationist of Bengal. By Brajendranath Banerji. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Sahitya-Sadhak Charitmala No. 2. Pp. 8+37. 13th March, 1940.

Banglar Puranari. The Housewives of Bengal. By Dines Chandra Sen, D.Litt. Published by the National Literature Company, Calcutta. Pp. 45+400. 30th December, 1939.

Maharajadhiraj Sri Krishnadeb Ray. Emperor Krishnadev Ray. By Girindranath Banerji. An account of the life and reign of the Emperor Krishnadeb Ray of Vijayanagar, who ruled between 1509-1530 A.D. Pp. 2+99. 10th January, 1940.

Tapasmala. Pratham Bhag. Lives of Muslim Saints. Part I. By Giris Chandra Sen. Compiled from Tadhkirat-ul-Awliya, a Persian work. Pp. 1+3+80. 20th February, 1940. 9th edition (T.).

Omar Pharuk ('Umar Faruq). A short biography of Hazrat Omar, the Second Caliph of Islam, intended for children. By Muhammad Habib Ullah, B.A. Pp. 110. 11th January, 1940. 2nd edition.

Sahasir Jay-yatra. Triumphal march of the brave. By Joges Chandra Bagal. Contains biographical sketches of some of the world's foremost men, *viz.*, San-yat-Sen, Lenin, Thomas G. Masaryk (of Czecho-Slovakia), Kamal Ataturk, Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, Eamoun De Valera, Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. Pp. 2+144. Illustrated. 12th March, 1940.

Joyan Ab Ark. Joan of Arc. A Bengali rendering of the book entitled "Joan the Saint" by Stanislas Fumet. Pp. 59. 24th January, 1940.

Svamijir Jiban-Katha. Life story of the Svamiji. By Kanan Bihari Mukharji, M.A. Contains an account of the life and activities of Svami Vivekananda. Pp. 2+173. Illustrated. 2nd January, 1940.

Syar Rajendranath. A short life sketch of late Sir Rajendra Nath Mukherji, the famous businessman and senior partner of Messrs. Martin & Co. of Calcutta. By Rajkumar Chakravarti. Pp. 1+84. Illustrated. 25th February, 1940. 2nd edition.

Punya-Smriti. The Sacred Memory. A short life of Hazrat Muhammad, the last prophet of Islam, in verse. By Rukmini Kanta Chakravarti. Pp. 3+3+1+115+1. 15th February, 1940.

Jibanikos. (Bharatiya Aitihasik). 18sa Samkhya. Biographical Dictionary (Indian Historical) No. 18. By Sasibhushan Vidyalankar. Contains accounts of historical personages of India. Pp. 1281-1376. 20th December, 1939.

Atma-charit. Autobiography. By Sibnath Sastri. Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Pp. 10+524. 1st February, 1940. 3rd edition.

Bamlar Rani O Begam. Ranis and Begums of Bengal. By Srimati Snehamayi Ray, B.A., Saraswati. Pp. 2+1+9—97. 12th January, 1940.

Karnel Sures Biswas. Colonel Sures Biswas. By Upendra Krishna Banerji. Pp. 2+4+184. 27th February, 1940. 8th edition.

Drama

Bis Bachar Age. Twenty years ago. By Bidhayak Bhattacharya. Pp. 150. 15th February, 1940.

Parichay. Acquaintance. By Binode Bihari Chakravarti. Pp. 80. 9th January, 1940.

Chunkam. Whitewash. By Jaminimohan Kar. Pp. 74. 22nd January, 1940.

Sita-haran ba Marich-badh. Abduction of Sita or the killing of Marich. By Janendranath Ghosh, B.A. Pp. 16. 19th January, 1940.

Simha-Garh. (The name of a fort). By Pannalal De. Pp. 128. 20th January. 1940.

Kedar Ray. A name. By Rames Goswami. Pp. 6+2+182. 27th February, 1940. 3rd edition.

Samgram O Santi. War and Peace. By Sachin Sen Gupta. Pp. 141. 3rd January, 1940.

Bagh-chhal. Tiger-skin. By Sivapada Mukharji. Pp. 38. 19th January, 1940.

Janani Janmabhumi. The mother, the land of birth.

By Sudhindranath Raha. Pp. 152. 28th December, 1939.

FICTION

Satabdir Sab. Century's dead body. By Akhil Neogi. A story for children. Pp. 89. 26th January, 1940.

Chau-Chau. Basket. By Asamanja Mukharji. Contains eight short stories. Pp. 1+223 26th January, 1940.

Marancr Danka Baje. The drum of death sounds. By Bibhuti Bhushan Banerji. Pp. 150. 15th January, 1940.

Biyer Phul. Nuptial Flower. By Charu Chandra Banerji. Pp. 161. 18th January, 1940. 2nd ed.

Suptadasi. Collection of seventeen stories. By Parul Devi, Tushar Devi and Ajay Gupta. Pp. 1+12+356. 9th February, 1940.

Chheleder Bhaktamal. The Bhaktamal (the name of a work) for children. By Durgamohan Mukharji. Pp. 1+1+90. Illustrated. 30th January, 1940. 3rd edition.

Desi O Bidesi. Native and Foreign. By Gopal Bhaumik and Ravidas Saha Ray. A collection of four stories for children. Pp. 32. 20th December, 1939.

Mayer Tane. For love of mother. My Himansu Prakas Ray. A short adaptation of an English novel entitled "The Adventures of Carlo." Pp. 64. 26th December, 1939.

Duhkher. Deoyali. The Deoyali (festival of religious illumination held on the night of the new moon in the month of Kartik) of Sorrow. By Himansu Sen Gupta. Contains ten short stories. Pp. 2+133. 5th January, 1940.

Sadher Kajal. The desired collyrium. By Jatindra Nath Biswas. Pp. 259. 25th December, 1939.

Purusakarer Puraskar. Reward of manliness. By Jnanendranath Ray. M.A. Pp. 109. 20th December, 1939.

Mayer Gaurab. Mother's glory. By Jogeschandra Banerji. Pp. 72. 27th February, 1940.

Maya. Illusion. By Dr. Jyotish Chandra Sarkar. Pp. 38. 10th December, 1939.

Panchmisali Galpa. A miscellany of stories. A collection of short stories for children. By Kartikchandra Das Gupta, B.A. Pp. 1+94. 28th February, 1940. 2nd edition.

Ganda-gol. Tumult. By Kesab Chandra Gupta. Pp. 242. 15th December, 1939.

Jamidar. Zamindar. By Manilal Banerji. Pp. 170. 27th December, 1939.

Prithivi Kader O Anyanya Galpa. By Manoj Basu. Pp. 104. 3rd January, 1940.

Anathini. The helpless lady. By Muhammad Muinuddin Khan. Pp. 2+92. 25th February. 1940. 2nd edition.

Asamapta. Unfinished one. By Nandadulal Sanyal, B.A. Pp 326. 11th January, 1940.

Nijer Stri. One's own wife. By Pares Chandra Majumdar, B.A. Pp. 86. 10th January, 1940.

Hasanta Maharaj. The Maharaja of Hasanta. By Praphulla Chandra Basu, B.Sc. Pp. 87. 8th September, 1939.

Prithibir Rup-katha. Folk-tales of the world. Ed. by Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar. Pp. 2+108.

Debes. The name of the hero of the book. By Priyalal Das. Pp. 166. 17th January, 1940.

Nilimar Asru. Tears of Nilima (the heroine of the story). By Pushpalata Debi. Pp. 1+266. 18th December, 1939.

Anami Bir. Nameless Hero. By Rabindra Nath Sen. A story for children. Pp. 1+1+119. 3rd January, 1940.

Romancha Astam Barsa. 48. Kuruksetra—7. (A detective story). Ed. by Mrityunjay Chatterji. 6th December, 1939.

——— No. 49. Kuruksetra—8. 23rd December, 1939.

——— No. 50. Kuruksetra—9. 30th December, 1939.

——— Nabam Barsa. (*i*) Kal Baisakhi—1. The Storm (a detective story by Satyakumar Mitra, B.A.). No. 1. 6th January, 1940.

——— No. 2. Kal Baisakhi—2. 13th January, 1940.

——— No. 3. Kal Baisakhi—3. 20th January, 1940.

——— No. 4. Kal Baisakhi—4. 27th January, 1940.

——— No. 5. Kal Baisakhi—5. 3rd February, 1940.

——— No. 6. Kal Baisakhi—6. 10th February, 1940.

——— No. 7. Kal Baisakhi—7. 17th February, 1940.

——— No. 8. Kal Baisakhi—8. 24th February, 1940.

——— No. 9. Kal Baisakhi—9 2nd March, 1940.

——— No. 10. Kal Baisakhi—10. 9th March, 1940.

Aru. Name of the heroine. By Sailabala Ghoshajaya. Pp. 165. 6th January, 1940.

Ganga-putra. A very low caste man whose duty is to assist cremation of dead bodies. By Sailabala Ghoshajaya. Pp. 152. 21st January, 1940.

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THE PROFESSOR WITH THIRD CLASS PEOPLE

By ANTHONY DELISLE

As the train started the third class compartment was a scene of indsecribable confusion. I have only a vague memory of people falling over one another, beddings and boxes and children adding to anarchy, with only one object clear in all that happened and in all that was said, *lebensraum.*

"Get down! Get down!" shouted some people near the door as a man on the outside apparently struggled to open a door jammed by the crowd.

"How can I? The train is going. Open up!" shouted the passenger hanging on the steps. The train was gathering speed.

With difficulty the door was opened and the additional passenger humbly took a place on the floor, as befitted his status as an intruder. After a few minutes and some more arguments, all settled down to some sort of possession of some few inches of seats and floors, except a few who managed to crawl into some positions amid the boxes and bedding on the luggage carriers.

I then had time to look about and to survey the type of people who travel third class. There was a sturdy constable, probably a Rajput from "Arrah" District with a handcuffed prisoner sitting next to him. There were fat shopkeepers, half-naked coolies, village women with the wealth of modern Ind, babies, big and small, crying or playing or feeding, several youngmen in khaddar, a blind old man with a little boy holding him by the hand most of the time, and, behold, Doctor R. K. Bose, professor of economics at Rampur College.

I leaned over to the young man in khaddar sitting next to me, and asked, "Why does Professor Bose ride in third class?"

"Twins born recently, both girls, and yesterday his brother expired, leaving four girls for him to marry off." The youngman revealed.

At this juncture we heard a most unearthly cry, intended to be a song, from the broken voice of the blind old man, who was standing now by a door at the end of the compartment. Smiles went around the compartment. But Professor Bose did not smile.

"Say," he shouted to the blind man, "I'll give you two annas if you will shut up and leave us in peace."

The bargain was quickly completed, and the old man sat down in contentment while the little boy examined the two anna bit attentively.

"Plenty of poverty in our country," I shouted over to the Profesor. He turned around, and made a quick sign that he did not catch what I had said, and then without waiting for me to shout again, crawled over several passengers, and managed to squeeze in between people sitting opposite me, who made every effort to give him a few inches of space.

'I said, Professor," I repeated, "that our country is very poor." "It is," he replied, "And it is poorer than people of India realize. The tragedy of it is that this poverty is unnecessary."

"What's the solution, Professor?" I asked.

"Simple. First production on a much greater scale. There isn't enough of anything to go around. Food, for instance,—there isn't nearly enough of it in the country to feed all the people even if it were evenly distributed."

"What do you propose?" I asked.

"Rationalization of the means of production. That is, using means that produce the maximum amount with the least expenditure of labour and material. We should have big dams for irrigation, an endless line of tractors, and efficient cultivation of all the land in the country, and our mills should be greatly increased so that we may get from them about ten times as much cloth every year as we get now from every source. Then only will there be plenty to eat and plenty to wear,—to mention but two items of human life."

"Then there will be over-production," I objected.

Professor snorted. "India could stand a dose of over-production for a while. Next comes the problem of distribution. It is all so simple. We must produce and then we must distribute."

"How?" I asked shortly, to keep him going.

"The way doesn't make so much difference. In olden days the poor simply raided the granaries of the rich and took food by force. They do the same thing nowadays in perhaps a more ordered fashion. Governments issue money or tickets on the dole system in many countries, and in Communist Russia they issue, to all who are willing to work, tickets that are only another

way of recognizing the right of the public to exist in the midst of plenty."

"Feeding people who do not work demoralizes them," I suggested to keep him going.

"Don't be so fastidious. Is it better to starve while unemployed or to eat while unemployed? Most poor people would not mind being 'demoralized' like the idle rich who eat well while not employed either." "Nonsense," he snorted again. "Besides, in time you will find work for the unemployed, making fine roads, motor cars for all, telephones in every house, luxuries, my friend, luxuries, that every normal human heart craves for. They have these things in other lands. Take the United States, for instance, over twenty million telephones for its hundred and ten million people, practically as many phones as there are families."

The prisoner leaned over and started to say something, but the constable glared at him and shouted, "Silence".

The youngman in khaddar at my side leaned over and asked gently, "But why isn't all this done in India?"

"Because nobdoy is interested, that's why," snapped the Professor. "The rich don't care, so long as they have all they want, and the poor don't ask for more."

"They do ask, Professor," I contradicted. "They do ask, but nobody listens."

"That is because they do not ask in a unified way." The Professor kept silence.

"What do you mean?" I asked. "Revolution, force?"

"Not necessarily," he replied. "As a matter of fact this use of brute force might only make things worse. But consider human nature. The rich man is not necessarily a bad man. He'd like to help, but when your labour leaders are more interested in pushing their own parties and getting more power for themselves, and in getting their pockets lined at the settlement of each labour dispute, do you think the employer is going to be very enthusiastic over helping the poor dumb labourer who send him such leaders to represent them? I mention this as an example."

"As an example of what?" I asked.

"Of the necessity of the poor raising their voice to be heard for what they want. They want one thing, the removal of poverty, and our leaders are wasting time on disputes over intricate theories. We have to come down to earth, to be practical. The masses must know what they want, and use moral pressure to get it."

"That sounds like a dream", I interposed. "It is not a dream. It is a reality elsewhere, in most civilized lands of the world. In one way or another the poor decide that they are not to remain poor any longer, and they get things done. In some places they have dictators from the ranks of the ordinary public, or in other lands they force the ordinary government officials to give them what they want. No decent man, no average man, I may say, will stand in the way of a poor, starving man getting what he needs for a human existence.

"We are passing through a jungle now, a jungle filled with starving people who could be well off if roads were only built through them. Stone exists in plenty, and the people spend months in idleness every year. Let them unite and build roads through their jungle. No power on earth can stop such constructive work. Imagine starving people being arrested in thousands for building a road to remove their poverty. No government official could dream of doing it. He would simply write to his superior officer, 'A difficult situtaion has arisen as the masses are building a *pukka* road in a reserved forest without going through all the red tape. As the motive is laudable, I recommend that a lenient view be taken of the matter.'

"In practice, however, what would happen would be that during the building of the road some motor car would come out from town and an occupant would step out, make a speech to take the credit for the work and plant a flag of his party. Inside of twenty-four hours there would be at least one other flag planted there, and a quarrel would be brewing among factions created among these poor people. If we can get unity, we can get freedom from want, as President Roosevelt calls it."

"Is it so simple as that?" I asked.

"From the standpoint of the science of economics the problem is exceedingly simple," the Professor admitted.

"Then why do you make such a simple subject so difficult in your college lectures, Professor?" asked the young man in khaddar.

"I've got to make a living and to look out for myself and my family." The Professor smiled sheepishly.

The unearthly cry broke out again from the direction of the door. The blind old man had tottered to his feet and was begging with what was a horrible imitation of a song. Professor Bose glared hard at him.

"Silence," he shouted, "Or else give me back my two annas"

"Sir!" wailed the old man as he sank down again to the floor.

The train rattled on while all was silence.

in the compartment except for the cries of two of the babies. They wanted milk from the breasts of their mothers, and they, at least, knew what they wanted and they expressed their wants in no uncertain terms. I could not help recalling Christ's statement, "Unless you become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

"We can learn from babies, Professor, can't we?" I asked.

"To cry for food? Yes, they have their wisdom from the Author of Nature."

NALANDA

India's Ancient University

By R. PRABHAKAR, B.A.

AWAY back in the seventh century A.D., there flourished in this country, under the patronage of King Harsha, a far-famed university which was then to the East what Paris and Oxford were later to be to the West. This was the University of Nalanda of which the famous Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang has left us such a detailed and interesting account. He writes not as a mere casual observer, but with an intimate knowledge acquired after five years' study in this seat of learning. That the Prince of Pilgrims should have chosen to spend five years at Nalanda is itself evidence of the importance of the university in the eyes of foreigners of the age.

General Administration

The university at this time had as many as ten thousand students on its roll. Some of them hailed from countries as distant as Mongolia. Nalanda was a purely residential university, and accommadation for the large number of scholars was provided in six-storied monasteries, the gift of six kings. Harsha's own gift was a Vihara or a temple of brass or bronze about hundred feet high. A most remarkable fact about this university was that the students had to pay nothing whatever for their education and up-keep. Education, board, lodging, clothes, bedding, and medicines were all provided free. Expenditure on all these various items was met out of the proceeds of the extensive estates donated to the university. Says Hieun-Tsang:

> "The king of the country remitted the revenues of hundred villages for the endowment of the university."

While the students were thus free from material cares so that they could give their undivided attention to the pursuit of knowledge, admission to the university was not given to all and sundry. Admission was not a matter of course, but a greatly prized privilege extended only to those who were likely to benefit by a period of study in this university. Applicants for admission had to undergo a rigorous selection examination in which, according to Hieun-Tsang, only two or three out of ten generally succeeded.

Learning by Discussion

"Learning by discussion" was the key-note of the system of education followed at Nalanda. Teachers and pupils were grouped into "Schools of Discussion" in which free and lively debates were conducted on various topics. Such discussions interested the students in the subjects for study. The general boredom that reigns in the lecture-halls of our modern colleges was strikingly absent in these study groups.

> "Learning and discussing they found the day too short; day and night they admonished. each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection."

In these words Hieun-Tsang effectively conveys the atmosphere at Nalanda. He has recorded a few actual cases of these learned disputations. On one occasion, a Lokayata philosopher, as a challenge to the Nalanda scholars

> "wrote out forty theses and hung them up at the gate of the Vihara with the notice: *If anyone within can refute these principles, I will then give my head as proof of his victory.*"

Hieun-Tsang accepted this challenge and got the better of this philosopher in a learned argument, but most considerately spared the rash pedant his head, thereby winning a devoted disciple.

The teachers in this university numbered about one thousand five-hundred. They were not exclusive or aloof but mingled freely with their students. They were the intellectual companions of the scholars, guiding and directing them in their studies and discussions. Among

the distinguished teachers at Nalanda at this time were Chandrapala who "gave a fragrance to Buddha's teaching," Gunamati and Sthiramati "of excellent reputation," Prabhamitra "of clear argument," Jinamitra "of elevated conversation," Jnanachandra "of model character and perspicacious intellect," and Silabhadra, by far the most learned man of his time.

A True University

The courses of instruction offered were very advanced and the student was expected to have reached a high level of education before he entered the portals of the university. The variety of subjects studied proves that Nalanda was wedded to the ideal of freedom in learning and was not a mere sectarian school like many universities of that age. Of course the university specialised in the study of Buddhism of the Mahayana school, this being the religion patronised by King Harsha. But the other eighteen sects of Buddhism, the sacred works of Brahminical Hinduism such as the Vedas, logic, grammar and philology, medicine, astronomy, were all subjects of study. Nalanda has been described as a genuine university in the *universal* range of its studies.

Education free of cost, learning by discussion, the intellectual companionship of staff and students, the range of subjects studied, and above all the spirit of free inquiry that prevailed—these are some of the most remarkable features of life at Nalanda. In some respects this ancient seat of learning was well in advance of our modern universities.

VIZAGAPATAM SHIP-BUILDING YARD

By X

The laying of the foundation-stone of the ship-building yard at Vizagapatam on 21st June last is an event of more than ordinary commercial importance. This is an enterprise on the part of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd, which is the pioneer and premier Indian shipping company. The Scindia Company has now been in existence for nearly 22 years but it was not in a position to undertake ship-building activities because it had in the initial stages to face severe rate wars and also a period of depression while it has not received any State support in the shape of subsidy or bounty or any other form of encouragement. Mr. Walchand Hirachand, Chairman of the Scindia Company, revealed in his speech that when the Scindia Company was originally started, there had been some idea of having a shipyard to construct modern ships in India but owing to certain unfortunate circumstances, the proposal had to be dropped. Subsequently, it could not be revived until 1935 although the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1923 and comprising among its members such authorities as Sir Edward Headlam (Director of Royal Indian Marine) and Sir John Biles (Consulting Naval Architect of the Government of England) had recommended the establishment of a ship-building yard in India under Indian control with the financial assistance, active encouragement and patronage of the Government and Port Trust authorities. This proposal however, remained a dead letter until now. The Scindia Company were negotiating at first with the Port authorities in Calcutta but found insuperable difficulties in obtaining a suitable site for a reasonable rent. They also considered the location of a ship-yard at Bombay, Karachi, Cochin and Port Okha, but none of the sites available was found satisfactory. Eventually, in June 1940 the Company decided to have a shipyard at Vizagapatam which is a port on the Coromandel coast of India about midway between Calcutta and Madras. After negotiations with the Government, the Company was able to secure land and commenced operation.

The site of the Scindia's shipyard is in the South-West of Vizagapatam harbour. The harbour has been developed on modern lines during the last eight years and is well-protected and sheltered. The site selected measures about 55 acres and the soil is firm and overlays rock at moderate depths. This is particularly suitable for bearing heavy loads common to shipyards. The waters of the harbour near the shipyard site are of ample depth and extent to permit the launching of vessels of the largest dimensions likely to be constructed at this shipyard. The tidal range is very satisfactory and currents are not appreciable.

There is easy access and exit from the view-point of navigation and sufficient water frontage for present and future requirements. The site is also suitable for supply of steel, which can be railed from Tatanagar (a distance of only 558 miles on the main railway line), as also for timber, which can be directly imported from Burma in Scindia's own vessels. As regards manganese, which is essential for production of anti-corrosive steel and is one of the most valuable materials used in ship-construction, Vizagapatam is a principal port for export of this commodity from India, as this is available chiefly in the Central Provinces and in the Deccan. Adequate unskilled labour is available and skilled labour could be imported from outside, as there are no outstanding industrial works in the vicinity. It is proposed, however, to train skilled workers required for the yard. It might be stated that the Company has also secured about 146 acres of land for the lay-out of a labour colony and is negotiating for further plots of land for this purpose. This labour colony will provide decent housing accommodation and facilities and amenities for the workers. The site has also road and rail connections; it is situated on the Grand Trunk Road between Calcutta and Madras and arrangements are being made to provide railway connection to the site which will link it up through the Port Railway to the main lines of the Bengal Nagpur and Madras and Southern Maharatta Railways. The Company proposes to have in due course its own dry dock for which there is land in the vicinity so as to accommodate the largest vessels that can be built there. As there is no dry dock at Vizag for docking a large modern steamer, the proposed dry dock would be a valuable addition to the existing facilities of the port. Sufficient electric power would be made available through transformers for converting high tension electric supply of the Madras Government to medium pressure. The area selected is of suitable shape and size for lay-out of launching berths with shops and ancillary equipment as well as the provision of a fitting out wharf.

Although the site is capable of providing for 8 building berths or slipways, it is proposed at present to proceed with the contsruction of only 2 berths. Ships upto 550 feet long can be built there and vessels from 8000/12000 tons d. w. are proposed to be constructed. Some portion of the machinery is already at the spot while negotiations are being carried on in both the U. K. and the U. S. A. for further engines and propelling machinery. Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners, the well-known Consulting Engineers, are the Company's Advisers.

The Company will, in accordance with its policy, train Indians and place them in positions of responsibility and authority for all technical and other work connected with the shipyard.

It is expected that with the raw materials available in India and a ready as well as a growing market for tonnage with the expansion of Indian Mercantile Marine, shipbuilding has hopeful prospects. The demand for shipping tonnage would, indeed, be accentuated by the present continuous and heavy sinkings at sea. President Roosevelt stated in his famous "fireside chat" that "the present rate of Nazi sinking of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British shipyards to replace them and more than twice the combined British and American output of merchant ships today." It is evident, therefore, that this serious shortage in shipping tonnage would have to be made up after the war for carriage of international trade across the seas. India can, therefore, become an important centre of merchant and naval ship-building in the East. Apart from merchant ships, sloops, trawlers, etc., such a shipbuilding yard could also be utilised for construction of steam and motor vessels for harbours, pilot vessels, tugs, launches, dredgers, hoppers, etc., as also paddle steamers and inland vessels for naval traffic. Marine engines have been and can be constructed in India and even today in the ship-repairing yards technical work of a high order is being done by skilled Indian labour and Indian technicians. There is, therefore, no insuperable difficulty in the construction of larger vessels in India.

Mr. Walchand traced the history of the ship-building project and outlined the efforts of the Scindia Company in that direction. He mentioned the serious difficulties and obstacles which have been overcome as also those which still remain to be overcome and emphasised that the project required the active assistance and encouragement of the Government to overcome these impediments. He assured the vast gathering and the public outside that the shipyard would be able to build and deliver ships before the end of 1942 provided necessary priorities and permits were granted for the purpose of securing steel, machinery, machine tools, etc.

It is hoped that the Government will take note of the widespread public support given to this venture and will do all in their power to assist this enterprise.

RUSSIA IN THE TOILS

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI, B.SC. (Lond.)

THE Russo-German war entered into its tenth week yesterday. Today, with the joint Anglo-Russian action against Iran a new phase was added to this war.

The position in Russia itself, in the east-European theatre of war, is certainly not so satisfactory as some optimists would have it, but it is likewise nowhere near as hopeless as the axis propagandists would make it out to be. The triple German thrust against the Soviet armies in the Leningrad area has succeeded to the extent of placing that city with its chain of industrial and armament production organisations in a semi-besieged condition. But although communications have been rendered difficult, Leningrad is by no means completely beleaguered and the Russian resistance here, as everywhere else, continues to be fierce, determined and of sustained strength. Marshal Voroshilof's exhortation makes it plain that Peter the Great's "window into Europe" is going to be defended to the last and the last two months have given sufficient proof of Russian valour and tenacity in defence to ensure that a most formidable task lies before the attacking armies. If Leningrad falls the Russian Baltic fleet will also be jeopardised and an important armament production area will also be lost. But there is no doubt that if the Germans and their allies the Finns do succeed here, they will do so by paying an extremely heavy price for it. Further, so far as it can be made out from the news broadcast from Moscow, the fall of Leningrad is neither imminent nor has it's fate been sealed as yet.

In the centre Moscow seems to be quite as far off for the Nazis as it was a month back. Marshal Timoschenko in particular seems to have justified all the claims, made sometime back on his behalf, by a fervent admirer on the Moscow Radio-centre's broadcasts, as regards his flair for gauging the enemies strength and his capacity in handling armies *en masse* under difficult circumstances. Testimony has come form the British Military Mission to Russia regarding the high morale and the magnificent fighting quality of the Russian armies in this sector. This has evoked the belated acknowledgement in the British Press of the fact that the Soviet armies, alone and unaided, have faced with supreme courage and devotion for two long months an onslaught of a momentum and magnitude that surpasses by far all the previous blitzkriegs of this war.

Lower down in the battle-line, the position is not at all satisfactory. The German armies have succeeded in capturing a stronghold at Gomel and the Dnieper has been crossed. The right flank of Marshal Budenny's hard-pressed army is threatened and so is the security of an extremely valuable portion of the Soviet's terrritories.

Further down, in the Ukraine area to the west of the Dnieper, the Germans may claim to have achieved the first major success of this campaign. They have at last broken into the Ukraine of Hitler's dream, they have reached the Black Sea on its northern shore, capturing one large port Nikolaeff and investing Odessa on the land side. They have now either occupied or brought within the orbit of direct fire an area from which a substantial portion of the Soviet's supplies of Iron, Steel, Aluminium, and electric energy were drawn, as were the great harvests of wheat, rye and sunflower seeds. Marshal Budenny's armies were obliged to give way before an assault with no element of surprise beyond what lay in the far greater mobility of the Germans which enabled them to concentrate 70 divisions within a short space of time and a narrow compass of territory.

But the loss of the Russians is by no means the correct measure of the German gain. What the Russians have lost in wheat-fields the Germans have got in scorched earth, and devastated shell-torn ruins stand for what the Russians lost in vast industrial concerns. The blow delivered at the Soviet's economy is heavy and real, there is no gainsaying it. But the spoils of victory are so far in the nature of dead-sea fruit from all reports. For the Russian retreat was no rout. There must have been stubborn resistance at every step with controlled fighting of the armies in concerted action or else the "half-mile wide" Dnieper would not have stopped the Germans any more than did the Skagerrak, the Meuse or the Scheldt.

The Soviet's losses in men, material and resources have been heavy beyond measure in these two months of war and the heaviest losses in resources have been the most recent. But

these losses should be viewed in the correct perspective, with due regard for the vast reserves of the U.S.S.R. It is true that the total loss of the Ukraine will affect the Soviet war-effort seriously, but it would by no means cripple it completely as claimed by the axis propagandists. When considering the loss in men and material, it should be remembered that the Russian armies of the last great war suffered far greater losses in man-power—which was a vital factor in those days—and yet fought on for two years and a half before the collapse started in the rear. Therefore although the Soviet armies are hard-hit and sorely in need of help, it should not be assumed that they are anywhere near the end of their tether. The Ukraine and the Don basin are great reservoirs of food and material. both vital necessities in a campaign like the present, but the Soviets possess other sources though they are not equally well-developed or extensively exploited.

Two facts stand out from the latest developments. Firstly, that the German forces are still superior in their capacity for attack and that as yet their assaults are being delivered with relentless and tireless energy with no signs of exhaustion. Secondly, that the Russian capacity for resistance is unbroken, their morale unimpaired and the determination and confidence of their high command unshaken.

The Germans have not relinquished any of the advantages gained by them in the first gigantic assault, delivered with the suddenness of a bolt from the blue and the momentum of a tidal-wave. They still hold the initiative and are still able to mass superior forces and deliver major assaults in any sector of the front they choose. But with all these advantages they have not been able to breakdown any of the Russian armies before them as yet, thanks to the valour and determination of the Soviet forces and the solidarity of the Russian people behind and beyond the battle line.

The urgent necessity for succour and help is indicated plainly and it is hoped that the promises made will materialize in the near future. What help is being rendered now may be taken as mere tokens of goodwill and not much more, in view of the magnitude of the requirements. If the reported German successes at Gomel are consolidated and the armies of Marshal Timoschenko and Marshal Budenny are separated by a wedge of German panzer and mechanized divisions then the Kiev salient will be in serious danger and with it the Soviet forces holding the eastern banks of the Dnieper. The fate of the Ukraine and the Don basin area depends on the success or failure of this German thrust. If it succeeds before winter retards the mobility of the Germans then the task of recouping and refitting the armies of Stalin will become very heavy indeed. With the coal measures of the Don basin being added to the iron-ore fields at Krivoy-Rog, the iron and steel works at Dniepropetrovsk and the great Hydro-Electric and Aluminium refineries of the Dnieper bend in the tally of Soviet losses, the Russian armament works will be severely handicapped.

August 25, 1941

The other thrust, farther north at Velikiye-Luki, a junction on the Riga-Moscow railway, another attempt at creating a breach between the Soviet armies—in this instance between those of Marshals Voroshilof and Timoschenko—is developing. The nearest the Nazis have got so far to the direct railway route from Leningrad to Moscow is about 40 miles, but the attack on this great centre of armament and its attached naval bases is being pressed from three directions and therefore Marshal Voroshilof's position is insecure unless the axis forces be driven back in the Lake Ilmen area and at least held elsewhere. Meanwhile the question of sending supplies to Russia has also become a problem with the veiled threatening attitude of Japan to the Vladivostok route. The only other—and far better—route lies from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea across the 860 miles of the Trans-Iranian railway. Mr. Churchill's speech clearly stressed the urgency of succouring the Russians. And it seems clear now that those "very nice people," referred to in a speech by an Australian minister, no longer hold the upper hand in matters relating to Anglo-Soviet and Soviet-American relations.

Incidentally, it would be a great boon to the world if the machinations of those "very nice people" and their associates in the affairs of he Asiatic peoples in general and India in particular could be as boldly exposed by someone with a voice. Democracy may then become a real power in the destinies of the world instead of being a chained exhibit.

August 27. 1941



SOCIAL SECURITY UNDER SWARAJ

By CHAMAN LAL

NATIONS cannot live on mere sentiments and slogans. Slogans do have their temporary pulling power but you cannot feed a whole nation on mere slogans. What every member of a nation, even a family, needs is social security and security alone leads to happiness. If the people of a country are assured of education of their children, of their jobs and pensions in old age, naturally their lives would be happy and care-free. What the people of a country expect, from their popular government is social security, security in income, security of life, security for their children's welfare, guarantee for their education, a healthy home, healthy body, recreation and no worry in old age.

Every civilised government has a department called the Social Security Department, which takes care of the unemployed, sick, crippled, poor, the orphans and widows, and the national heroes (war veterans, etc.), but under British regime India has no such system to look after the needs of the masses.

AGE-LONG DUTY

The term "social security" has become popular in the last five or ten years, but in the days of yore, rulers like Rama, Asoka and Akbar in India and Haroon-Ul-Rashid in Baghdad and the Inca and Astec rulers in America always felt it to be their duty to look after the wants and needs of their people. No person had to starve under their regime.

The modern civilised governments perform the same duty under the name of Social Security. Actually the duty and right of a community to protect its members is as old as the records of men. Even primitive tribes have rules and customs ensuring the safety of all.

With the rapidly changing world conditions, it is no longer possible for neighbours or communities to look after the needs of people; the government must take the responsibility of providing food, shelter and education to the people under their charge.

I have not been able to visit Russia, in popular imagination the paradise of the poor, but I know how the United States of America, Britain, New Zealand and even small countries like Mexico take care of the social and economic needs of their people and try to guarantee them peace and security.

Of all these countries New Zealand seems to have beaten all records within a few years.

PARADISE OF THE MASSES

Sometime ago when labour took charge of the government in New Zealand, it faced the problem of providing for 30,000 unemployed. All have been put to work on fair wages. Recently the same labour government has enacted what is probably the most comprehensive social legislation in existence. It fully provides for the needs of widows, orphans, miners, workers, old men and women, the poor, the sick, the unemployed, the crippled and the needy.

WHY ROOSEVELT IS POPULAR ?

America is the land of latest ideas. What England is doing today America did two decades back. In spite of the capitalist system U. S. A. is undoubtedly one of the best governed country where people enjoy true freedom, security and peace.

Roosevelt, whatever may be his foreign politics, has rendered a great service to his country. He is very popular among the masses. I found during my several tours of America that the capitalists always denounce him and the poor (excepting some extremists) adore him for what he has done to help the masses. But for him America would have been in the throes of a revolution. The secret of his popularity lies in his love for the poor and the needy and he has translated his love into the Social Security Act, which has brought relief to millions during the last five years. It provides security for every member of the nation.

THE SOCIAL SECURITY IN AMERICA

The Social Security Act provides for the wage-earners a pension to live on when they get old and are forced to retire. In general these are men and women who have been working in factories, shops, mines, mills, stores, offices, or been employed in any other industrial or business job in or after January, 1937. Their earning benefits will come later on in the form of monthly payments from the United States Government.

The amount of monthly payments will depend on the total amount of wages or salary a worker would draw after 1935 and until he is 65 years old. A record of such earnings will be kept in his own Social Security Account by the Social Security Board. Payments will be made from an "Old Age Reserve Account," set aside in the United States Treasury for this purpose.

Pension for Labourers

Some example of the retirement benefits payable at 65 or over and of death payments under the plan are as follows :—

A qualified worker who has received an average of $30 a week, or $1,560 a year. for 30 years after 1936 and before he is 65, will receive about $51 a month. If he dies before he has received any monthly payments, his estate will receive 3½ cents on every dollar of these wages, or a lump sum of $1,638. After 10 years' work at an average of $15 a week, or $780 a year, the worker's check will be $19 a month, or if he dies after 10 years' work and before receiving any benefits, his estate will receive $273. Wages averaging about $60 a week, or $3,000 a year, for 30 years will bring a benefit of about $68 a month, or a death payment of $3,150. Anything over $3,000 a year from any one employer does not count towards benefits. The highest retirement benefit payable is $85 a month, *i.e.*, Rs. 290.

The Social Security Act also provides that employers and workers would have to pay a tax computed on workers' wages upto the amount of 3 cents a year in case of any one employer. This tax is collected by the Government from the employers, who deduct the employees' tax out of their pay. For three years, from January 1, 1937, the workers paid a tax of 1 cent on each dollar of wages, and employers paid 1 cent for each dollar of the wages they paid. In 1940 the rate increased to 1½ cent on each dollar, in 1943, the rate will increase to 2 cents, in 1946 to 2½ cents and in 1949 and thereafter the rate will be 3 cents on each dollar. Employers and workers pay at the same rate.

For Unemployed Workers

The Social Security Act provides a federal-state plan under which the State would pay to qualified unemployed workers weekly benefits amounting to half pay.

State Laws require a waiting period of two or three weeks between the time the unemployed worker registers at a public employment office and the time benefits are taken. The period a worker may receive such benefits depends upon his wages or employment record and the State Law.

These benefits are paid from State Unemployment Compensation Funds which are deposited in an Unemployment Trust Fund in the United States Treasury. These funds consist of contributions collected from employers (and in a few States from employees also) by the State Agencies administering unemployment compensation laws. They are deposited with the Trust Fund under the head of the States Account.

The Federal Government pays all costs necessary for the proper administration of approved State Unemployment Compensation Laws.

For the Old and the Needy

Under the Social Security Act the Federal Government helps the State to provide cash allowances for old people who are lacking in means of support. These allowances make it possible for these old people to go on living in their own homes instead of having to go to Poor Houses or some such institutions. To States with old age assistance plans approved under the Act, the Federal Government grants money to cover one half of the allowances paid to needy men and women of 65 or above upto a Federal State total of 30 dollars a month. The State may make its payments either lower or higher than this amount to individuals. Applications for old age assistance are made to the nearest public welfare agency, or, if there is no agency in the community, to the State Department of Public Welfare or the Relief Administration at State capital.

Relief for Blind People

Under the Social Security Act the Federal Government helps the States to provide cash allowances for blind people who have little or no means of support. These allowances make it possible for them to live in their own homes instead of Poor Houses. In the States with approved plans, the Federal Government shares the cost in the same way as for old people. The State may make its payments to individuals either lower or higher than this amount. Applications for aid to the blind are made in the same manner as mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Help for Disabled Workers

For re-training disabled workers, so that they can earn a living in some other job, the Social Security Act provides money for the States to extend their work in this field. This part of the Social Security Act is administered by the United States Office of Education, Rehabilitation Service, in Washington.

For Mothers and Children

In America the orphans are not treated as orphans. They never feel it. Naturally the

best place for most children is in their family. The Social Security Act helps the States to give aid in their own homes to children who have lost the support of their father or mother or of both, and who are living with parents or relatives too poor to support them. Under this provision, cash allowances are paid to the responsible relatives by the State. To every State with an approved plan for aid to dependent children, the Federal Government makes grants to cover one third of the cost of such assistance, upto a Federal State total of 18 dollars a month for the first child and 12 dollars a month for every other child in the same home.

The total money granted to the State may be used for dependent children under 16 years of age. The State may make its payments to individuals either lower or higher than this amount.

The Social Secruity Act provides money to help the States to carry out their plans for three other. services to children, especially to those in rural districts. The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labour is in charge of the full administration of these parts of the Social Security Act and approved State Plans.

These three services are :

(1) Maternal and child health services, to protect the life and health of mothers during pregnancy and child birth and to promote the health of all children.

(2) Services for crippled children, to find children who are crippled or in danger of being crippled and give them hospital and surgical care and after-care.

(3) Child Welfare Services, to protect and care for homeless, dependent, and included children and those in danger of becoming delinquent.

The Act thus takes care of every national unit. Will the Government of India or our legislators ever realise their duty in this behalf ?

Security Plan for India

Here is my plan for Social Security in India. This is what can be achieved if we can establish Social Security Department in every province to tackle the following problems.

1. *Unemployment Relief.* To provide work for all unemployed people especially the educated unemployed and to provide relief to those who cannot be provided with work. There are thousands of jobs vacant in our country and in fact there is shortage of qualified persons.

II. *Family Security.* To ensure the security of every family by providing for the education of all children at government expense. The security for wives is no less essential in a country like India. Law must give women the rights that men enjoy and women should be our equal partners.

III. *Security in Health.* Health and sickness insurance schemes are the order of the day in all progressive countries. We can introduce similar schemes at a nominal expense, *i.e.,* about one anna per family per month in villages and four annas to five rupees per month for the rich in the cities. Some people may have to be exempted from the insurance charges.

IV. *Old Age Security.* The old family system in India had many advantages of which one was that it provided insurance against unemployment and old age, but the changed times and the dying joint family system make it binding on the government to provide food and shelter for the aged.

Besides the above this department will have to look after :

V. *Widows.*
VI. *Orphans.*
VII. *Beggars.*
VIII. *Lepers.*

NOTE.—All private or religious orphanages, beggar homes, leper asylums, etc., must be taken over by the Government or the Municipalities and no individual or communal organisation should, in future, be allowed to open such homes. This will put an end to a lot of communal strife, misuse of public funds and exploitation of the helpless orphans and widows, etc. Above all it will give them equal status and security and make them happy citizens.

IX. *Drug Addicts.* India has some millions of *drug addicts* who must be provided medical facilities, advice and even state allowance if we want the country to get rid of the menace of drink and drugs. Mere prohibition by law will not help. America and China have spent millions of dollars to lessen the number of these unfortunate people.

Some More Problems

There are several other problems which can easily be dealt with by this department in every province or state. I mention only a few :

(1) War on Smoke nuisance.
(2) War on Dust nuisance.
(3) Providing lungs for every town and village (a park for every 1,000 persons).
(4) Swimming pools.
(5) Irrigation canals and wells.
(6) Roads in rural areas.
(7) Toy homes for the poor.
(8) Building public libraries, public halls and story-telling halls.
(9) Providing recreation facilities.
(10) Gymnasiums in every town and village.
(11) Public Radio centres.
(12) Educational Cinema centres, etc.

Where are the Funds ?

The reader may ask, "But where are the funds for such ambitious plans ?" My reply

would be, there is no dearth of funds. We only need to use brains, funds will flow in like the proverbial milk canal of India.

It is true that social security is only possible under a popular government, but the Congress governments might have adopted these plans, if they had a longer span of life.

To the masses Swaraj should mean: "Peace—Prosperity and Security."

SOCIAL REFORM IN INDORE

By N. SWAMI, B.A.

Due largely to the progressive outlook of the Rulers and the peculiar facilities offered by the monarchical form of Government, much headway has been made by the Indian States or at least the more progressive of them in regard to social reform. In certain aspects of social reform they can well claim to be far ahead of the rest of India.

The justification or otherwise of legislation for eradicating social evils and social disabilities has been a subject of controversy, but the Rulers of Indore who have always been characterised by their liberal outlook in social matters have decidedly been in favour of State action in this respect, although they do not under-rate the importance of education and propaganda among the masses as a necessary complement to legislation. In this respect the experience of history is in their favour, for, the great social evils like the 'Sati' were removed by legislation effort.

The first piece of social legislation in Indore, the Indore Civil Marriage Act, was passed as early as 1916 and was aimed at giving unfettered liberty to individuals untrammelled by custom in regard to marriage. The measure, according to the Huzur Order sanctioning it,

> "secures liberty of action to those who wish to extend their social horizon beyond the limited circle of their castes and communities. It is believed that the measure will promote general welfare and tend to bring about a better understanding between the different communities in India."

The benefits of the measure have been availed of by advanced sections of the community.

That marriage is an institution which admits of as much rationalism as any other and is designed for human happiness and not for human bondage is recognised by the Indore Divorce Act which provides for the annulment of marriages under the Civil Marriage Act on grounds of idiocy, adultery, lunacy, etc., on the part of either of the contracting parties. Children born of such marriages are, however, to be considered legitimate though the marriage itself may be annulled.

It has been universally recognised that perhaps no other custom makes for such a thorough physical and moral atrophy of the nation as the institution of child marriage which has, unfortunately, become a rooted evil of Indian society. While the rest of India still discussed the evils of this system and the most appropriate measures to combat them, the Rulers of Indore recognised the necessity of putting them down in a ruthless fashion by State effort. The result was the Indore Child Marriage Act of 1918 which prohibited the marriage of boys aged less than 18 and girls less than 14. In special cases provision was made for special permissions being given to marriages of boys aged 14 and girls aged 11. This Act was overhauled and re-introduced as the Indore Marriage Registration and Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1938. A very advanced and unique piece of legislation, this Act provides for compulsory registration of all marriages taking place in the State—a measure designed for the easy detection of child marriages. The municipalities, the Sarpanch in the case of villages with panchayats, the senior school master, and in his absence, the Patwari, in other cases, are the registering authorities who are empowered to initiate prosecutions in case of child marriages. The marriageable age of boys and girls is kept at the old level, but provision is made for special permissions in cases where the boy may be not less than 15 and the girl 12. Marriages below this age limit are prohibited. Provision is made for prompt action to prohibit child marriages where information of any such marriages is received by the Magistrate and attempt to defeat the purposes of the Act by conducting them outside the State limits is also made punishable. The penalty for conducting child marriage without permission has been raised from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500.

Within the short period the Act has been in force it has proved to be quite a practical and useful piece of legislation. Old customs die hard and in spite of the stern measures taken under the Act (the number of prosecutions in 1938 amounted to 1000) it is too early to expect that child marriage will be stamped out within the near future.

To the multitudes of Hindu widows who are the victims of premature widowhood, the Indore Hindu Widow Re-marriage Act of 1928 should offer welcome relief as it gives them full liberty to re-marry according to the dictates of their conscience and removes the bar of illegitimacy in the case of children born of such marriages. The only restriction in this case is that the girl should have completed her sixteenth year.

Another measure of a progressive character existing in Indore is the Prohibition of Marriages between Old men and Minor girls Act of 1927 which make it penal for a man above 45 to marry a girl below 18. The practical enforcement of the Act whose advantages are obvious is secured by a Magistrate issuing a notice to the parties forbidding such marriage as soon as he receives intimation of any such intended marriage. Adequate penalties are provided in the case of a contravention of the Act.

With a view to limit and as far as possible bring within reasonable limits extravagance in connection with marriage and funerals among Hindus, two rather novel laws are in force in Indore, the Indore Marriage Expenses Controlling Act and the Nukta Act. According to these enactments no person shall feed more than 101 persons in the case of a marriage or nukta ordinarily and in extraordinary cases with special permission of a District Judge in the case of Nukta parties and a First Class Magistrate in the case of a marriage party, not more than 400 in the first and 500 in the case of the second. These measures are not a dead letter, but the practical difficulties in their enforcement have limited the number of prosecutions every year, the number for 1938 being 28. They, however, serve as deterrent to unchecked extravagance.

No article regarding social reform in Indore would be complete without a mention of the most important reform introduced of late, namely, the removal of untouchability. His Highness' famous Proclamation of 1938 removing untouchability in the State has rightly been considered to be a charter of liberty to a class of people kept under social suppression for ages. The object of the Proclamation has been expressed as follows :

"Whereas we have felt for a long time past that the suppression of a large section of the Hindu community cannot be based on religious sanction; still less can it be justified on moral and humanitarian grounds.

"And whereas we have become convinced of the urgent necessity of effective measures being adopted for the amelioration of the so-called depressed classes and the speedy removal of untouchability and the restrictions that follow its wake.

"And whereas on a full investigation it has come to our knowledge that the principal disabilities from which the depressed classes suffer relate to the following :

"(1) Bar to temple entry,

"(2) Use of wells,

"(3) Use of public places such as hotels, restaurants and use of public conveyance,

"(4) Residence in certain Mohallas,

"(5) Education in schools,

"(6) Recruitment in Government service,

"(7) Entry into public buildings and offices,

"(8) Wearing of certain ornaments, taking out of processions and performing ceremonies.

"We have now come to the decision that the future policy of our Government would be to take all possible and practicable steps to ensure a speedy removal of all social restrictions and disabilities to which the so-called depressed classes or Harijans have so far been subject."

With this end in view the following steps were ordered to be taken :

(1) State temples being thrown open to Harijans.

(2) Public wells existing or that may be constructed in future being thrown open to all classes.

(3) Unrestricted use of public places, public conveyances, etc., by Harijans.

(4) Harijans being allowed to build houses in all areas open to higher communities, discretion being allowed to the Minister I C Municipalities to grant permission in this regard.

(5) Unrestricted admission of Harijans into State schools and colleges and into public service.

(6) Removal of restrictions on the wearing of ornaments, taking out of processions and performance of ceremonies.

The Indore Proclamation is in advance of similar Proclamations elsewhere in so far as the former allows Harijans to build houses in localities hitherto considered to be the preserves of higher communities. During the three years that the Proclamation has been in force a general spirit of awakening has been in evidence among the Harijans. To give practical effect to the Proclamation a Central Harijan Uplift Committee was formed in Indore with branches all over the State. Pracharaks have been appointed for intensive propaganda work to educate the Harijans in their rights, and to teach them how to live a hygienic life. School education had been free to Harijans even from 1935; this concession was extended to college education also from 1940. About 3500 Harijan boys and 100 Harijan girls were receiving education last year in the State high schools, middle schools and special adult schools started in various parts of the State.

The epoch-making Proclamation of 1938 was followed up in 1939 by a declaration of His Highness' practical sympathy for this community. This year His Highness announced a recurring grant of Rs. 1 lakh for housing the poor classes and the first instalment of his donation was given for the construction of sanitary tenements for the city Harijan sweepers—perhaps the poorest of His Highness' subjects. Situated in healthy open surroundings and provided with excellent roads, drains, lighting and water-supply, the new Harijan colony which has already neared completion, is expected to provide accommodation to 91 Harijan families and to permanently solve a serious problem that was facing the Municipality for years together. This scheme will be followed up by further housing schemes for housing the rest of the sweepers.

There are various other pieces of social legislation designed to provide for the moral and social well-being of the community. Mention may be made of the Prevention of Gambling Act, the Control of Brothels Act and the Children Act. The first two are enforced with vigour while the last Act has not been enforced. Reformatory schools for dealing with juvenile offenders are being proposed to be started and when such schools are opened the Children Act would be properly enforced.

If social reform can be considered to be one of the criteria of a progressive Government, Indore should claim to have a proud position among such Governments with justice.

PURI

A Plea fo. the Place

By J. N. SINHA, B.SC., *Forest Officer*

Puri by the sea is the seat of Lord Jagannath. People pour into Puri—people of many descriptions, on many pursuits. Devotees gravitate from the far corners of India, for a visit to Puri is a major religious obligation for Hindus. Health seekers come for the sea and its bounties ... me. Historians and archæologists come to study and marvel at the ancient art of India; for the Puri Temple is nearly one thousand years old, standing as a lofty challenge to the destructiveness of time and to the sceptics of India's civilisation. There is at Puri that enternity of sea, rolling as it has rolled on for ever, for ages and for ages. Its angry waves lash and roar. How small is man to them What does it matter to them who wins the war? What matters who comes and goes? Everyone who comes to Puri goes—goes also from where he had come. The builders of Puri Temple have gone, the planners, the carvers, the painters—all have gone. But the sea goes on.

There is at Puri the treeless amorphous dump of ungainly sand forming the sea beach. There are houses, big and small, built at discreet distances from the foaming waters. They are all stark purpose—some are residences, some hotels, some for hire. There is the fishermen's colony, rows of little thatched mud houses, neglected, squalid. Everything is just as it happens to be. Nothing has been built for beauty, nothing to put the visitor into tune with that transcendental Song of Nature. There are no aids to enjoyment. There is a dusty road westwards from the flagstaff, nearer the houses, away from touch of the sea. Eastwards there is no road or pathway for people to walk along the beach. There is a beautiful casuarina plantation right on the shore that sways with the sea and whispers tales of love. But the visitor, like one benighted in a nightmare, is unable to reach it. If one were to trudge over the soft sand the romance would be driven away half the way. The Puri beach is a sombre spectacle, a dead lifelessness in front of the throbbing living sea. Crowds of course assemble. They come in the morning, bathe religiously or timorously. They come in the evening, walk laboriously over the yielding sand or sit. They walk sullenly, sit dully and depart morosely. There is no smile anywhere, no exhibition of life or interest in the surroundings. The people just exist. It is a done-for crowd of painful philosophy.

Then the Temple. None can cross its outer portal with shoes on, nor with any form of leather, not even children's belts or watch-straps or purses. But pedestrians having walked barefoot through dirty streets and lanes necessarily take into the temple yards an amount of filth. The courtyards is paved with flagstones. There

are gaps between the slabs which arrest and later disseminate the filth. Devotees sit, squat, roll or sleep anywhere on the bare floor, which is considered to be religiously clean, in whatever physical state it may be. *Prasād* consisting of rice, *dal*, vegetables, etc., is taken about and eaten anywhere, for the Lord loves not the touch-me-not. Bits of it drop on the courtyard floor and get plastered over. Many lepers sit or lie in the courtyard and when they go others inherit the place and the plague.

In the town of Puri itself the roads and lanes are dirty. There are hardly any drains. Houses discharge their watery filth into the lanes where it spreads, stagnates or flows. The stench in most places is suffocating. Latrines open out on thoroughfares. People spit anywhere and foul the places in many ways. There are no public lavatories. Almost all the streets and lanes have *kacha* surface where filth once settled has little means of escape except by the feet of pedestrains. And people walking through such thoroughfares enter the temple even without washing the feet.

There is a pilgrim path from the temple to the sea, called (if I remember aright) *Swarga-dwār* or by some other name indicative of heavenliness. It is a dirty lane of the kind described above. And it is lined on the two sides with the leper, the legless, the deformed—with all the painful human abnormalities one can think of—systematically arrayed to torture the soul of the helpless passer-by. Many of the deformities are manufactured or pretended. And the beggars and lepers cry, artificially weep, shout; thrust their hands into your clothes, rub their bodies against yours, pester the life out of you, madden you—till by the time you reach the end of that "heavenly" path you forget the Lord, forget the sea, and only remember the deformities, the torture, and the hell.

There are big *dharamshālās*. Big men have built big buildings in quest of big place in heaven. Doodwala and Goenka Dharamshalas are the biggest and the best managed. The management strive to keep them clean but the residents play at freedom, for what is India wanting freedom for, if not even to foul the drain, to spit in the midway, to scatter dirt in your face? Gentlemen with money to spare may stay free of chrage. Merchants with maunds of gold and tons of belly are taken in. Poor people are also taken in, but in this world of competition they naturally are in the "also rans." Occasionally the make-believe *Sādhus*, the vagabonds, the professional beggars, are fed in the spacious courtyard of the Dharamshala from out of funds dedicated by devotees. Most of these men are of robust physique, well able to pull the road roller. They swagger about all day, pestering people, and make their appearance in time to get a feed. Their only gratefulness to God or man is the compulsory chorus of *Haré Rām* which must precede the eating.

Such is Puri the place. But let not the pious be angry. It is no Miss Mayo speaking. It is the sensitive soul of an Indian seeking light. For, is all the filth of Puri religiously necessary, or is all the deadness a necessity of seaside town? Why can't the lanes and roads be cleaned, the temple yard protected from dirt, the lepers segregated, the able-bodied beggar made to work and the disabled fed from public funds? Why can't the big men who build big Dharamshalas spend a little for sanitation of the Dharamshalas' neighbourhood? Why can't there be some thrill and life on the sea side? Why can't the pale eyes be brightened, the drooping face lifted, the bending knees be straightened?

Take the sanitation problem. Is it not easy enough to raise funds to build drains, to clean up the lanes and roads and keep them free from filth? Is this work less virtuous than building Dharmashalas? Why should gentlemen with money and gold who can afford to pay be allowed free residence in the Dharamshalas? Let a nominal charge of two annas a day be realised from every individual who puts up at Dharamshalas and let that amount be spent in cleaning up the streets. Further let there be extra pilgrim tax at the rate of one anna per passenger realisable by the railways and let this money be spent strictly for sanitation purposes. Let there be paid agents to go about and instruct the people and pilgrim not to spit on the road, not to foul the lanes. Let public lavatories be built at intervals and kept scrupulously clean. I am certain there will not be lacking the finances needed for all the sanitary work if only the vision and the will be there.

As regards the Temple, there should be at the outer portal a running pool of water in which all temple-goers must carefully wash their feet. Then there should be iron door mats and a series of cocoanut fibre mats on which the sole must be brushed to remove the moisture and any unwashed dirt. The temple yard should be paved with marble without gaps in between. This will ensure that no dirt keeps sticking. There should be paid persons to wash the yard thoroughly in the morning and afterwards be in continual attendance to keep it clean. Where the *prasād* is distributed or eaten the marble paved ground should be repeatedly flushed with water and

wiped. Let the outskirts of the temple, too, be kept scrupulously clean. Witness the Japanese temples and shrines. Their entire surroundings are so clean and godly that the involuntary feeling is—God may be here. Let there be cleanliness of that standard in the Puri temple, too. Let real cleanliness take the place of sentimental cleanliness of today. There may be a cleanliness fund collected at the temple yard entrance, say a pice per head. This will yield sufficient funds for the purpose. The beggars and lepers should be compulsorily sent to concentration camps. The able-bodied among them must be made to work and live on their own earning. They may make mats, toys and various other articles which can be sold to feed them. The disabled should be fed out of public funds. After all it is the public that is feeding and supporting them today. Let the same thing be done in a regular and harmless way. This will prevent the pestering of people, the spread of disease and the wanton exhibition of stark human deformities. Let begging be made penal. The charitable pilgrims may pay into a charity box for the feed and upkeep of the disabled beggars lodged in concentration camps. There will be sufficient funds collected.

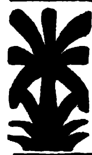
The seaside can be brightened and money be earned by the enterprising pioneer. I suggest a platform on piles extending about two hundred feet or more into the sea, on model of the casinos on the European Riviera, say like the one at Nice or Brighton. The Puri sea-shore is eminently suited for such a structure—it can go much further into the sea than the Nice Casino. There may usefully be a hall on part of the platform with library, music, cold drinks and fruits. We need not have the gambling, the nudity, the drunken dissipation of the French casinos. Let us borrow their virtues and leave alone the vices. The entrance fee may be four annas for the day for one individual. There one would love to sit above the billowing sea, watching the waves go by, playing with the foam, contemplating the sea and feeling in unison with Nature. It would be such a thrill. I reckon that not one visitor to the sea-side would miss this thrill. The daily gates would be substantial. In a short time all the capital outlay would be recovered and the enterprise would become sound business.

There should also be a coastal steamer, a steam-ship of suitable tonnage. It can moor at the distance in sufficient depth. Passengers can walk to the end of the pile platform, then descend into boats which will take them to the steam-ship. The steamship should take the excursionists beyond the horizon, to a distance of say 20 miles from where nothing will be visible except the limitless expanse of water. It will give an idea of sea voyage to those who have not the opportunity of undertaking one. The ship can do the 20 miles easily in 1½ hours, so a return trip can be leisurely made in 4 hours, Even if Rs. 5/- be charged per head for the trip hundreds will go daily. Of course there should be articles of food and ordinary comforts available on board the steamer. Such an enterprise will be like mercy which blesseth him that gives and him that takes. It will be such a boon to the visitors to Puri and at the same time a paying concern. Let some one with vision and money come forward and do it. Let us learn from what other countries are doing. Any sea side resort in Europe, America or Japan has such a feature as commonplace.

Along the ungainly sands should be a walk, parallel to the shore and close to the waters, extending several miles either way from the flagstaff. The eastern walk should reach the Casuarina plantation. It should be about 8 feet wide and smooth gravelled. There should be resturants catering simple and healthy refreshments.

There is necessity for putting out plants and flowers on the dreary waste. Let there be a tax of six pies per head to be collected by the railway for sea-side improvement and let the residents contribute through a similar increase in municipal taxes. Who will grudge paying one anna in exchange for so much sanitation and godliness in the abode of Lord Jagannath and six pies for so much life and joy on the sea beach?

Let the soul beckon. The limb will not lag.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



My Remembrance of Poet Tagore

Across the vast expanse of seas,
You came with lofty glory from the West,
Crowned with enlightenment like Buddha.
Your ideals are similar to ours of old,
Your voice as roaring of lion awakens the human soul,
Your rhymes as humming of dragon inspire human spirit;
The literary world offers you its first place of honour.

* * *

Lin Shen (President of the Republic of China) in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

Buddha's Message

In the course of his article on the significance of Buddha's message in *The Maha-Bodhi* Dr. B. M. Barua observes :

The mission of the Aryan Dharma inspired and organized by the Buddha proceeded with all its vigour in the direction of liberating each person from the clutches of all that constitutes bondage in all its forms, degrees and manifestations. The religion which he had propounded was to teach man the path by which a person can realize the happiness and joy of a free state of consciousness in all spheres of existence and in all relations between man and man, sect and sect, nation and nation. The essence of freedom as conceived by him lies in self-induced thought, self-inspired speech and self-willed action, that nothing however sweet, is thrust down our throat against our will, that we are not constantly reminded that all things are being done for us by others while we ourselves are incapable of doing anything good for us or for others.

In the Buddha's analysis the main cause of cleavage between man and man, sect and sect and nation and nation is the exclusiveness of spirit, the obstinate attitude of mind, the slavish adherence to the unexamined traditions impelling us to declare under all circumstances: what I think is the only correct form of thought, what I speak is the only correct form of speech and what I do is the only correct form of action, and everything else is incorrect. This prevents us from placing ourselves at the point of view of others and looking at things as they would see them. This noble direction of human understanding may be claimed to have been at the back of the principle of toleration so clearly enunciated by Asoka in his twelfth Rock Edict which comes down to us as the most ancient and unique document on this subject. Asoka's was not the general Hindu idea of toleration which initiates the policy of non-intervention in the divine pursuit of others, each persuit earnestly followed being as good as another. According to Asoka's idea, true toleration consists in a frank and free interchange of thoughts and ideas by the exponents of different systems, in a well-informed discussion of fundamental problems with a view to helping one another in the growth in all essentials of the matter. This idea of tolerance served as the basic foundation to the civilizations of different peoples that accepted the Aryan religion of the Buddha. History bears a glowing testimony to the fact that it vitalized all the higher faculties of man and prepared the ground for hearty response to the higher calls of Dharma.

Modern Ireland

National independence has brought many changes to Ireland. And the chief significance of these changes is that they represent an entirely new outlook. R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Bitterness and revolt were the natural heritage of a high-spirited people who had no opportunities for self-government and consequently no scope for development or expression in the national sense.

Suddenly the Irish people achieved control over their own destinies. They were faced at once with the task of readjusting Ireland to the modern world. This task was tremendous.

As soon as the period of internal turmoil was ended, the task of industrial reconstruction was begun.

The first and greatest of the economic achievements was the launching of the gigantic Shannon power electricity scheme with the object of supplying heat, light and industrial energy to the whole nation. This took seve... years to construct and cost something like £6,000,000. Engineers broke through hills and rocks, utilising the water-power of the River Shannon and the reserve capacity of several great lakes. For a country deficient in coal, iron and power resources, this new power-house stood as a declaration of economic independence.

Parallel with the canalisation of water-power there was a similar movement in the realm of ideas. Energy and thought were withdrawn from purely political, arid and declamatory ends and turned into practical, productive channels of nation building, particularly on the economic side.

About a thousand new factories and over 200 new industries have been established in Ireland since the industrial drive began in earnest in 1932. The industrial census of 1936 tells us that some 40,000 more workers were being employed in industry in that year than in 1926. For a country with a total population of 3,000,000 this is a considerable number. At the same time agricultural workers have declined by about the same number.

Ireland, which had been a purely rural and farming country, has now acquired an industrial outlook.

Beet-sugar factories have been established at Carlow, Thurles, Mallow and Tuam. These factories can now supply sugar for the whole nation and—what is equally important—they provide a market for the Irish

farmer who grows beets, returning this year 58,000 tons of beet molasses for use as cattle food. Here we find industry and agriculture linked—a method ideally suited to Irish conditions. Big cement factories have been set up at Limerick and Drogheda, capable of supplying all the cement the country needs. The idea behind the industrial policy has often been described as that of industrial self-sufficiency. But it could more properly be called the building of a balanced economy. Ireland used to hop along on one leg—that of farming. Now it walks more securely on two—those of agriculture and industry.

In the production of ordinary necessities such as clothing and footwear, rapid advances have been made. A second line of industrial progress has been the manufacture of all kinds of subsidiary goods—thread, cotton, buttons, braid, leather. Several new tanneries have been established since the industrial revival. Tariff adjustments have retained the market for the home producer.

What is the effect of this new industrialism upon the national outlook ?

If industry bulks large in the new Ireland it is because this development was for so long obstructed. So the change has been rapid and wide-spread. The practical spirit of the new industrialism jostles sharply with the old romantic Celtic Twilight, the Ireland of poetic yearning and of the mist on the bog. Irish writers and dramatists of the Shannon Power era struck an unaccustomed realistic and critical note.

Typical of this was Denis Johnston's play *The Moon in the Yellow River,* produced at the Abbey Theatre during the post-Revolution years. The play is written round the theme of the incurable romantic rebel—in love with the moon in the yellow river—and the soldier who has no patience with yearnings unrelated to any realistic end. The soldier is guarding the new constructive Ireland and is ready to shoot any one who obstructs the work. The introduction of an engineer who is busy constructing a dam over a river connects the play directly with the problems of the new Ireland.

A variation on this same theme of the workaday world versus the romantic revolutionary is contained in *The Old Lady Says No !*

Both plays deal with a conflict which is rooted in the Irish character and temperament.

Throughout the generations a revolutionary impulse has stirred the blood of the Irish people, leading to successive armed revolts.

The old impulse has been submerged, to some extent it has been sublimated, in these new tasks. So we see that the Irish temperament with its strong devotional bent, its love of tradition and authority, is inclined to conservatism in social matters.

Rural conservatism is strong in Ireland. Peasant or farming people are the last to be affected by international ideas.

Modern mechanised industry has made the greatest breach in the ways of tradition. On the one hand we have an emphasis on the value of the old country crafts, peasant industries such as weaving and knitting, carried out in remote cabins in various parts of the Gaeltacht (Gaelic-speaking areas). But the modern factories with up-to-date machinery compete with these survivals of an earlier time. Exhibitions of the wares produced by these crafts are held in Dublin.

Can both forms of production exist side by side ? This question is not yet answered.

A strong movement is working for the building up of a healthy and vigorous rural life, through parish councils, guilds and similar bodies.

Tradition also has a strong hold in the language movement.

In the old days of National struggle the Gaelic League was a powerful stimulating force. Everyone tried to learn a little of the language even if it was only a few words of salutation. The Irish language became a battle-cry in the fight for national regeneration. The Government is now backing the language movement and has made it compulsory in the schools but, inevitably, some of the old pioneering, crusading fervour has departed.

Primary-school children are taught every subject through the medium of Irish at first, although in most cases their home language is English. The Government attitude, as stated by Mr. de Valera, is that the language is even more important than self-government.

"What use is Irish in the modern world of industry and affairs ?" ask the critics. The advocates answer that it unlocks the door to a national culture and keeps the national spirit alive. Caught as Ireland is in the rush of a belated industrial development, all the old ways and standards are now subject to criticism. Yet out of these conflicts is arising a new Ireland which, while maintaining its love of tradition and that deep religious devotion which found expression in the Constitution of Eire, is rapidly readjusting itself to the modern world of industry.

The War Spreads

G. A. Johnson observes in *The Indian Review* :

On the Russo-German front, the situation is confused. Much propaganda is being issued on both sides and commentaries innumerable are broadcast. It is said with persistence that the Germans have fallen behind their time-table. Perhaps they have, although, since, unlike a railway guide, it is not published, one is sometimes led to wonder how those who speak so confidently about it have acquired their knowledge. Of one thing, however, there can be no doubt. The Russians are putting up a very stout resistance which must be the admiration of any unprejudiced observer and is of the greatest possible assistance to their allies. Whatever may be one's private opinion of Communism the Russian example shows that it is extremely good for morale.

The question arises whether Britain is doing enough to help Russia ? True, she is hammering away at Germany's war industries. This is work of the utmost importance; but it would be carried on in any case, although, perhaps, not on the same scale. It may have distracted part of the Luftwaffe's effort from the Russian front—fighters, at any rate, have to be kept in the West; also anti-aircraft guns; bombing raids on Britain have recently been of little consequence, with few exceptions. It is widely suggested that a more important diversion would be a landing in Europe. That is easily envisaged from a long chair in India; but the prepartions involved in the despatch and supply of a modern expeditionary force are not so easily envisaged. Nor is it easy to judge of the relative value of different opportunities and objectives. It seems not unlikely, however, that a new offensive will be launched in the Mediterranean zone. The attack on and safe arrival of a convoy of men and material at an unannounced destination indicates that reinforcements are being sent by the quickest possible route and that the Axis forces in the Mediterranean appreciate the importance of these movements. Developments in this area may be look-

ed for. The attacks on Malta suggest that the Italians are seeking to forestall them

Modern Arabia

I. B. Majumdar writes in *The Peacock*:

What do we mean by Arabia? We can take it in two senses; in a general sense and in a restricted sense. In the restricted sense, Arabia includes the following countries: Syria, Palestine, Transjordania, Saudi-Arabia, Yemen, Aden, Hadramant, Oman, Trucial Coast, Koweit, Iraq and the Bahrein Islands, in short it means the entire Arabian Peninsula as indicated in the map of Asia. In the general sense, however, Arabia means the land inhabited by Arabs and the Arab-speaking people. In that case, it should include Egypt, as this country also is inhabited by Arab-speaking people. But why Egypt alone? It will go even further than that. Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco—practically the entire Mediterranean coast of Africa will be included in the term Arabia; because all these countries are inhabited mainly by Arabs.

As a matter of fact, the Pan-Arabic movement aims at establishing a close confederacy of all the Arab-states situated in both these continents; all these states are contiguous to one another; their people speak the same language and profess the same religion; so why should not they be united in a common federation? This is the aim of the Pan-Arabic movement.

Really speaking, Egypt has now become a separate country, altogether different from, say Iraq, in her culture, outlook, and importance It is now practically impossible to federate the Arab States of Africa with those of Asia. It is better perhaps to leave them apart; and so we leave the Arab States of Africa apart and confine our attention to the Arab States of Asia alone; in short, we accept the restricted meaning of Arabia. We deal therefore with Arabia proper and the subject-matter of our study is the rise of this modern Arabia.

Roughly speaking, the history of modern Arabia begins from 1915.

The word *Modern* is a relative term; *Modern* period in the history of England begins from the 17th or rather the 18th Century, modern France comes into existence in the 19th Century after the Napoleonic war; modern Italy and modern Germany come so late as 1850, and Japan so late as 1890. So we should not be surprised when we see Arabia entering her modern period as recently as 1915. It is the Great War which ushered in Modern Arabia. What was, then, the condition of Arabia before the Great War? Arabia was then a wholly dependent country, an important part of it was under the control of Britain and the rest under the control of Turkey. The following parts were under the control of Britain: Aden, Hadramant, Oman, Trucial Coast, Koweit and the Bahrein Islands; they are strategically very important places and cover practically the whole of the Arabian Sea coast from Aden to the Persian Gulf.

There was no love lost between Turks and Arabs; Arabs hated Turks, and their fondest ambition therefore, was to drive the Turks out

of their land and make their country completely independent. This was the situation in Arabia when Turkey joined Germany and declared war against Britain and the Allies.

The Allies, attacked the Turkish Empire, and the then situation in Arabia was not very unfavourable for their success. The agents of the Allies approached the various Arab Princes and promised them independence; if they would only espouse their cause. The Arabs looked upon it as a golden opportunity for driving out the hated Turks hence they agreed to receive foreign help in exterminating the Turkish rule. Of all the Arab chiefs who were anxious to do so, the Sheriff Hussein of Hedjaz was most enthusiastic. He threw off his allegiance to Turkey and wholeheartedly joined the Allies. There was another Prince, Ibn Saud, of Nejd, who had also agreed to join the Allies. But he was a cold and cautious Prince; instead of fighting for the Allies, he was really fighting for himself. He conquered the neighbouring territories; and thu wresting them from Turkish Sovereignty, he annexed them to his own Kingdom of Nejd.

The days of the Turkish Empire were numbered; most of the Arab Princes had risen in revolt, and the Allies had attacked her Empire from two vital points; General Allenby invaded Palestine and marched on to Alleppo; General Maud marched from Basra to Baghdad and reached Mosul. Thus vanished the Turkish Empire. Then came the peace, when two foreign powers were firmly established in Arabia; France looked after Syria, French Arabia and Great Britain looked after Palestine, Transjordania and Iraq, and these are her new responsibilities over and above Aden, Hadramant, Oman, Trucial Coast, Koweit, and the Bahrein Islands, as already mentioned British Arabia.

Thus peace saw two powers in Arabia; and in the early days it also saw two native princes fighting for supremacy.

The first and foremost was the Sheriff Hussein of Hedjaz; much honour was paid to him as he was the ruler of the holy land of Hedjaz (which possesses both Mecca and Medina); besides, he acquired glory for the victory of the cause which he had so enthusiastically espoused. The British people also showed their gratitude to him by placing his son on the throne of Transjordania and another on the throne of Iraq.

But he found a great rival in Ibn Saud of Nejd. Ibn Saud had already conquered Hasa, Hail, Asir, and other neighbouring territories. Why should he not then complete his conquest by conquering the contiguous territory of Hedjaz. This would increase his dominion and give him a continuous stretch of territory in the Arabian Peninsula. So one fine morning Ibn Saud attacked the Kingdom of Hedjaz, captured Mecca and Medina, and drove out Hussein from the land of Arabia. Hussein died in exile, but Ibn Saud succeeded to a great extent in uniting a large part of Arabia. Petty principalities were conquered; and a vast Kingdom was established which acknowledged the supremacy of one man alone; this Kingdom is now known by the name of Saudi-Arabia as opposed to British and French Arabia. But there is a still a plot of land which remains outside Saudi-Arabia; it is the Kingdom of Yemen. Yemen was however attacked by Ibn Saud in 1934, but instead of annexing it, he has established an alliance with it.

Ukraine

Soviet policy is best studied in Ukraine where it developed in peace time according to Soviet principles. *The New Review* observes :

The First Ukrainian Congress of Soviets decided to join the Federation, though separatist elements were not negligible. Very soon any discussion of constitutional matters passed to the background.

The stubborn resistance of the peasants, the naval mutiny of Krondstadt, as well as the famine, led Lenin to embark on his New Economic Policy and to attempt conciliating the *minority nationalities* to whom State repression was supposed to have given sufficient freedom to join the Federation willingly. *Ukrainization* was written large on the new programme; Ukrainian schools were opened and Ukrainian culture encouraged.

Kalinin, Stalin's future brother-in-law, came over to organize the Ukrainian Communist Party and by 1927, as many as 66 per cent of the Party's Executive Committee were Ukrainians. In practice this proportion means little since majorities do not mean more with the Soviets than with Fascists or Nazis; all power is vested in the secretaries of the local committees and these secretaries are responsible not to their committees but to the higher secretaries and ultimately to the Secretary of the Central Executive Committee. This peculiarity of Soviet *democracy* strongly reinforced the Moscow delegates who successively governed Ukraine as dictators, just as it permitted Stalin to become the dictator of the Soviet.

In due course, *Ukrainian culture* made room for *proletarian culture*, as Moscow's grip became stronger and as plans for large-scale industrialization developed.

By 1929, *collectivizing* became the official slogan throughout the Soviet: Great Russians and others were imported to start the new factories and replace the Ukrainian nationalists. Socialist evolution drifted into social revolution; peasants revolted and dissension broke out in the Party. In 1930, the first political trial took place; not only anti-collectivist peasants but genuine Bolshevists, suspected of nationalist tendencies, were tried and shot: people like Kotsubinsky, Vice-President of the People's Commissar, Kovnar, Commissar for Agriculture, and many others who ranked high in the Civil Service or the Army. Year after year, the Ukrainian Party was purged by Postyshev, the Moscow-delegated *Dictator*, who was soon accused himself of weakness, replaced by Kossior, and shot with his collaborators.

Industrialization and collectivization kept parallel to political purification and made headway with thorough ruthlessness. Mass executions, mass transportations, mass migrations through the barbed wires along the Volhynian frontiers, famine and pestilence in 1932-33 with ten per cent of the population dying of hunger in early 1933 : all these showed the merciless efficiency of the regime.

Ukraine's vicissitudes were bound to attract the attention of Nazi Germany and Ukrainian nationalists began to look for sympathy and support to the West, not only in Rumania and Galicia but as far as Berlin.

Stalin himself had always looked with favour on a compromise with Germany; yet he feared any Nazi intervention in Ukraine. So he decided on a game

which reveals his political acumen; he stepped into the shoes of the Ukrainian negotiators. In 1935, he put aside all the Red Generals and Party members throughout the republic and did away with all the potential collaborators of Germany, so that he was the only one with whom the Nazi envoys could negotiate.

In the meantime, the remnants of Ukraine's national army were scattered all over Russia and rendered innocuous. A parallel effort had been made in the diplomatic service; at the very beginning Ukraine had her diplomatic representatives abroad and her own Commissariat for Foreign Affairs at Kharkov; the Commissars were eliminated either with or without trial, the Commissariat was abolished in 1923 and the Ukrainian diplomats were gradually replaced in Soviet embassies and legations; none is left today. The vestiges of nationalism faded away one after the other.

Science Teaching in Schools

Looking back to the improvements on conditions of life effected in the West and their impact on our own life it is apparent that we cannot ignore the teaching of science without exposing ourselves to grave dangers. Prof. M. N. Saha observes in *Science and Culture*:

> It is said that the teaching of science is a very dry process and that the students like the stories of history much more than the teachings of science. But our experience has not been so; the speaker has often found that young boys fail to realise how a brother can put a knife into another brother's breast or murder or imprison an old father for the sake of a kingdom as we find very often in all histories, more so in Indian history. On the other hand, demonstration of the mechanism of the steam engine, experiments showing how the black coal can produce all the beautiful and variegated colours of Nature, or how white sunlight can be decomposed into the brilliant colours of the rainbow, etc., produce the most enduring impressions on the adolescent mind. In this task, the role of the teacher is very important. Science teaching is recent in this country and its traditions and methods are yet to be developed. There is very often a tendency to teach it in the classical way as mere memory exercises. But this tendency must be overcome or discouraged. One must learn science from Nature and from actual experience.

The essence of science teaching lies in the co-operation of the brain with the hand, an ideal which India gave up by instituting caste system on the basis of occupations, stereotyped and hereditary.

> The craftsmen of the old might have been skilful with the imperfect tools of that time, but they had neither the initiative nor the enterprise and the brain to improve them; the men who worked with their brains never looked at handicrafts. The consequences has been that not a single mechanical invention has been made in India or by Indians within the last thousand years. Even in the present times there seems to be very little appreciation amongst the Indian leaders of the value of mechanical discoveries. For we are being taught the virtues of the Charka, an early mechanical invention probably made in India, which is proclaimed to be capable of providing clothes for the 400 millions and to provide a way out of the economic distress of the country. The spinning wheel was introduced into Europe in 1298, but has since been improved by 800 inventions which are all incorporated in the modern textile factory.

For efficient science teaching, we need a good stock of apparatus, instruments and tools, also models, diagrams, and collections of samples.

> Calcutta University has laid down the minimum requirements at only Rs. 300 for these appliances. The University was no doubt guided by the fact that most schools are in extremely bad financial condition. But one misses in their list such ordinary and indispensable appliances as a vacuum pump, or models illustrating the motion of the earth, the moon, and the planets. We are afraid this sort of half-hearted arrangement will ultimately defeat the purpose. In our opinion instruments worth at least Rs. 1,000 ought to be prescribed. Further, every school ought to have a small workshop and a carpentry shop. A quality in which our boys are very sorrowfully deficient in comparison with the boys in Europe is the mechanical sense. We ought to try by all means to develop this mechanical sense in our boys. In England those who can afford provide their boys with a Mecanno set which enables the boys to make models of any machinery and thus become mechanically minded. The school machine shop and carpentry shop may be useful in this direction.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

World Congress of Faiths

In the midst of the din and bustle of war it is heartening to find sincere attempts to promote fellowship, harmony and mutual tolerance. Commenting on the Address of the Chairman (Sir Francis Younghusband) to The World Congress of Faiths, *The Commonweal* writes :

"Reconstruction is in the air. . . . Never before has such ardour for building a better world been shown."

But he reminds his fellow-workers "that as it is a World Order on which they are at work they must depend for their spiritual impulse upon all the World Religions and not upon one alone, any more than they would rely upon one country alone. As *The Times* incidentally remarked in a leading article on Religious Education, "the fundamental precepts of Christianity are shared by millions in other lands and of other religions." And it is those millions who must also be enlisted in the great work. . . . . If the New World Order is to have any deep spiritual impulse to give it impetus and unity, not only should the various denominations and divisions of the Christian Church work together, but the followers of different religions must also be induced to unite."

"In the words of that great French philosopher, the late Henri Bergson, Look to that God common to all mankind, the mere vision of Whom, could all men but attain it, would mean the immediate abolition of war."

The Present World Crisis

In analysing the present chaotic state of the world and tracing its causes, George Whitman writes in part in *The Inquirer* :

We are in the midst of one of those crises which recur continually in history and are caused by the eternal conflict in human affairs between the two great principles of freedom and order. The sphere in which the modern state claims jurisdiction over the life of the individual is continually widening. The whole trend of social development in recent years has been towards increased centralisation of power. This is due to the speed of modern methods of communication and transport, and to the revolutionary technical progress which has made possible large-scale economic organisation.

This tendency to centralisation, though it can lead to undoubted material benefits, if carried to an extreme gives rise to very grave dangers. We have striking examples of this in Germany, Italy and Russia, where economic and social centralisation are so developed that the average individual in those countries is subordinated entirely to the State. His status is that of a robot. He has degenerated to become the "mass man" whose rudimentary education fits him only to be a more ready victim of the unscrupulous propagandists of press, radio and cinema. Unceasingly subjected to the powerful influences of mass organisation and mass suggestion, he is taught to look on the State as the end of his existence instead of a means to his welfare. Lacking any power of independent judgment he repudiates all responsibility for making decisions and places his destiny in the hands of an "infallible" leader. Such a system breeds moral and spiritual deterioration in the masses and corruption and abuse of power among those in high places.

Why have the peoples of three great nations taken this wrong turning with such dire results for themselves and the whole world ? It is not possible to consider them in isolation.

Nazism, Fascism and Bolshevism are to be regarded as the more violent symptoms of a world-wide disease of civilisation. It has been truly said that nature abhors a vacuum in the spiritual as in the material sphere. Here lies the key to the tragedies of Germany, Italy and Russia, and to the spiritual sickness of the world. The peoples of those three countries, realising the inadequacy of a crass materialism to meet their spiritual needs, and being given no lead towards an enlightened religion by their churches, embraced the pseudo-religions of their respective ideologies. The idealism of youth, and its instinct to worship and sacrifice, were perverted by creeds which, while essentially untrue, filled its spiritual need for a consciousness of being servants of a great cause. In an age of triumphant secularism and "progress" the hunger for religion still manifested itself and sought satisfaction from the modern Baal of the omnipotent nation-state.

In Britain, the tendency towards a greater control of the State over the individual has evinced itself in recent years. The process has been accelerated by the exigencies of war. Great changes have taken place which can never be reversed. The State has taken action to curb the irresponsible exercise of economic power by individuals or minorities against the interests of the community. We may be sure that the new order which we shall have in this country after the war will embody many of the elements of collectivism. And therein will be found many possibilities both for good and for evil.

The danger is that this increasing organisation and mechanisation of the life of the community tends to exclude the human element. While knowledge of science and technology grows apace spiritual knowledge is neglected and forgotten.

The supreme and crucial problem which faces democracy is that of preserving human and spiritual values in a profoundly altered society, and of finding the means to ensure that the tremendous technical advances made in recent years shall be used for the welfare of mankind and not as aids to tyranny. What hope is there for finding a solution ? Where shall we look for the means to prevent a new descent of man and to save Western civilisation from destruction ?

Conventional politics, whether of the right or the left, are manifestly incapable of solving the problem unaided. A hundred political doctrinaires offer us systems to end war and establish social justice. They produce blue-prints of Utopia, schemes, programmes, plans, constitutions and lists of "points." Only adopt my system, they cry, and it provides the perfect machinery for the New Order.

Will the British Empire Become A State in the U. S. A. ?

Advocating a more permanent political union than mere agreements or treaties between the United States and Britain for an effective prosecution of the war against totalitarianism, Rubin Go.esky in an article in *The Living Age* writes in part :

The British Empire must petition Congress immediately for admission as a State or a group of States into the Union—precisely, for example, as did Texas in 1845.

Today even a defensive battle appears grim. The attempt to hold her ground in the Near East will bring Great Britain in conflict, as has already occurred in Iraq and Palestine, with the small nations of the Near East that for good reason hate her. To defend herself, or even to stand her ground, she'll have to battle both the German and the native people—a tremendously difficult job considering her present weakness in material and in industry. The sad part of the situation is that English Tory elements and even the Labor party have refused to propose or carry through any policy of granting independence to mandate territories. Such a policy, formulated in treaties advantageous to these territories, small nations and colonies would win them over to the side of Britain. By such a policy, the tragedy of an Iraq might never have occurred.

There is only one way which is sufficiently simple and speedy to accomplish the object of *Union Now*. And it must be used immediately by Great Britain. Great Britain must petition Congress to be admitted as a State into the United States.

This proposal may strike Americans as startling or over simple. Yet it is the simplest, the speediest and the best solution to the problem of aiding Britain in every conceivable way. Upon carrying through this proposal hinges the fate of democracy in both hemispheres.

Now is the time for Churchill to act. If this idea has ever lurked hidden away in the back of his mind, as has been suggested to this writer, now is the time to propose it. The British Empire cannot wait until it is too late. It must not make the same mistake it made in the case of France. Secretly, at the zero hour, when France was already defeated and begging for peace, Churchill proposed a union of the two Empires. The British Empire ought not to wait until it, too, is writhing agonized on the rack of defeat to petition for statehood in the United States. Nor must it petition for statehood secretly. It must petition now, boldly, openly, so that Congress and the American people may have time to grow accustomed to the idea and accept it enthusiastically and in sufficient time to come to the complete defense of democracy.

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Discovery and Invention

What is the difference between Discovery and Invention ? In a lecture before the Royal Society of Arts Sir Richard Gregory, Bt., F.R.S. has given some striking examples of the two kinds of scientific effort. The following

excerpt is reproduced here from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

Though it is often difficult, and sometimes undesirable, to draw a clear distinction between a discovery and an invention, different meanings are now generally attached to the two words. Science may be said to be concerned with discovery, and the arts with invention, but imaginative insight and constructive capacity are characteristics of both. Every invention involves acquaintance with the properties of the things used in it, and all such ascertained natural knowledge comes within the realm of science.

In the most primitive times man had to acquire knowledge of the world of Nature around him in order to survive. The effort to secure the food and shelter necessary for his existence demanded not only the discovery of the properties of the things around him, but also the exploitation of these resources for the progressive improvement of his material equipment—an equipment which he learned to use against his fellow man, no less than against the animal world upon which he preyed for food and clothing, or against which he must defend himself. But in this struggle, even more than on his personal prowess, his skill, and his knowledge of food-plants and animals, man relied upon his imagined understanding of, and his supposed power to control, the hidden causes of the nature and behaviour of the beings and objects of his world. In the magical beliefs thus conceived and applied may be seen the remote and humble beginnings of the urge to the understanding of the universe, which is science.

In one, the main motive is the discovery of new knowledge, and in the other, the aim is to secure some practical benefit.

To the original scientific explorer, discoveries are ends in themselves, while to the inventor and engineer they represent knowledge to be used for practical purposes. The characteristic of the present age is the utilization in industry of principles, properties and products revealed by scientific research, whether carried out solely in the pursuit of knowledge, or with a view of meeting what are believed to be human needs. The result is that the combined work of scientific discoverers and mechanical inventors has now invaded every craft, every art, and every industry, and has changed the social conditions of the whole civilised world.

Some of the chief inventions upon which modern industrial developments are based, such as the steam engine, the power-loom, and printing, were made independently of the results of scientific research, or of specialised knowledge of the subjects involved in them. James Watt's constructive work on the steam engine began when he was given a workshop as a mathematical instrument maker to the University of Glasgow. Benjamin Huntsman was a clockmaker who wanted to obtain better steel for the springs of clocks and was thus led to invent crucible steel. Henry Cort was a navy agent when he introduced the puddling process for converting pig-iron into malleable iron, and Richard Arkwright was a barber before he invented the spinning frame. All these achievements represent the exercise of constructive mechanical ingenuity rather than the spirit of inquiry which is the motive of scientific research.

But, unfortunately scientific advancement has not been followed by moral advancement and as a result we find today scientific discoveries and inventions which could have increased the happiness of mankind are being used for mutual annihilation.

Two examples of this dehumanizing use of old knowledge are afforded by chlorine and glycerine, both of which were discovered by the Swedish apothecary Scheele in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The use of chlorine in the manufacture of bleaching powder was patented about a quarter of a century later, but it was not until 1915 that the Germans first used it as a poison gas at Ypres. Similarly, mustard gas, which was first used on the battlefield by Germany in 1917, was discovered in a scientific laboratory nearly a century earlier. Scheele's glycerine did not become of any industrial value until many years after its discovery, when a patent was granted for a process of making it. It was the discovery of nitro-glycerine by Nobel in 1883 that enormously increased the importance glycerine as an industrial product.

A scientific discovery does not create anything new in Nature, but only reveals what had previously been unknown or overlooked.

What You Say

To a great extent our unhappiness and miseries in this world are due to our reckless speech. The following excerpt is from an article by Norman Smith in the *World Order* :

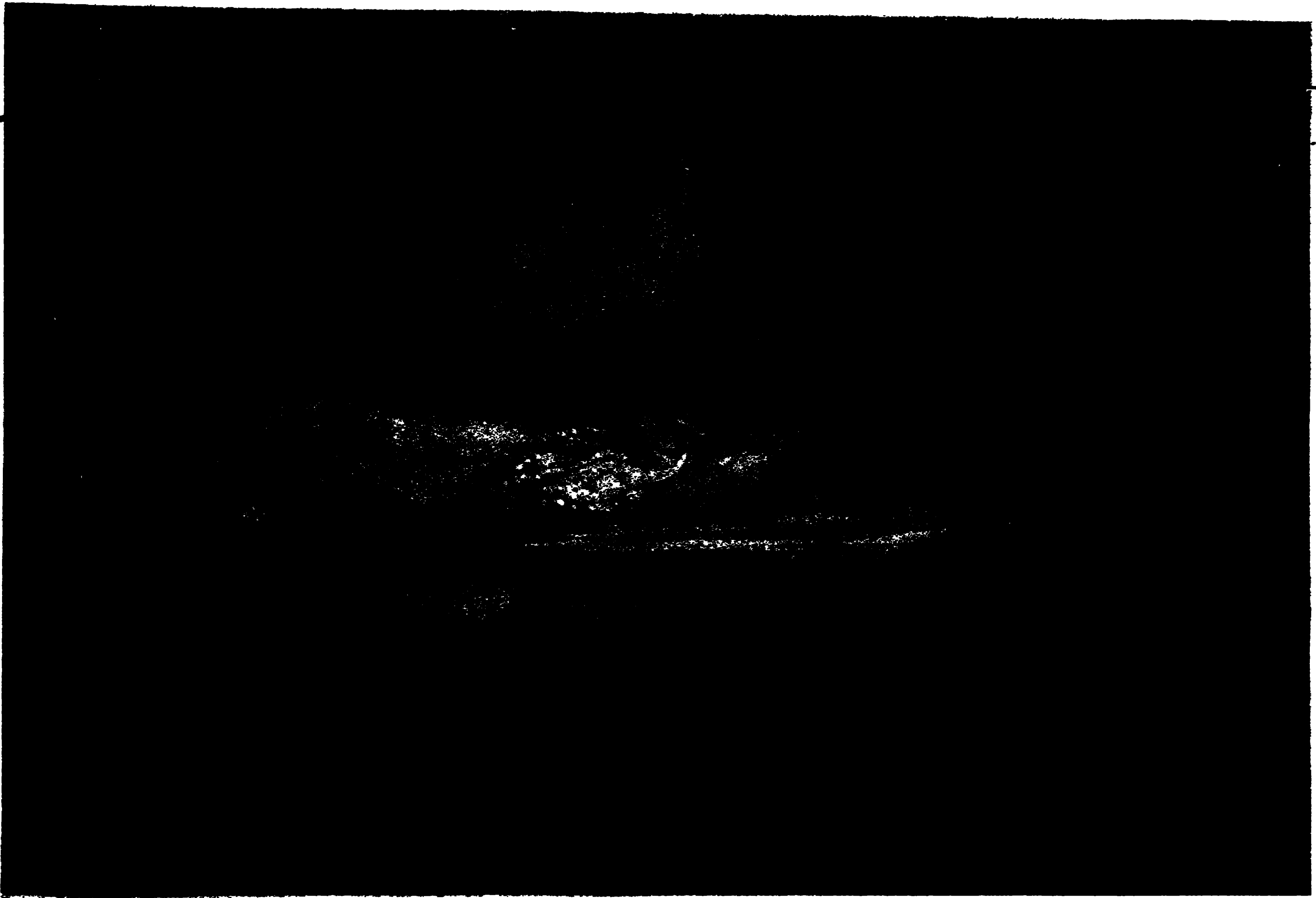
A story is told about a great and famous Persian scholar, who, whenever spoken to, or whenever he had to speak himself, closed his mouth so as not to utter any word that might offend his listener. Through years of practice of such a desirable habit, he acquired great poise and self-confidence, and attracted the hearts as well as the minds of his hearers. His speech was of the very essence of tact and wisdom.

A true story is told by a fine young man "afflicted" with stuttering that, in reality, his affliction is a blessing to him. He explained that often-times while he would be speaking, his impediment would give him an opportunity to reconsider what he was trying to say and how it would affect his listeners, and would allow him to speak without offending anyone.

How often do we, who have normal speech, wish that we had left unsaid things that brought only sorrow and grief ! We feel sorry, but what can we do ? Once the words get past our lips we never can bring them back We should and must practise one of the first principles of speech, which is, "Close your mouth, before opening it." Practice of this principle prepares one for speaking, produces poise, calmness, and serenity. . . . Our speech reveals what we really are. The great American philosopher, Emerson said, "What you are, speaks so loudly, that what you say I cannot hear."

Man has built up his chief means of communication, language, through long years of experience. He has made definite and fixed adjustments to his words so as to make himself feel more secure in this world. Any attack upon his kinesthetic sequence is like an attack from Mars. Man counters such attacks by the use of more words and more words to preserve his feeling of security. In the long run, however, his defense weakens and crumbles under his very eyes until he accepts the truth. When man accepts the truth his words have a power that nothing can stop.

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In front [illegible] Helmsmen

PASSING OF RABINDRANATH

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

Artist [illegible] Tagore

THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER  1941

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NOTES

The Last Chapter of Rabindranath Tagore's Life

To the *Visva-Bharati News* of September, 1941, which is its "Gurudeva Memorial Number," Rabindranath Tagore's Secretary Professor Anil Kumar Chanda has contributed a brief account of the last ten months of the Poet's life. By way of both preface and supplement to Srimati Rani Chanda's diary of Rabindranath Tagore's last few days, published in this issue, we subjoin a few extracts from Professor Chanda's article.

From December (1940) to March (1941) he (the poet) did really show continual improvement, and it is significant that his book of poems which was published in February, should have been named "Arogya" (Recovery) by him. Excepting that he was too weak to leave his room and come out, and that he required careful attention on the part of his attendants and the doctors, he was practically not in a worse condition than is the usual unhappy lot of a human being at the age of eighty. His intellect remained as fresh as ever, and he continued carrying on with his literary work with unabated vigour. It is amazing that no less than four books should have been published at this stage, and some of the most moving poems of his whole literary career written during these days. During these months he wrote every line of the poems with his own hand and as I look at the manuscript of these books, the handwriting seems as clear and as firm as before. Nor should it be forgotten that his memorable address (he however did not read it himself) of the Pous Utsab and his New Year's address also belong to this period.

But as I have said before, he remained confined to his rooms and his personal contact with the outer world was considerably curtailed. On three or four occasions only, he left the house, being carried out in his wheeled invalid chair to have an outing in the specious grounds of Uttarayana. Once I remember he came to his own cottage, Udichi, to look at his Polash tree just at the back of the cottage when it was in blossom. I shall never forget the long lingering look he cast at the tree when he was being wheeled back into his sick room. Did he know then that he was not destined to look at it again ?

Fate had decreed that he was no longer to take any part in the asrama activities and he did not participate in any public functions in Santiniketan during these months. The cruellest blow to him was that he could not join the Pous Utsab, even though he was physically present at Santiniketan, which had never before happened in his life. On the first of Baisakh and on the 25th of Baisakh he however attended for a while the celebrations in honour of his eightieth birthday but these were specially held for him just outside his own rooms, in the commodious verandah of Udayana. He also attended there the ceremony which was held on May 13, when a personal representative of H. H. the Maharaja of Tripura came to Santiniketan to present to him the 'khilat' of the title of "Bharat Bhaskar" ("Sun of India") conferred upon him by the Tripura Durbar. When H. E. President Tai Chi-Tao came to Santiniketan, he could not join any of the functions himself, but he wrote an address of welcome which was read on his behalf by Rathindranath Tagore He had nonetheless some long and interesting talks with our distinguished visitor in his own room ;

When he finally consented to undergo an operation, it was decided to take him to Calcutta on the 25th of July last.

The leave taking from the asrama was most moving, though nobody then suspected that it was going to be his farewell. From the early morning, the whole asrama (both Santiniketan and Sriniketan) gathered at Uttarayana and quietly waited for him to be taken down in a specially constructed stretcher from his room upstairs to the asrama bus. He was too exhausted even to address a few words to his beloved workers and students and they did not take the dust of his feet, lest it were to disturb him. In deep silence and with mute salutations they bade him good-bye but as the bus began to move they could not contain themselves any longer. Spontaneously from a thousand throats broke out the asrama song "Amader Santiniketan" ("Our Santiniketan"). It reached Gurudeva's ears and there were tears in his eyes.

On the 27th July in Calcutta,

During the days he was allowed to receive a few visitors in the room and he had a pleasant chat with our Treasurer Dr. D. M. Bose and Mrs. Bose and a few others His characteristic sense of humour was there in full plenitude and he made a good joke about the doctors' instructions. For the last few months he used to spend most of his time in a half reclining position in his bed being propped up with about half a dozen pillows. As after the operation he would have to lie flat for a considerable number of days, he was asked by the doctors to get used to that position by gradually cutting down the number of pillows. He said "Have you heard that the doctors are bent upon lowering my head, the head that I have been able to keep erect for these eighty years ? What a fall !"

On the 29th July in Calcutta,

As a result of the disturbed night, he was very weak and troubled from the early morning. The fever was already there, though not very high. He must have guessed that the day of the operation could not be very far off, from the busy preparation which were unmistakably on foot. It was a deliberate plan of ours to keep him in the dark about the date till the last moment as otherwise he would perhaps have felt rather nervous and excited. In the evening he questioned Dr. Jyotiprokash Sarkar about it. But Dr. Sarkar replied that as this operation was such an easy matter the doctors did not feel it at all necessary to fix upon a special date for it. Any of these days, Dr. Banerjee would perform the operation at the most convenient time Dr. Sarkar added, "I shan't be surprised if you were even to compose a poem or two with the operation going on." Gurudeva laughed heartily at this and replied that if it called for no greater suffering than writing a poem or two, he was ready for it.

Mr. Churchill's Interpretation of Atlantic Declaration

The joint Anglo-United States declaration. drawn up and agreed upon by Mr. Churchill on behalf of Great Britain and President Roosevelt on behalf of the United States of America, begins thus :

> "The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for *a better future for the world*." (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

This is followed by the enunciation of eight "common principles," of which the third runs as follows :

> "They respect *the right of all peoples* to choose the form of Government under which they will live and they wish to see Sovereign rights and Self-Government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

As the introductory sentence of the declaration speaks of "a beter future for the *world*" and the third "common principles" speaks of "the right of *all* peoples," and as India is a part of the world and Indians are included in the expression "all peoples," it is quite natural and quite reasonable to think that this third point in the eight-point declaration covers the case of India. Mr. Cordell Hull, who may be rightly presumed to know the mind of Mr. Roosevelt and of the American people, has declared that the Atlantic Charter is of universal application. And Mr. Attlee, Deputy Premier of Great Britain has given the world to understand that he understands it in that sense. But Mr. Winston Churchill, who has been throughout his political career opposed to the least recognition of the political rights of Indians and opposed even the really reactionary Government of India Act of 1935, perhaps because it gave some illusory powers to some sections of the people in the provinces, has denied plainly that it has anything at all to do with India, Burma and other parts of the British Empire. This unwarranted interpretation of his occurs in the review of the war made by him in the British House of Commons on the 9th September last and runs as follows :

> It is a wise rule that when two parties have agreed on a statement one of them shall not thereafter without consultation with the other proceed to put special or strange interpretations upon this or that sentence. I propose, therefore, to speak only in an exclusive sense.
>
> Firstly, the joint declaration does not try to explain how the broad principles proclaimed by it are to be applied to each and every case which will have to be dealt with when the war ends. It would not be wise for us at this moment to be drawn into a laborious discussion of how it is to fit all the manifold problems with which we shall be faced after the war.

INDIA AND BURMA

Secondly, the joint declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about development of Constitutional Government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire. We have pledged by the declaration of August, 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Races subject of course to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests. Burma also is covered by our considered policy of establishing Burma's Self-Government and by measures already in progress.

EXTENSION OF SOVEREIGNTY

At the Atlantic meeting, we had in mind primarily the extension of the Sovereignty, Self-Government and national life of the States and nations of Europe now under Nazi yoke and the principles which would govern any alterations in territorial boundaries of countries which may have to be made. That is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in regions whose peoples owe allegiance to the British Crown. We have made declarations on these matters which are complete in themselves free from ambiguity and related to the conditions and circumstances of the territories and peoples affected. They will be found to be entirely in harmony with the conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint declaration.

Until Mr. Roosevelt makes a statement on the points touched upon by Mr. Churchill in the passages quoted above, we cannot be sure that the two parties agreed to exclude the British Empire from the operation of any of "the common principles" agreed upon by them. It may be that they "had in mind *primarily* the extension of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under Nazi yoke." But that is not stated in the declaration. And "*primarily*" does not mean *exclusively*. The European states referred to may have been uppermost in their minds. But did they exclude from consideration all the other subject peoples of the world? If so, why did they not say so courageously in the declaration? Why did they pretend concern for all subject peoples hypocritically?

Mr. Churchill says that the declarations relating to constitutional developments made by British statesmen are "free from ambiguity" and "will be found to be entirely in harmony with the conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint declaration." This is an absolutely wrong claim. No political party in India thinks that the "various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about development of constitutional government in India" are either "free from ambiguity" or are "entirely in harmony with the conception of freedom and justice which inspired the joint declaration."

As regards the statements themselves, they have been commented upon and exposed so often and so elaborately by ourselves and others, that it is superfluous to do so again.

It is very amusing that Mr. Churchill says that "it is a wise rule that, when two parties have agreed on a statement, one of them *shall not* thereafter without consultation with the other proceed to put special or strange interpretations upon this or that sentence," and in the next breath proceeds to break that "wise rule"! No doubt he adds, "I propose, therefore, to speak only in an exclusive sense." English is not our mother tongue. We confess we do not understand the exact meaning of Mr. Churchill's last quoted sense. Does it help to free him from the blame of going back upon his word, or from the discourtesy of speaking without consulting Mr. Roosevelt and indirectly implicating him in the charge of making a hypocritical declaration to all the world?

"*Gurudeva Longed to Serve the World Through India*"

"Gurudeva's soul is immortal and he lives though dead", writes Mahatma Gandhi in the September number of the *Sarvodaya*, the Hindi magazine published by the Gandhi Seva Sangh.

"Gurudeva longed to serve the world through India and breathed his last while doing so. His experiment is unfinished. His mortal remains are no more, but his soul is immortal like ours. Taken in this sense none perishes or dies, none is born.

"Gurudeva lives significantly. His tendencies were universal, mostly heavenly (*paramarthik*), through which he will be immortal. Santiniketan, Sriniketan and Visva-Bharati—all these are manifestations of his action. They were his soul, for which Dinabandhu Andrews left this world followed by Gurudeva.

"Our true homage should be to maintain these institutions, which he is watching from wherever he may be," concludes Mahatma Gandhi.—*A. P.*

Tagore "Personifying Highest Freedom and Highest Ideals of Humanity"—Russian Ambassador's Tribute

LONDON, Sept. 5.

"Just now a very dark night has descended on mankind," said M. Maisky, Ambassador to the Soviet Union, speaking to-night (Friday) at a meeting held in London in commemoration of the great Indian Poet Rabindranath Tagore, "and in this darkness the gleaming figure of Tagore personifying the highest freedom and the highest ideals of humanity reminds us once more that the murderous jungle which exists today will have an end."

"I am firmly convinced," M. Maisky continued, "that there will come better times. To bring this about hundreds of thousands, nay millions, of my countrymen are now spilling their blood in a stubborn and heroic struggle against the mechanised hordes of Hitler. But this blood that has flowed, this terrible fighting now going on, will not be in vain. The final victory will be ours and a better world will be built in the end."

M. Maisky together with Madame Maisky were welcomed at the meeting which was held jointly by the India League and the National Council of Civil Liberties, by the Chairman Mr. Edward Thompson, writer, who said, "You will want me to say to His Excellency, the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, how much we admire the tremendous and majestic chapter his great country is writing now in the story of human freedom. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore would indeed have been much moved by the presence of the Ambassador of Russia here to-night."—*Reuter.*

Rabindranath gave unstinted praise to Soviet Russia for all that it has done and has been doing for the education and the amelioration of the intellectual and material condition of the masses throughout its wide territories, irrespective of race, colour, creed, and language. M. Maisky's tribute to him is whole-hearted and high, but not more than what he deserves.

We wonder if Mr. Edward Thompson really said that "Dr. Rabindranath Tagore would indeed have been much moved by the presence of the Ambassador of Russia here tonight." How could Tagore have been present at a meeting to do honour to his memory and be moved by the presence of the Russian Ambassador there? It is not Irishmen alone who are capable of perpetrating bulls—if they are at all so capable, as Englishmen allege they are.

Abanindranath Tagore Recommended For Presidentship of Visva-Bharati

By the death of Rabindranath Tagore, the honorary office of President of the Visva-Bharati has become vacant. There is no second Rabindranath Tagore in this country or in the world abroad to succeed him. Therefore, there need not be any comparison of his successor, whoever he may be, with him.

The *Samsad* of Visva-Bharati, which is its governing body, has unanimously recommended that Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, the famous artist, should be elected president of the Visva-Bharati. We support this recommendation. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore's achievement in the field of pictorial art marks an epoch in the history of Indian art. Besides himself bringing about a rennaissance in Indian art and doing original work in that field, he has trained some disciples who are themselves gifted artists and have been training others to carry on the tradition and fill it with ever new inspiration.

As the department of arts and crafts is an important branch of the work of the Visva-Bharati, Abanindranath's eminence as an artist is a right relevant qualification for its presidentship. He is a gifted teacher, too, and that makes him all the more fit for the presidentship of an educational and cultural institution like the Visva-Bharati. It has a music department. It is appropriate that Abanindranath Tagore, who is a connoisseur of music and an accomplished player on some musical instruments, should be its president. In his opinion Rabindranath's greatest gift to the nation and humanity is his songs.

If Abanindranath had not been an eminent artist, the vivid narrative, the original style and the charm of the Bengali books which he has written, some of which have been translated into French by the accomplished French artist Madame Andree Kerpeles, would alone have sufficed to make him a man of note.

He is a man of culture, entirely free from any kind of bigotry, and does not belong to any political party.

He is in entire sympathy with the aims and objects of the Visva-Bharati, and in the course of a talk which he gave the other day said with great emphasis that the ideals of the Brahmacharyāshram at Santiniketan, which was and remains the core and nucleus of the Visva-Bharati, should never be departed from.

And it is superfluous to add that he knows and appreciates his uncle's prose and poetical works both in Bengali and in English.

Tagore "Greatest Figure of 20th Century," Says Bhopal Legislative Council

Warm tributes to the memory of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore were paid on September 13 last in the Bhopal Legislative Council when the House re-assembled for the September session.

Before the transaction of business, Raja Oudh Narain Bisarya, Leader of the House and President of the State Executive Council, referred to the death of Poet Tagore, which, he said, was an irreparable loss to the country and the world and had removed "a unique and most illustrious figure from their midst."

The President then invited Mr. Jahir Hussein, a non-official member, to move the condolence resolution on the poet's death.

BHOPAL, Sept. 13.

The resolution expressed the House's profound and deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Tagore and offered its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved and suggested that, as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the House should adjourn for five minutes, without transacting any business. The resolution was unanimously passed and the President adjourned the proceedings for five minutes.

Speaking on the resolution, the mover described Tagore as the greatest figure of the century and paid a warm tribute to his services to India as a poet, philosopher and an ardent nationalist.

The President, the Honourable Muhamed Ahmed, Chief Justice of Bhopal, associating himself fully with the sentiments expressed by the Leader of the House

and the mover of the resolution, said that our sense of grief and sorrow at the late poet's demise could not be expressed in words.—*A. P. I.*

Eighth Volume of Tagore's Bengali Works

When the plan to publish all the Bengali works of Rabindranath Tagore in an authoritative form was being discussed, he did not at first agree to the publication (or rather republication) of many of his juvenile productions, which were in his opinion too immature to deserve such treatment. But later, he relented and agreed to their publication in a separate series. The first volume of that series appeared some time ago.

The works which he authorized to be published all along have been estimated to fill 25 volumes of from 600 to 650 royal octavo pages each. This estimate is likely to be exceeded.

Of this authorized series the eighth volume has just been published. A melancholy interest attaches to its publication, as it is the first volume to come out after the death of the Poet. The contents of this volume may be noted for those of our readers who read Bengali.

Under the section Poems and Songs this volume contains *Naivedya* ("Offerings") and *Smaran* (written in memory of the Poet's wife); under the section Drama, *Mukut* ("Crown"); under the section Novels and Stories, *Gharé-Bairé* ("At Home and Outside the Home," a novel); under the section Essays, *Sāhitya* ("Literature"). An Appendix contains important information relating to previous editions, etc., and the author's comments and replies to criticisms of some of the books.

There are six illustrations. One is a portrait of the Poet's Wife Mrinalini Devi, who pre-deceased him, another is a photograph of the Poet and his Wife, two are portraits of him at different periods of his, one is a pictorial transcript in his own hand-writing of the original Bengali poem of which "Where the mind is without fear...." is a translation; and one is a facsmile of a page of the MS. of *Gharé-Bairé*.

Rabindranath Tagore's Two Last Works

The last two works from Rabindranath Tagore's pen are *Sesh Lekhā* ("Last Writings" —a book of poems) and *Chhadā* (which may be described as being similar to nursery rhymes). Both the works were composed during his last serious illness. *Sesh Lekhā* contains two poems composed during the fortnight preceding his death when he lay bed-ridden.

Santiniketan Festivals of the Rainy Season

The Ploughing and Tree Planting ceremonies are parts of the Festival of the Rainy Season instituted by Rabindranath Tagore.

The ploughing ceremony was observed on the 13th September last. Sj. Rathindranath Tagore presided on the occasion. After the opening song, Pandit Kshitimohan Sen chanted Vedic *mantras*. The address which Rabindranath Tagore delivered three years ago at the ploughing ceremony was then read by the president. Printed copies of that address were distributed among those present. This was followed by ploughing a field to the accompaniment of the singing of one of the favourite songs of Rabindranath Tagore suited to the occasion. Pandit Kshitimohan Sen recited Vedic verses in praise of the earth. The residents of the Ashram who formed a procession each carried some agricultural implement. The pair of bullocks used in ploughing the field were tastefully decorated. The function came to a close with the singing of Rabindranath's song "Jana-gana-mana-Adhināyaka jaya hé Bhārata-bhagya-bidhātā" in chorus.

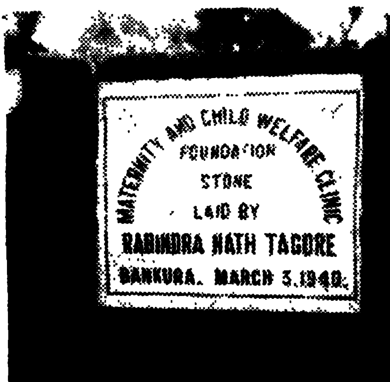
Tree-planting was celebrated on another day. The tender saplings were carried in procession to the spot chosen for planting them. The festival began with the chanting of Vedic *mantras* and the singing of Ashram songs. Five children from five different parts of India personating the Five Elements—Earth, Water, Energy, Air and Ether—pronounced benediction on the saplings which were planted. Sj. Rathindranath Tagore presided on the occasion. The songs sung were some of those which had been composed by Rabindranath Tagore in previous years for the Festival of the Rains. In the evening the boys and girls of Santiniketan staged the Poet's musical play "Vālmīki-pratibhā," Sj. Santidev Ghosh appearing in the role of Vālmīki.

Institutions Associated with Rabindranath Tagore's Name

There are institutions in country towns associated with the name of Rabindranath Tagore which are unpretentious in character but are nevertheless greatly conducive to the public good. One such is the Maternity Clinic in Bankura, of which Rabindranath Tagore laid the foundation stone during his visit to that place in the first week of March, 1940. The institution is the outcome of the public spirit of the local Women's Association which at that time had Srimati Usha Haldar as its President.



Rabindranath Tagore laying the foundation of the Bankura Maternity Clinic



The Late Dr. Ashutosh Das

Dr. Ashutosh Das, the well-known Congress leader of Hooghly, died at Haripal, at the age of 53 on 31st July. As a student he came under the influence of the Swadeshi Movement and was a member of the Anusilan Samiti. With some of his friends he organised a society, called the Mazzini Society, for propagation of nationalist ideas amongst students. He took his M.B. in 1914 and served for some time as ship's surgeon in a Japanese vessel. Subsequently Dr. Das joined the I.M.S. and was recommended for a permanent commission for distinguished service as bacteriologist in Mesopotamia. He gave up the commission at the call of Mahatmaji and took up village practice at Haripal. He trained a group of young men for cheap medical aid to villagers and with their help was able to substantially reduce the incidence of Kala-azar in his locality. He organised temporary Congress eye hospitals in different villages of the Hooghly District for the last 7 years. He wanted to organise a National village medical service and



Bankura Maternity Clinic

discussed his plan with Mahatmaji when he last came to Bengal. He was a member of the A.I.C.C. till his death. He was for some time president of the Bengal Council for Civil Disobedience and suffered imprisonment in 1932. He joined the Satyagraha Movement in 1940 and was in jail for six months. On release he offered Satyagraha again and contracted malignant malaria while touring in villages, which proved fatal. He was a bachelor living a dedicated life and gave his all in the country's cause. His services to the people were silent and unobtrusive and extended over a wide field. He was impressed by the efficiency of the British War Services during his work in the I.M.S. He was scientific and methodical in his habits of work and tried to inculcate similar habits in his co-workers. He leaves behind an aged mother and numerous friends and co-workers to mourn his loss.

Some American Opinions on Gandhi and Nehru

The Commonweal of Melbourne, Australia, has quoted the following sentences from *Current History* of America :

> Since Buddha no one has so completely captured the hearts of India's multitudes as this frail little man, Gandhi. Nehru is second only to Gandhi. . . . Gandhi is 74 years old. . . . Nehru is 50. . . . Gandhi is essentially a religious man. . . . Nehru is not at all religiously orthodox. . . . His own faith is the cause he serves . . . faith in a great destiny. . . . The end Gandhi envisages is a free, peasant India of simple life and spiritual poise amidst the turmoil of our age. . . . He is particularly concerned over the unfortunate plight of the "Untouchables," the worst victims of the Caste System. . . . He himself calls the Untouchables "Children of God." He lives among them. . . . Nehru recognises the gains made by Gandhi, but he holds that the fundamental problem will only be solved through drastic economic reform . . . of the economic system from top to bottom. . . . Gandhi has practised non-violence for forty years. . . . Nehru, too, has been an ardent champion of non-violence . . . but non-violence has never been a religious doctrine for

Nehru. . . . Gandhi is a man bubbling with gaiety and joviality . . . conscious of phenomenal powers . . . to keep the British Empire on tenterhooks. . . . Nehru has spent, on and off, about ten years in gaol. . . . In gaol, he stands on his head every morning, partly as an old Yogic exercise, and partly, as he says, "to retain his sense of humour." Gandhi and Nehru, though thus differing in outlook, are fast friends. "As Lin Yutang aptly puts it," says our author, "the people listen to Nehru, Nehru listens to Gandhi, and Gandhi listens only to God."

"The Problem of India"

***The Commonweal* of Melbourne writes .**

The above ["The Problem of India"] is the title of a small book on an immense subject. India is not the India of a hundred years ago, and neither is Britain the Britain of a hundred years ago. The Democratic Ideal has been undermining the old ideal of Government in both countries, and, in Britain, a higher and more Christian Ideal has been slowly supplanting the very imperfect Ideals of Democracy in earlier times, partly through the influence of such leaders as Gandhi.

"A study of India," says our author, "*must* raise grave issues—not only for India, not only for Asia, if our minds are open and unswayed by the conventional clap-trap.

The benefits of British rule, the ever so free and ever so loyal princes, the dumb peasant mass, which may be starving, but is devoted to the British raj, the extreme politician bent on mischief, the murderous religions that perpetually incite to riot and rapine—how shoddy these notions are, how smooth and delusive, how unworthy to serve as the intellectual counter of a fearless and forward-looking people."

Must not unselfishness—love of our neighbour nations, as of our own fraternity, be the law of nations as of individuals? Must not the old idea of "Empire" and "Colonies" give place to Human Unity, Mutual Aid and Brotherhood? India is not there merely for us. We are there for India. "However it should develop, there can be no doubt that an epoch in the history, both of India and of Britain, is drawing to a close."

But it is not enough to help an old era to draw to a close. We have to help in giving birth to a New Era in World Civilisation along lines of Goodwill and Peace.

"It is not yet true to say that all the millions who compose the working class in India have been drawn into a fully self-conscious and clear-sighted movement capable of decisive action. But . . . their confidence and militancy have grown; their political education has advanced by leaps and bounds; they have realised the effectiveness of collective and disciplined struggle. And they have produced, painfully and against overwhelming odds, a revolutionary minority upon whom rests the immense task of forging them into impregnable unity and leading them to power."

About Swami Paramananda

***Message of the East* (April-May-June) of Boston contains some tributes to the late Swami Paramananda "from across the sea," from which we extract the following :**

At Albert Hall, Calcutta, a great multitude gathered to honor the memory of Swami Paramananda. Among the many thousands who crowded the hall were present distinguished citizens of Calcutta, professors, doctors, scholars as well as hundreds of admirers who had contacted the Swami during his recent frequent visits to India. Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, famous editor of *The Modern Review* presided. India's world-renowned poet, Rabindranath Tagore, unable to attend the meeting sent his message which was read aloud.

"While travelling in America, I received the hospitality of Swami Paramananda. There I witnessed the honor the people bestowed on him. His untimely death is indeed a serious loss. He glorified India's name in the Western hemisphere. It is an unforgettable fact that he has carried away with him the eternal gratitude of his fellowmen."—*Tagore.*

"It is pleasing to observe that even now, during her days of distress India produces men who can establish her prestige in the world. Many centuries ago, the Buddhist monks used to cross mountains and lands and desert and wander into the far distant countries for the good of mankind. India was able to conquer the great land China without the aid of legions—conquered her through love and humanity; China recognizes this debt with respect. After many hundred years today sons of India carry far and wide the message of the Hindu sages and create "India" in foreign lands. These men attract men and women by their innate greatness. Swami Paramananda was such a one worthy of respect and admiration. Truly, Swami Paramananda's Ananda-Ashramas which have been established in different parts of America are parts of India. There India's ideals and way of life are cultivated. It is not a dream of great India that we shall found an empire in the world, our aim is to establish India's ideal. Those who have accomplished this have truly served India and have been blessed. To honor him truly is to follow the great ideal he upheld before his countrymen. I request a compilation of the Swami's life and teaching."—*Ramananda Chatterjee.*

A World Conference on Science and World Order

***The Hindu's* London correspondent has sent the following cable :**

LONDON, Sept. 12.

At the Royal Institute on September 26, under the auspices of the Ministry of Information and with the support of the British Association, a World Conference on Science and World Order will be opened.

Explaining the objects, Sir Richard Gregory, President of the British Association, said that science could be used for good or evil and the time has arrived when scientists, who themselves constituted a great democracy that knew no distinctions of race, colour or creed should determine how their work should benefit, not injure, humanity. The main theme of the Conference would be the use of science for constructive, not destructive, purposes. They hoped to devise a Charter to which all scientists could subscribe and reach decisions that would keep science from the hands of gangsters, who used it to wreck society.

Mr. Ritchie Calder said that invitations had been sent out all over the world, but the difficulties of transport made it impracticable for some scientists, including Indians, to reach London, but Russians, Americans, French, Germans and Austrians would attend.

Prof. Einstein would address the Conference by radio on "the common language of science."

Some scientists, such as Sir Oliver Lodge, and some non-scientific men, too, have observed that man has made greater intellectual progress than advancement in morals and spirituality. The result is that the power which science place-

in the hands of men is put to wicked uses. Efforts should, therefore, be made for greater spiritual and moral progress.

Mr. N. R. Sarker on Churchillian Interpretation of Atlantic Declaration

"I cannot consider the latest speech of Mr. Churchill in the British Parliament to be helpful at such a time; I am rather inclined to think that it may prove unhelpful so far as war efforts are concerned," observed Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council, replying to felicitations offered to him by the Bengal Millowners's Association, at an afternoon party given by the Association in his honour on the 12th September last.

"The Atlantic Charter," said Mr. Sarker, "was a commitment by two parties. An interpretation of it by one of the parties only is not quite the proper thing. In the circumstances it is my feeling that it was really not necessary that one party should seek to put its own interpretation on this joint statement. At this time when Britain admittedly requires all the help that India can give, this sort of statement had not better been made at all. Such words comnig from a person of Mr. Churchill's eminence and position tend to damp the enthusiasm of even those of us who sincerely want to do our best to help Great Britain in this crisis."

With refernce to this speech of Mr. Sarker's *The Leader* of Allahabad observes :

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker has made a speech which will not be to the liking of the British Government. His comment that "the Atlantic charter was a commitment by two parties" is not only that of a shrewd businessman but also that of a statesman, who has an understanding of moral issues. After Mr. Cordell Hull's declaration that the Atlantic charter was of universal application, it was clearly wrong on the part of the British Prime Minister to put a narrow interpretation on it. As one who has accepted responsibility for enabling India to render all the assistance she is capable of, Mr. Sarker is naturally dissatisfied that his task has been made more difficult than it was by Mr. Churchill's statement. If Mr. Churchill had no message to give to the Indian people, he should not have spoken at all. Mr. Sarker is quite right in saying that Mr. Churchill's speech will "damp the enthusiasm of even those of us who sincerely want to do our best to help Great Britain in this crisis." . . .

Mr. Sarker will not have an easy time in the Executive Council. That he is conscious of this is evident from the speeches which he, contrary to past practice and tradition, has been making since he accepted the position of a member of the Executive Council. The public will expect both him and Mr. Aney to work unceasingly for a change in the policy of the British Government towards this country. His countrymen will rightly judge them by their achievements. They have no desire to make their task more difficult than it is but often in the past office has proved the grave of many reputations. We sincerely hope that both Mr. Aney and Mr. Sarker will so conduct themselves as to enable their countrymen to say that in the inner councils of Government, they did not for a single moment forget their obligations to the land of their birth, and that by their patriotism and independence they were able to make an effective contribution towards the easing of the political situation in this country.

Some British Criticism of Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill

According to *The Hindu's* London correspondent,

LONDON, Sept. 12.

Answering Mr. Sorensen in the Commons yesterday, Mr. Amery said that there were 12,129 civil disobedience prisoners on July 1, including 28 ex-Ministers and 290 Members of the Provincial Legislatures.

There was a good deal of plain speaking from Labour benches during the debate on the Postponement of Elections Bill, Mr. Davies said, the attempt to justify postponement because of alleged communal feeling was really absurd. The twelve thousand politicals were leaders of the Indian masses. Could it be said that their imprisonment had anything to do with communal feeling? Mr. Sorensen stressed the contrast with Australia which was free to decide whether to hold elections or not in war time.

The News Chronicle writes strongly on Mr. Churchill's statement on the application of the Atlantic Charter to India. "In India," writes *The Chronicle*, "this nebulous footnote is interpreted as a warning that the Charter in its application to India is little more than a piece of rhetoric and that what the British Government will gladly concede to Yugoslavia, it will withhold from the jewel of the British Empire. Mr. Churchill has a bad political record on India. He was the leader of the Tory diehards who did their best to destroy the India Bill, but he is a big enough man to cut out the past and deal honestly with the present realities. Surely now is the time to add generosity to justice in our approach to the problems of Indian Self-Government. Otherwise the Atlantic Charter will become for hundreds of millions a symbol of hypocrisy.

Both Mr. Amery and Mr. Churchill fully deserve the criticism which they have been getting in India and Britain. But Britishers must not think that their duty ends with such criticism. They must undo the wrong they have done to India.

As regards *The News Chronicle's* suggestion that Britain should add generosity to justice to India, that excites our risibility. Where is the justice to which generosity is to be added? We do not want the least generosity. Let there be mere justice. As for Mr. Churchill being a big enough man to cut out his past and deal honestly with the present realities, we do not think he is, but we shall be only too glad to be convinced that we are mistaken.

"How to Help the Handloom Industry"

Sjt. Ananda Prasad Chaudhuri, M.Sc., secretary to the Bengal and Assam branches of the All-India Spinners' Association, has published a helpful pamphlet on "How to help the Handloom Industry." We reproduce below some of his main conclusions and suggestions.

There was a time not very distant when the hand-spinner and the hand-weaver not only supplied the entire requirement of cloth of the country but also for export. Although the demand of the country has increased there is no reason to believe that the hand-loom weavers and the hand-spinners will not be able to produce all the cloth that India needs today. It is hand-spinning and hand-weaving that can give employment to a large number of the workless and help in the equi-distribution of wealth. No cost should be considered too great to reinstate hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

Hand-weaving cannot thrive if it has to depend upon its rival for the supply of raw material. If the mills spin, the next best arrangement will be to stop weaving with power looms. But this cannot be done all at once. It may be spread over 20 years. The existing power-looms may be gradually depreciated 5% a year and the available capital utilised for having additional spinning plants.

For the same capital investments, the production in hand-looms is more than in power looms. The capital required for a power-loom (Rs. 1,575) produces 51 yards of cloth per day. The same capital will be enough for 15 or 16 hand-looms where the production will be 75 to 80 yards per day. The additional advantage is, no money will be drained out of the country for having hand-looms.

The protective duty levied on imported yarn helped the mills considerably and they raised the prices of yarn against the hand-loom weaver. The incidence of this levy works out to 25% of the value of yarn up to 24s and 16% in 40s. The value of yarn being 8 annas in a rupee of cloth, this advantage comes to 12½% in cloths upto 24s and 8% in cloths of 40s.

To offset the above advantage a levy of a sales tax of 12½% on both Indian and Foreign mill cloth will be bare justice to the hand-loom worker and no favour. Imposition of a terminal tax will have a very restricted application. Levy of a cess or the abolition of the import duty on yarn will throw open the Indian market for foreign product which we do not desire.

The levy of the 12½% Sales Tax will certainly raise the price of mill cloth. Price being the same, hand-loom cloth will win the day on account of its durability. The high price paid will be more than balanced by the durability and a large number of unemployed persons will find honourable work without increasing the nations' cloth bill.

There is a proposal for the division of the field of manufacture between the mills and the hand-looms. It cannot be practicable on the basis of counts. Certain varieties such as, sarees with woven design borders, check and striped sarees, etc., may be reserved for hand-looms and similarly voils, flannels, crepes, tent-cloths, jeans and similar weaves may be reserved for the mills.

The People of China a Great People

We call the people of China great, not merely because they are fighting their aggressors most heroically, but also because during this life and death struggle they have been making steady progress in every department of national endeavour. Agriculture, mining, metallurgy, manufacture, co-operative societies, education, output of more and better literature—all show very encouraging advancement. The Weekly Bulletins of the China Information Committee give us abundant information about all these different kinds of activities. For example, about China's educational progress during the war we are told :

In old temples and improvised matsheds, China's education is making steady progress in the war, as many new citadels of learning have been established and more scholars are being trained, often under most trying conditions.

At the end of 1940, the number of higher educational institutions in China was 113. This compares with 108 just before the war, of which 91 were either destroyed or damaged or otherwise rendered useless. The total enrolment in these colleges and universities was given at 44,422 in 1940 as against 31,188 in 1937, according to the same source.

Of the 113 higher seats of learning, 41 were national, 21 provincial and 51 private institutions. Thirty-eight of the institutions were universities, 42 colleges and 33 technical schools.

Although the 1940 figures on their development are not yet compiled, the number of middle schools in the interior province was increased from 1,896 in 1937 to 1,973, while the enrolment rose from 289,948 to 489,414.

Regarding the literary movement in China in four years of war, we take the following passages from the Bulletin for July 21 & 28, 1941 :

The military phase of China's resistance against aggression has another side. On this side of the war are Chinese writers fighting with their pens.

Nationalism characterised many literary productions during that period. There was a widespread condemnation of the weak-kneed non-resistance policy and a general admiration for the bravery and heroism of the Chinese guerillas in the Four North-Eastern provinces. Representative works in which these sentiments are embodied include two plays, "The Death of Captain Lee" by Ouyang Yu-ching and "The Melody of Spring" by Tien Han, and two novelets, "Expectation" by Wang Ping-ling and "The Countryside in August" by Hsiao Chun.

Hsiao Chun is one of a large group of young Chinese writers who came to the interior of China from Manchuria shortly after September 18, 1931. To them, dear old Manchuria was a sweet home, lost but bound to be regained. These emotions of theirs are vented in such novelets as "The Land of Life and Death" by Hsiao Hung, "The Orphan without a Fatherland" by Shu Chun and "By the Side of Hulan River."

The statement made by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at Lushan (Kuling) immediately after the Lukouchiao Incident on July 7, 1937 was a historic document. He mobilized the nation's armed forces and with them China's men of letters. Chinese writers, authors, poets, novelists and playwrights in Shanghai and Nanking began to organize themselves. They went to the fronts and composed poems and songs under gunfire. Mobile dramatic troupes came into being like mushrooms and courted death staging patriotic performances behind the firing lines.

Literary efforts during that early stage in China's resistance were mainly directed towards arousing the people's patriotism and stressing national unity and solidarity against Japanese aggression.

Stronger unity and solidarity came into the ranks of China's literature with the inauguration of the China National Literary Resistance Federation in Hankow on March 27, 1938. The manifesto issued by the Federa-

tion was written in four languages, Chinese, English, French and Russian.

Besides publishing a monthly magazine entitled "Resistance and Literary Arts," the China National Literary Resistance Federation, sponsored literary discussion meetings from time to time. Representatives were sent out to organize branches in various parts of the country.

The Federation also compiled several kinds of "folk literature," reading matter suitable for the common people and pamphlets and booklets for the front line soldiers.

Working in close co-operation with the Federation was the Society of Literary Arts which, among other things, was instrumental in securing and editing the twelve best war songs solicited from contributors.

India's Minimum Demand: Equal Status With Britain and Dominions and Immediate National Government at Centre

In response to the appeal issued by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya a public meeting of the citizens of Allahabad was held on the 14th September last with Sir Wazir Hasan in the chair. The following resolutions were carried unanimously:

Resolved (1) that by reason of the inherent justice of India's claim for freedom which she has long been pressing for and in view of the world-wide international critical situation and also of the imminent dangers to which India is exposed by the development of war both in the west and in the east of her frontiers, we the residents of Allahabad, in public meeting assembled, demand of the British Government that it should make immediately an unequivocal declaration that at the end of the war India shall cease to be a dependency of Britain and that her status shall be one of equality with Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand and also that Britain will adopt measures necessary to give effect to such a declaration as early as practicable after the war.

(2) That this meeting places on record its great dissatisfaction that at a time of an unprecedentedly grave national crisis the administration of this vast country is being conducted in several provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 without the co-operation of the representatives of the people.

(3) That this meeting demands that during the period of the war a representative national Government on the lines of the Poona Non-Party Leaders' Conference should be formed at the centre without delay.

(4) That a policy should be adopted by Government which should have the effect of responsible Government being restored in the provinces where it is not functioning.

(5) That this meeting views with grave dissatisfaction the statement made by the British Premier in regard to the Indian question. It displays a complete lack of sympathy with India's political aspirations and indicates unwillingness on the part of Great Britain to part with power.

(6) That to ease the political situation and to facilitate the restoration of normal conditions the Government should release all political prisoners.

These resolutions, and the same and similar resolutions passed at other public meetings in other places, embody India's minimum demand. It would be wise and statesmanlike on the part of the British Government to meet these demands. But there is no hope that that Government will be so wise. It appears to us inevitable that when the war is over, India will have to engage in a non-violent struggle for freedom unprecedented in its strenuousness. That it will call for the utmost sacrifice on the part of the non-violent fighters for freedom and entail endless sufferings, appears to us evident. For, flushed with victory, Britain will not easily yield.

That the struggle will have to begin only after the termination of the war, all who are for such a struggle will agree. At present nothing should be done which may prevent Britain from making the utmost war-effort. It is true Britain is democratic only so far as the British people and other white peoples are concerned and undemocratic as regards other peoples. But Nazi Germany is not democratic either at home or abroad. She is undemocratic with regard to both white and non-white peoples. So it is better that Britain which is partially democratic should be victorious over Germany which is entirely undemocratic.

Though our non-violent struggle will have to begin after the war, the spirit of resistance of our people should be kept up. This is being done by the individual civil disobedience movement carried on under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, which may be called "token" civil disobedience and is the least embarrasing to the Government compatible with the spirit of national self-respect and resistance.

Congress Not Concerned With Elections Postponement Bill

WARDHA, Sept. 13.

"The Congress being engaged in direct action is not bothered about these insignificant doings of the Government," declared Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of A.-I. C. C. when interviewed by the *Associated Press* on the passing of the India and Burma Postponement of Elections Bill in the House of Commons recently.—*A. P.*

We can understand Acharya Kripalani's point of view. But as the Congress is engaged in a sort of "token" direct action and as he has taken notice of some of the utterances of Mr. Amery, etc., there would have been no harm if Congressmen took note of and had their say on the Bill in question.

Dr. Paranjpye's Warning Against Dictatorship

NAGPUR, Sept. 13.

"I cannot help saying that the present tendency of our country, especially the political parties, is towards

dictatorship. The Congress has a dictator in Mr. Gandhi and the Muslim League in Mr. Jinnah," said Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Liberal leader, at a public meeting. Dr. Paranjpye has come to Nagpur this afternoon on a three-day visit. Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University, presided.

If, continued Dr. Paranjpye, the tendency towards dictatorship went further and further, they would be faced with a dictatorship in this country, possibly different from that of Germany and Italy in which a large body of citizens would have to say *yes* to whatever the dictators would say. The progress of the country on such lines was not worth obtaining. What he desired was democracy, rule by the people for the people.

Dictatorship, however, benevolent the dictator, was likely to lead the country on the wrong track. He said, that several people blamed the British Government for the present political situation. The British people, he said, never looked at a problem until it was too late. But the personal ambition of some leaders and Indian racial divisions were also among the causes for the present situation. He believed, however, that after the war India could not remain as she was now. Changes were bound to occur.—*A. P. I.*

Poojah Appeal of the Calcutta Orphanage

We support the following appeal of the Secretaries, Calcutta Orphanage, 12-1 Balaram Ghosh Street, Calcutta :

"The great national festival of the Hindus, the Durga Pooja, is approaching and the hearts of all children throughout Bengal will gladden by receiving presents of new clothes and shoes from their parents, relations and friends. We have got 146 children in the Calcutta Orphanage who have no parents or relations to think of them in this happy season. They look upon the generous public by whom they are being fed and clothed as their best friends and nearest relations. Most of the children are between 7 and 14 years of age, the rest are grown-up boys. Will you kindly make the little children of the Orphanage happy by sending them clothes, &c. (or money for the purchase of the same) and earn the deep gratitude of their little hearts and the blessings of God?

"Any gift or donation for the purpose will be thankfully received and acknowledged by any of the undersigned.—The Secretaries."

Codification of Whole of Hindu Law About Women's Rights Demanded

A suggestion that the Government be requested to amend the 7th Schedule of the Government of India Act making succession to all kinds of property including agricultural land, a concurrent subject, was strongly put forth by Sir B. L. Mitter, Advocate-General of India, at a public meeting held on the 5th September last at the Kali Bari Hall, Simla, to discuss the recommendations of the Hindu Law Committee. The meeting was convened under the aegis of the All-India Women's Conference, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur presiding.

Speakers strongly urged the Government that piecemeal legislation was abmiguous and had done immense harm to the Hindu community. They emphasised that the Hindu Law relating to the rights of women should be codified. Sir B. L. Mitter made another suggestion. He said that the Hindu Law Committee should be kept alive to survey the whole field of Hindu Law with a view to reviewing the law to suit modern conditions.

The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution :

"This meeting fully endorses the main recommendation of the Hindu Law Committee, *viz.*, that the whole of Hindu Law relating to the rights of women should be codified. The codification should be based on the principle that men and women are equal in status with appropriate duties and rights. We understand that the Committee have already been instructed to undertake codification of the Law of Succession. While welcoming this beginning, we would urge upon Government the paramount necessity of proceeding apace with the work until the whole of Hindu Law has been codified. We agree with the Committee that piecemeal legislation is bad in principle and will lead nowhere."

This is a very reasonable resolution.

Death of Britain's Oldest Man

LONDON, Sept. 16.

Britain's oldest man, Mr. Alfred Charles Nunez Arnold died on Monday, aged 112, at a convalescent home at Woolton, Liverpool. He was a keen student of Yoga and attributed his long life and good health to the study of Yoga and "moderation in all things." Mr. Arnold who was left an orphan at an early age was brought up by an uncle in London. He was first destined to be an operatic singer, being a contemporary of Enny Lind. He then took up journalism touring the world and working for many newspapers. He was war correspondent in three wars and found himself in many tight corners. He spoke French, German, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese and was occasionally heard on the B. B. C. He was presented with two cigars by King Edward VII when he was Prince of Wales, had coffee and cake with Disraeli and tea with Charles Dickens. Mr. Arnold was until recently living in Saint Pancras Hospital in London but was evacuated to Liverpool during the battle of London. He celebrated his 112th birthday two months ago.—*Reuter.*

What has to be scientifically studied is whether the practice of *yoga* prolongs life and if so, what is the scientific reason for it.

"The International Development of China"

The China Publishing Company of Chungking and Hong Kong has reprinted Sun Yat-sen's *The International Development of China* from its second edition. It is a very important publication, which enables one to understand how New China came into being. The reprint con-

tains 16 maps in the text and a folding map at end. Besides the prefaces to the first and second editions, the book contains Sun Yat-sen's paper on the International Development of China, his six programs and conclusion and six appendices.

"*China After Four Years of War*"

The China Publishing Company of Chungking and Hong Kong has this year published another helpful book, entitled *China After Four Years of War.* It has been prepared under the auspices of The China Information Committee, Chungking. Besides a Foreword, its contents are: I. Prosecution of the War—(1) Army Gaining Strength, (2) Young Air Force in Action; II. Government and Democracy—(1) Chinese Political Structure, (2) Progress Towards Democracy; III. Reconstruction—(1) More Communication Lines, (2) New Industrial Bases, (3) Science for the Good Earth, (4) Rural Economy Revitalized, (5) Products for Foreign Markets, (6) Indusco's Steady Growth; IV. Wartime Administration—(1) Four Years of Financial Effort, (2) Advance in Education, (3) Health Work and Needs, (4) Millions for Relief; V. The Peoples Part—(1) China's Loyal Children Abroad, (2) A New Womanhood, (3) Chungking Battered But Unbowed.

This bare list of the contents of the book gives hints to our people as to how we ought to revitalize and reconstruct our society and country, though India is not now engaged in armed conflict with any invader.

"*China Fights Back*"

A third and very interesting, inspiring and attractive book which we have received from The China Publishing Company of Chungking and Hong Kong is *China Fights Back.* It is profusely and finely illustrated.

From it we take some excerpts from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's speeches.

"If a country is invaded by an enemy and lacks the will to resist, it does not merely suffer humiliation ; it commits a great sin."

"If we do not destroy ourselves, no outside force can destroy us."

"To submit is to court death while we live. To fight is to find life even though we die."

"Before we can overcome our difficulties, defeat our enemy, and realize the aims of our war of defense, we must heighten the morale of our people, fortify their determination, and mobilize their spiritual resources."

"Our strategy is not to lose sight of our major objectives by attending too closely to minor issues ; not to desert our long-term policy for the sake of momentary gains or losses."

"Refusal to compromise with aggression independence, self-reliance, moral integrity, respect for agreements, and fearlessness in the face of Might,—these are the foundation stones of our foreign policy. They are also essential elements of our revolutionary program and the main reasons for our strong confidence in victory. We will not be turned aside from our course by the winds of fortune in world affairs today but we will press steadily forward toward our chosen goal."

"China has from the very beginning believed that her armed resistance, while aimed directly at the preservation of her own freedom, independence, and national existence, is also indirectly helping to protect the rights, interests and future security of other countries in the pacific basin. We are fighting that our 450,000,000 people may escape slavery, and also that other countries may be freed from the necessity of defending their life and security by war with Japan."

"We are rapidly introducing national defence industries and light industries, and are developing our mineral and lumber resources. We are mobilizing the nation's technical skill and capital and are laying a sound and permanent foundation for our national economic life. Neither our military forces nor our people will be in want. Our enemy has not reckoned with our endurance as an agricultural nation, which will be a prime factor contributing to his defeat. Economically China is capable of protracted resistance and cannot be conquered."

Though the condition of China and the political situation there are not the same as ours, we have much to learn and lay to heart from each of the excerpts given above from the speeches of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.

Acharya Kripalani's Gandhi Jayanti Appeal

WARDHAGANJ, Sept. 16.

"On the seventy-third birthday the nation can do no greater honour to its leader and no greater service to the country than by pushing on constructive propaganda. Khadi and village industry as bringing hope and light to the poor must receive our special attention when we are in the midst of a grim struggle." Thus declared Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary, A.-I. C. C. in a Gandhi Jayanti appeal.

He added: "On this occasion let us bow in thankful prayer that our unfailing guide is in our midst for yet a while. May he live long enough to see his mission on peace and goodwill fairly on the way to success."—*A. P.*

We support this appeal and wish Gandhiji a long life with enjoyment of sound health.

Abdication of the Shah of Iran

The Shah of Iran has abdicated and the Crown Prince is to be the new ruler of the country. According to the Teheran radio, the cause of the Shah's abdication is said to be "ill health" and "weakness." That need not be disbelieved. No ruler of an independent country can enjoy sound health and remain strong, if his country is taken under the care of outside powers. It is said he communicated his difficulties to the British ambassador and sought his advice. The latter urged him to abdicate.

Reuters diplomatic correspondent learns that the Shah's abdication is likely to be followed by further developments. Not incredible.

The outgoing Shah's regime is said to have been unpopular. This is the first time that we hear of it. Our previous information hitherto was that he was the maker of New Iran. As for defects in the administration and popular grievances, we have still to know the country where these do not exist. It is to be hoped these are not new versions of some muddied stream. The Shah acted unwisely and weakly in allowing so many Germans to reside and find occupations in his country. That is sufficient cause for the joint occupation of his country by Britain and Russia. No other cause need be adduced and his reputation need not be further smudged.

"It is authoritatively stated that British and Russian forces in equal numbers are now moving towards Teheran."

(17th September, 1941.)

They have entered Teheran.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly chamber the Secondary Education Bill continued to be debated upon, while outside it negotiations were reported off and on to be going on for a compromise to be arrived at between the Government and the Opposition. Sometimes the report was that there was every hope of a settlement, sometimes that the negotiations had broken off, and again sometimes that they had been resumed. But whatever took place or was reported to be taking place outside the Assembly hall, within it the debate went on, amendments were moved, seconded, supported, opposed, voted upon and lost! This is a new kind of armistice or truce, allowing of both the fight and the negotiations for a settlement going on simultaneously! As the Bengal Assembly has been prorogued, the fate of the Bill remains undecided for the present.

Opposition to the Bengal Secondary Education Bill

Opposition to the Bengal Secondary Education Bill continues unabated, as it should. For if it became law, a very heavy blow would be struck at Bengal's education and culture and the growth and development of the Bengali language and literature would be seriously affected, if not indefinitely arrested.

The passage of the Bill into law would also mean a death-blow to the Calcutta University as it is.

As the Bengal Assembly has been prorogued, the opponents of the Bill should further strengthen their position.

"*Development of Gujarati Literature : A.D. 1907-1938*"

We are glad to note that the book whose name has supplied the caption for this note is about to be published. It is a reprint of the reviews of Gujarati books regularly contributed to *The Modern Review* by our dear and honoured friend Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., retired Judge of the Bombay High Court. The reviews have been classified and the reprint supplied with an Introduction and Indexes by Mr. M. R. Majmudar, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Gujarati, Baroda College and Post-Graduate Teacher and Research Scholar, University of Bombay.

This book would serve as a sort of survey of Gujarati literature during the three decades covered by it. Though it does not claim to be exhaustive, it promises to give a fairly good idea of the literary output in Gujarati during 1907-1938. We are not aware that any other Indian man of letters has rendered to the contemporaneous literature of his mother-tongue the service which the Diwan Bahadur has rendered to his. Nor, to our knowledge, has any other literary man produced a book like the one compiled by Mr. Majmudar.

Gujarati literature shows a wide range. The table of contents of Mr. Majmudar's book shows that the books published during the thirty years of Mr. Jhaveri's survey fall under the following classes :

Poetry (with subdivisions), Drama (with subdivisions), Dialogue, Novels (with subdivisions), Short Story (with subdivisions), Juvenile, Folklore, Biography (with subdivisions), Essay (with subdivisions), Literary Criticism, Wit and Humor, Religions (with subdivisions), Philosophy and Ethics, History and Topography, Economics, Politics, Sociology, Education,

Grammar, Lexicon, Speeches, Letters, Travels, Fine Arts, Sciences (with subdivisions), Special Issues, Reports, etc.

Common Scientific Terminology for Indian Languages

With regard to Tamil scientific terms *The Guardian* (Madras) of the 4th September last writes:

An influential meeting was held in Madras on Sunday (the 31st August) to protest against the proposal of the Madras Committee on Scientific Terminology to base scientific terms on Sanskrit so as to make them applicable to all South Indian languages. The Vice-Chancellor, Sir Muhammad Usman presided. He said that the purpose of making scientific terms understood by the people would not be served by substituting Sanskrit terms for English and Latin terms. The meeting resolved that a common terminology for all the Indian languages is impracticable and unnecessary; that a standardised list based on Sanskrit so as to serve all Dravidian languages cannot be carried out in the Tamil language and therefore a separate Tamil terminology should be drawn up for which more Tamil scholars should be included in the Madras Sub-Committee; that *Kalai Chorkal,* the list already in use and approved by the Governments and Universities in Madras, Ceylon and Travancore should form the basis of further work for Tamil terminology.

The Guardian then proceeds to comment on the topic as a subject of All-India import.

Bengal is another area where a similar protest has been raised. The major Indian languages began the work nearly three decades ago, whereas the proposal of an All-India terminology is hardly five years old. The earlier movement is part of the general movement of revival in every language and in mid career will not allow itself to be arrested by considerations extraneous to the movement. Mr. Rajagopalachariar, our ex-Premier, started the Tamil Scientific Terms Journal in 1916 or 1917 when he was a busy lawyer in Salem, long before he was seized by enthusiasm for Sanskrit as *lingua franca* and his terms for Physical Science are embodied in *Kalai Chorkal.* They have passed into text books and to a large extent have become familiar to Tamil pupils. He did not discard Sanskrit terms, where Tamil roots were not available and in the present text-books many English and Latin terms are also in use. The problem for every language is to standardise its own lists, of which many have sprung up owing to lack of co-ordination. When this has been achieved, Tamil and other local languages will have their own lists as part of their literary rejuvenation. It is an achievement greater and of more practical use, which they will not sacrifice for the minor advantages, from the popular point of view, of an all-India terminology. The superior merits of the latter will not be apparent so long as the question of a *lingua franca* is unsettled.

All-India efforts waver between Sanskrit and English as the basic list and have not emerged out of the experimental stage. If they are still immature, they might as well watch how the earlier assimilations in the local languages proceed. It might happen that in the end, words of most common usage are uniformly known throughout India, since their first appearance is through English and become familiar before its local or all India forms obtain currency.

Significance of Occupation of Iran

ZURICH, Aug. 30.

The Anglo-Russian occupation of Iran is regarded officially in Berlin as merely a success of prestige, says the Berlin correspondent of the *Basler Nachichten.* But neutral circles in Berlin consider that the British Empire has substantially strengthened its position in the Near East, particularly as regards the delivery of American war material by air and ships to Russia. It is argued that Germany may very soon be obliged to apply counter blockade measures to a fresh route and neutral circles in Berlin are inclined to expect from the resulting diversion of German U-boats a favourable development for Britain in regard to the Atlantic routes.

Holland Occupied, But the Dutch Remain Unconquered

LONDON, Aug. 30.

Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands was the central figure today (Saturday) in one of the most dramatic and one of the biggest "Hook-ups" in radio history. Sitting alone in a simply furnished drawing-room near a Thames side town she heard representative Hollanders from every quarter of the world repeat their oath of allegiance and renew their pledge to fight for Holland's freedom. This world wide tribute was in celebration of the Queen's 61st birthday which falls to-morrow (Sunday). The broadcast opened with the roll of drums which was the world-wide signal for hoisting the Netherlands flag everywhere.

Thereafter Prince Bernhardt pronounced the Netherlands oath. He spoke to Dutch warships at sea to Dutch merchantmen, the Dutch Legion in Britain and to Princess Juliana now in Canada, Princess Juliana replying declared: "Not for centuries had the feeling of unity among Hollanders been stronger than in these years of oppression."

Replies came too from the Netherlands East Indies, Canada, North and South America, South Africa, Dutch military camps in Britain and overseas from Dutch warships and merchantmen at sea.—*Reuter.*

This indomitable spirit should characterize all peoples whose country is under foreign occupation.

In revenge the Nazis have seized all the property of Queen Wilhelmina and of living members of the House of Orange Nassau in the Netherlands.

Dacca "Riots" Enquiry

The Dacca "Riots" Enquiry is dragging its ponderous length along days, weeks, fortnights, months,......Its end is not yet in sight. After its conclusion, some time will be taken in preparing the report and submitting it to the Government of Bengal, which will then consider it.

Indo-Polish Association's Homage to Rabindranath Tagore

The Indo-Polish Association, of which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was the Honorary President, mourned the passing away of the Poet at

a meeting held at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta, on the 17th September last. There was a large attendance of Indians and Europeans.

In offering his homage to the memory of the Poet, Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who presided, said that Rabindranath shed a glorious illumination on the age and in his death an epoch seemed to have ended. Tagore was the typical and the greatest representative they had had of India's culture.

Times without number, the speaker continued, Tagore had insisted in his writings on the primariness of the spirit. He had made it clear that man lived not merely by feeding his body like animals; he lived for a higher purpose, for certain impersonal things, for things of Truth and Beauty and things which exalted the whole nature of man. That must be regarded as the true function and the true destiny of the human being and if today the world found itself in this abnormal condition, it was because they had forgotten those values and worshipped power, worshipped wealth and were victims of a colossal development of human greed and selfishness and unless this sickness that was inward and which expressed itself in outward conflict, unless this inward malady was remedied, there was no hope for humanity.

Rabindranath had called their mind to the fundamental truth of the spirit and had pointed out that if India was still alive, it was not because her political possessions were great or her economic conditions were very fortunate, it was because in spite of the political vicissitudes through which it had passed it had produced men who bore witness to the final values of life.

These great souls were like shadows of God cast upon the world. They bore witness to a higher sense of value even if they happened to live in a world consumed physically with hate and fear. At a time when the values of the spirit were being assailed, it was their duty to stand up and bear testimony to the supreme values which could not be surpassed by the passing values of life.. That was the great message for which Tagore stood and worked all his life and all his works bore immortal testimony to the truth of the value of the spirit that had come down to them.

Tagore had left them but his immortal message was there. It was for them to live up to it and work for those great ideas with which the future of humanity was bound up, Sir Sarvapalli concluded.

Dr. Miss Maryla Falk, Honorary Secretary of the Indo-Polish Association, said that there was nationwide mourning in Poland at the passing away of Poet Tagore.

There was wide appreciation of Rabindranath's works in Poland. In *Gitanjali,* the people of Poland found what had come to them from the spiritual inheritance of their nation. The people of Poland had found sister India through *Gitanjali,* and they loved India in Rabindranath.

In offering his homage Dr. Amiya Chakravarty said:

We have met here to record our sorrow at the death of the world's Poet.

This gathering which represents many countries—especially Poland and India—is a symbol of human relationship made more living for us by the Poet's own life. We stand in the light of an emerging civilisation which he has revealed to us through his vision.

For suffering peoples of today, he felt intense agony and yet he never lost faith in their ultimate freedom in humanity. He knew that victim and victor—as they are called—will find a new path together so that man may not perish. Towards the discovery of that path he gave his great gifts. He laboured, and has left us the legacy of work to be fulfilled. His songs remain for us for all time.

To the poet of divine humanity, to the dreamer of truth we offer our sorrowing reverence. Through our imperishable pride and joy in him, we take upon ourselves the challenge of this Age.

Motives Behind Secret Official Move For Revising India's Constitution

Dr. Hirdaynath Kunzru, Liberal leader, speaking at a public meeting held in Allahabad on the 16th September last under the presidentship of Pandit P. N. Nehru, asserted that "secret official methods" were being adopted by the Government to prepare the ground for the revision of the constitution of India. Said he:

The changes which the Government desired to introduce were directed towards two purposes. First, the establishment of functional representation, and second, irremovable executive. What is the purpose of these changes? he asked. It had been said that the motive that inspired these proposals was the establishment of communal amity in India. But, the speaker asked, will functional representation induce the minority to say that they did not want separate electorate or give up other privileges they had gained? The Executive, whether removable or irremovable, could not alter the political situation by an iota. If the irremovable Executive meant that it will be appointed by the Governor-General, then it implied that they did not want to part with power. Pandit Kunzru opined that neither functional representation nor irremovable Executive afforded any solution of the communal problem. The main reasons why these changes were contemplated were, in Pandit Kunzru's view, two, (1) establishment of equal representation for Hindus and Muslims and (2) to keep ultimate power in British hands. Pandit Kunzru said that no political party would accept such changes. Pandit Kunzru said that in order to resolve political deadlock, there must be change of heart on the part of the British Government, secondly, the demand of the Bombay Conference for National Government at the Centre should be accepted.

Proceeding Pandit Kunzru exhorted the people to unite at this juncture.

Functional representation has been introduced in the Nizam's dominions in order to reduce the overwhelming Hindu majority to a position of nominal equality but real inferiority to the Muslims who form only 10 or 12 per cent. of the population there. Sir Akbar Hydari is believed to have been the author of the Hyderabad functional representation scheme. His services as a member of the Viceroy's Expanded Executive Council are probably to be utilized for the sinister purpose of making the Hindu majority in India, who are also the most public-spirited

and the most advanced in education and culture, powerless in the administration of the country. by the introduction of functional representation.

What is required is not any stable communal majority or minority, but political or politico-economical majorities or minorities whose communal composition may vary from time to time, as they do in all democratic countries.

British imperialists will naturally adopt all the sinister dodges which they can think of in order that they can continue to be the rulers of India for its further exploitation after the war. Their evil designs can be foiled only by a powerful combination of all liberty-loving persons in India, to whatever race, community, class, or caste they may belong.

Sir George Schuster Urges Establishment of National Government in India

LONDON, Sept. 16.

Fresh light on the problems of India is thrown in an important book, published today by Sir George Schuster and Mr. Guy Wint, under the title *India and Democracy*. The book is a critical and constructive analysis of the Indian problem, and takes the form of a report on the actual conditions in India, written by Mr. Wint after two years devoted to studying the subject on the spot, together with discussion and interpretation by Sir George Schuster, of the economic, social and constitutional tasks facing Britain and India.

The main thesis of Sir George Schuster's contribution is that the Indian problem should be approached not from the point of view of political manoeuvring but from the point of consideration of what are the real tasks of an Indian National Government, in order to ensure the welfare of the people of India themselves. Sir George Schuster emphasises that much of what is necessary can only be done by an Indian National Government, rather than by an official one, and it is on this ground, he desires to see an Indian National Government established as quickly as possible.—*Reuter*.

That India requires a national government and that it is only a national government that can do for India what is necessary for the country's regeneration and salvation are commonplaces of Indian politics. British statesmen and publicists should, however, understand that a government of which the personnel is Indian will not necessarily be a national government. If the personnel be chosen by or under the control of foreigners in power, such a national government may very easily be worse than a government by British bureaucrats, as the present Bengal ministry's rule is worse than the previous British civilians' rule. To make the government truly national, its personnel—of course Indian—must be chosen by joint electorates of Indians after doing away with sinister devices like the so-called Communal 'Award.'

The Communal Decision Must Go

The Bombay and Poona Non-party Leaders' Conference resolutions seemed by their silence on the subject to have accepted the Communal Decision for the time being. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was silent on the point in his circular letter to prominent people in different parts of India, requesting them to call meetings on the 14th September and passing there resolutions like those suggested by him in the letter. The Indian National Congress has practically accepted the Communal Decision.

But no one in or outside Bengal should forget that Bengal has not accepted it and will never be reconciled to it. People may consider Bengal weak. But Bengal is a part of India, and the weakness of a part makes the whole weak. India can never be strong if any part of it, be it even unpopular and disliked Bengal, remains neglected and weak.

There can be no peace in India so long as there is no peace in Bengal, and there can be no peace in Bengal so long as the Communal Decision is not knocked on the head.

The Secret of Swiss Freedom

The people of Switzerland celebrated the 650th Anniversary of Swiss Independence on the 1st of August, 1941. What a glorious anniversary! There is an article in the August number of *The Catholic World* of New York on "The Secret of Swiss Freedom," by Elizabeth Sharp, to commemorate that event.

The article begins by telling the reader:

Freedom is that glorious thing for which human beings never tire of laying down their lives. It has been valiantly fought for from the beginning of history. And now again a terrible struggle is being carried on for the cause of freedom. Democracy, the guardian of freedom, is gravely imperiled. Those who doubt the means of preserving democracy and freedom, need only focus their attention on the very center of the whirlpool, there to find a free and firm democracy rising on the rocky promontory of the Alps: Switzerland.

That small country celebrates this month six hundred and fifty years of independence. Wedged in between mighty and rapacious neighbors, the Swiss have succeeded in maintaining their integrity, every time seizing weapons to defend that integrity when challenged. Speakers and writers have been at a loss to explain the secret of Swiss independence.

Switzerland is not only a small country but its population also is small—less than five millions. And these people are free. As regards the secret of their independence,

Generally, the tunnels of Switzerland have been accepted as the answer in the present conflict. This is true to a great extent. The great mountain passes St. Gothard, Simplon, Loetschberg, concrete and steel proofs of Swiss engineering skill, are the commercial and possible military links between Switzerland and her neighbors.

These, as well as every bridge and track on the borders are heavily mined, watched only by the most trustworthy men, and can be blown up at a moment's notice. The St Gothard, especially, is a vital coal route between Switzerland's two great foes, Germany and Italy.

But the threat alone to blow up the tunnels is not the only preserver of Swiss freedom.

And in this age of aerial flying and fighting mountain barriers and mined tunnels cannot suffice to afford that protection which they did in previous ages.

The writer finds the secret of Swiss freedom firstly in the genuine and vigorous piety of the Swiss.

First of all, I accredit the genuine and vigorous piety of the Swiss as being the sustainer of their love of freedom. It is only natural that a man who loves God also loves his country. Swiss patriotism is deep-seated, fierce and undying. It is born in the very marrow of them all, including the few irreligious ones, being handed down in their pious heritage. Every Swiss whom I have known or heard of, possessed a great love for freedom and for the Alps; it is doubtful which love was stronger: they were so inextricably entwined.

The secret of Swiss freedom lies, in the second place, in their "unshaken unity."

The second reason I give for the preservation of their freedom is this unity, a thing which was deplorably absent in every one of the present vanquished countries of Europe. It seems especially surprising among the Swiss, who are composed since the Napoleonic Wars not only of the original Swiss, but also of French and Italians. But the foreigner must remember, that these descendants of Italians and French refuse to be anything but Swiss. Swiss they all are, and Swiss they remain.

Some people think that Indians cannot be united because they do not speak one language But in little Switzerland four languages are spoken: German, French, Italian and Romansch. And still the Swiss are one united people.

The army is the third means of preservation of their freedom. The Swiss have no particular love for the hardships of strict training, but they nevertheless consider it their duty and an irreplaceable honor to serve . . . . the Swiss recognize the one-hundred-year-old compulsory military training to be the true basis for democracy.

As for Swiss democracy, the army is its foundation. The General-in-Chief himself is only a farmer in private life. Not wealth, but efficiency is what counts.

In the writer's opinion the fourth support of their freedom is business acumen.

In spite of their fine army and their fighting spirit, however, the Swiss could hardly have maintained independence so long without their business acumen, the fourth support of their freedom. The Swiss can govern themselves very adequately. They inhabit a land which is almost barren of the necessities of life. In preserving their freedom they have not only displayed bravery but also ingenuity. They have established a commerce which they manipulate to enormous profits. The raw materials they must import are manufactured and exported, equaling those of England, Belgium and Holland in quality. The Swiss machine industry is world-renowned, not to mention the chocolate, silk and cheese. Wages in Switzerland are high, and the standard of living is admirable.

And now, on the eve of the six hundred and fiftieth anniversary of their independence, the Swiss treasure the secret of their freedom: their piety, their unity, their army, their business ability. Their courage is inspired by their faith in God, their love of freedom, and their successful defense of liberty down through the centuries.

Passing of Octogenarian Professor and Advocate

Mr. Narendra Lal Dey, an eminent Advocate of the Calcutta High Court, well-known professor, educationist and linguist, breathed his last in his Calcutta residence at 152, Amherst Street, on Saturday, the 13th September, 1941.

Mr. Narendra Lal Dey, the second son of late Dr. Chandra Kumar Dey, the first M.D. of the Calcutta University, was born at Rishra on 11th September, 1858. He passed his B.A. and M.A. Examinations simultaneously in the year 1879. The very next year he passed the B.L. Examination.

In his college life, he was classmate of late Lord Sinha, Sir Devaprasad Sarbadicary and Dr. Heremba Chandra Maitra. After finishing his University career he joined the staff of the General Assembly's Institution, now the Scottish Church College, where he lectured nearly on every subject, such as English, Mathematics, History, Chemistry, Physics, Latin and French. He was a honorary fellow of the Calcutta University upto his death.

He resigned from the College in 1891 and joined the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, where he enjoyed a wide popularity and lucrative practice. He was the President of the Bar Association from 1912 to 1936, when he retired from the court and led a peaceful life and utilised his time in constant and intensive study of his favourable subjects, like Latin and Mathematics. He was very charitably disposed and helped many poor students, but was always unostentatious. In his time he led the Bar and was always loved and respected by the Bench as a fearless and independent exponent of truth. He never wanted to come in the limelight of public approbation.

Prorogation of Bengal Assembly to Tide Over Ministerial Crisis

The ministerial crisis which the six no-confidence motions against Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy foreshadowed remains suspended for the present. The motion which could not be moved in the Bengal Assembly on the 16th September last on

account of the abrupt adjournment of the House by the Deputy Speaker will not be considered at all this session, as the Bengal Assembly was prorogued on the 19th September last.

The following press *communiqué* was issued from Government House on the 17th September last:

"A meeting was held at Government House this afternoon, His Excellency presiding, at which the following, Hon'ble Ministers and Leaders of Political Parties were present:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq (Chief Minister).

The Hon'ble Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, K.C.I.E. (Home Minister).

The Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Roy (Revenue Minister).

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose—Leader, Forward Bloc.

Mr. Kiran Sankar Roy—Leader, Congress Party.

Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed—Leader, Krishak Praja Party.

Mr. W. A. M. Walker—Leader, European Group.

Mr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee—Hindu Mahasabha.

His Excellency announced to the Conference that the decision to prorogue the Assembly on the 18th September was provisionally taken in Darjeeling last June, and was confirmed by him on the 11th of this month.

The leaders of the parties present agreed that, in view of the close proximity of the Puja holidays and in view of the fact that the important items of business pending with the Assembly cannot be disposed of within the time available in a manner consistent with the rights and privileges of the legislature, His Excellency's previous decision should be adhered to. His Excellency also informed the Conference that it was his desire to summon the Assembly in November next."

New Independent Republic In Syria

JERUSALEM, Sept. 17.

It was officially announced in Damascus that General Catroux, Free French Commander-in-Chief in the Levant, has accepted the resignation of the Syrian Government and invited Sheikh Taj Eddin Al Hassani to form the new administration.

In exchange of letters just made public between General Catroux, Free French Commander-in-Chief in the Levant and the Syrian, Sheikh Taj Eddin Al Hassani, General Catroux declared that the hour had come for the Free French to realise the promise given by the Allies to end the mandate and accord sovereignty and independence to Syria. He proposed that Sheikh should accept the presidency of a new republic to include the Ministers of Defence and Foreign Affairs.

Accepting the mission, Sheikh declared his intention of cementing the ties of friendship with Free France. In his first declaration as President, Sheikh said, "We have entered today into the circle of the great allied democracies."—*Reuter*.

We congratulate Free France on this act of justice and Syria on attaining freedom and independence.

It is to be regretted that Britain has not the sense of justice to allow India to be free.

A New League of Nations? To Hoodwink India?

LONDON, Sept. 17.

An Allies' "League of Nations" has been formed in London and will one day help to shape a new Europe.

The official title is "London International Assembly, formed under the auspices of the International Committee of the League of Nations Union," and its purposes are stated as to "serve the common cause of all those nations resisting aggression by providing opportunities for the people from Great Britain and each of the Allies and associated nations to understand more fully each other's history, economic development, institutions, way of life and national aspirations and consider principles of post-war policy and application of those principles to problems of national and international reconstruction."

The President is Viscount Cecil and the Honorary Vice-Presidents include M. Simopoulos, the Greek Minister to London, Prof. Rene Cassin (Free France), Dr Jan Masaryk (Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia) and M. Gezeri (Poland).

The following countries are being invited to become members: Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Free France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, India, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa, the United States, Russia and Yugoslavia.—*Reuter*.

In this new League of Nations, as in the old, India is to be "represented" by the nominee or nominees of the British Government of India, whereas the other states are to be represented by delegates chosen by their peoples, and the nominee or nominees of the Government of India will have to vote as ordered by the British Government. For these high privileges, India will, of course, have to contribute towards the expenses of the new League.

In this new League, as in the old, Britain will have more votes than any other Member State, as Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, and South Africa will ordinarily side with her. So this new League of Nations appears to be a British Imperialist device. It will enable British statesmen to tell the world that equality of status has been generously conceded to India

Bengal Office Hours To Be Changed

The Government of Bengal have decided to observe in all Government offices in Bengal, from October 1, a time one hour in advance of the present Indian Standard Time. For purposes of reference, this time will be known as "Bengal Time" and to give effect to this decision, clocks will be advanced at midnight on the night of September 30/October 1.

A resolution published in the Calcutta Gazette states that in view of the lighting restrictions, now in force in the City and its suburbs, the Government of Bengal are anxious that the number of persons who have to be transported after night fall through the streets of Calcutta should be kept as low as possible. It is essential, therefore, to arrange that the great bulk of office workers are released at least one hour before sun-set. One measure that will contribute materially towards this end is the advancement of the clock.

The Pope Declines to Pronounce Anti-Nazi War Just

NEW YORK, Sept. 17.

According to the *New York Times* Rome correspondent the Pope gave a polite " no " to a request from President Roosevelt conveyed through Mr. Myron Taylor, the President's personal envoy to the Holy See, that the Pope should declare war against Nazism as a just war.

It is understood, however, that the Pope's reply is so worded as not to indicate favour towards the Nazis. The letter from President Roosevelt to the Pope is understood to be long and cordial and contained a promise that the United States would do all in its power to restore religious liberty in Russia after the war.

The Pope's reply—even longer than President Roosevelt's—contained many cordial words to the President and the American people. The Pope's problem appears to have been inability to take sides and his unwillingness on doctrinal grounds to consider any war "just."—*Reuter*.

If, as the cable would lead one to infer, the Pope is on doctrinal grounds unwilling to consider *any* war just, then his doctrine is the same as or similar to, or approximates Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of ahimsā or non-violence.

Ban on English Translation of Tagore's Russia Letters

There has been some agitation regarding the Bengal Government's prohibition of any English translation of Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali letters on Russia, entitled " Rāshiār Chithi." The real and exact facts relating to these letters and the prohibition of the translation of any of them into English do not appear to be known to those who have written on the subject.

The letters, embodying the results and experiences of the Poet's tour in Russia, originally appeared in Bengali in the Bengali magazine *Prabāsī* serially. Subsequently they were published in book form by Visva-Bharati in an illustrated edition. This book has gone through two editions. When the letters were appearing in *Prabāsī* and subsequently when they were republished in book form, not the least objection was raised by the Bengal Government to their publication. This attitude was entirely right. The letters were also translated into Hindi under the auspices of the Hindi magazine *Vishāl Bhārat* and published in book form. This Hindi edition is also on sale and has not received any adverse attention.

Mr. Sasadhar Sinha, Ph.D. (London), who has been doing book selling and publishing business in London for years and who has occasionally contributed scholarly and interesting articles to *The Modern Review*, translated one of the letters in *Rāshiār Chithi* into English from the original Bengali. This translation of his was published in *The Modern Review* for June , 1934, with Rabindranath Tagore's permission. It was now that the Russia Letters attracted the attention of the bureaucrats presiding over the destiny of the country, and the editor of *The Modern Review* was ordered not to publish translations of any more of these letters. He brought the matter to the notice of Major D. Graham Pole, Honorary Secretary to the British Committee on the affairs of India and Burma. A question was asked in the House of Commons on the subject. The then Under-Secretary of State for India gave the curious answer that before the above-mentioned particular letter had been translated into English, the Letters had not attracted any attention and were little read ! He thought that an English translation of the Letters would arouse dissatisfaction with British rule in India. Of course, but for the publication of such letters the classes and masses in India would have been and were quite satisfied with British rule.

It is only stupendous ignorance of the position and influence of Indian authors in general and of Rabindranath in particular which could embolden a British bureaucrat in London to imagine that any writings of Rabindranath on Russia in Bengali and their translation into Hindi could fail to arouse interest and to be read by thousands upon thousands, and that in spite of the fact that *Prabāsī* occupies the foremost position among Bengal's periodicals and has thousands of readers.

We do not know that, except the letter which appeared in translation in *The Modern Review*, any others of the Russia Letters were ever translated into English or that any complete English translation of them ever appeared in book form.

Ethiopian Emperor Abolishes Slavery

LONDON, Sept. 18.

Slavery has been abolished in Abyssinia by Emperor Haile Selassie and the Ethiopian Government in Addis Ababa has issued a statement to that effect.

The Emperor who had long wanted to emancipate his subjects took the first step some years ago but his reforms which were to be gradual were interrupted by the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. On his return to Abyssinia, says the *New Times and Ethiopia News*, the Emperor decided that the time had arrived when he could enact the law abolishing the legal status of slavery. The process of emancipation will be gradual so as not to create chaos in the social system. Under the new law, a master may retain his slave if the slave so desires it but every slave may without legal formality assert his freedom and his master cannot prevent him doing so or recapture him.

It will end the *gabbar* or serf system where as reward for service to Government or in part payment of salaries,

Government officials or soldiers and Government employees will receive pay and rations only.—*Reuter.*

The Emperor and his people are to be congratulated on the step he has taken.

He will be expected by lovers of progress all over the world to introduce universal education in his country and to give it a popular modern constitution, himself becoming its first constitutional monarch.

The Late Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan

By the death of Bijoy Chand Mahtab, Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, Bengal has lost her premier nobleman. He belonged to a family which was originally of Panjabi extraction but settled in Bengal for centuries. Though he was a zealous upholder of the rights and privileges of the class of landholders in Bengal of whom he was the foremost, he joined the ranks of the Progressives in the field of politics. He was a man of wide culture and could think for himself. He was for a time an able Executive Councillor of the Bengal Government. In 1926 he attended the Imperial Conference as a representative of the Government of India. He took great interest in the literature of his mother tongue and was the author of some Bengali books and the composer of some Bengali songs. The Bengali Literary Conference at Burdwan over which the late Mahāmahopādhyaya Haraprasad Sastri presided, was convened there at his instance, and he was the chairman of its reception committee. He bore all the expenses of the session and read a fine address in his powerful voice. At the Non-party Leaders' Conference at Bombay he supported the resolution moved by Sir N. N. Sircar asking for the establishment of a National Government at the Centre. He resided long in England and perhaps had a mind to take part in its politics.

Regarding the religious views of the late Maharajadhiraj Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhusan, the distinguished philosophical writer, writes, in part, in *The Indian Messenger* of the 7th September, 1941 :

> I owe it to myself and the Sadharan Brahma Samaj, to which I belong, to speak on the active interest which the late Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan took in Brahmaism and the Brahma Samaj during one period of his life. In 1907, he had a Secretary, named Pasupati Chatterji, who was a Brahma and a friend of mine. He was the son of one of the four Brahmanas who were sent to Benares by Maharshi Devendranath Thakur to study the Vedas. He came one day to tell me that the Maharajadhiraj would be glad to see me. Accordingly, I accompanied him one day to the Vijay Manzil, the Maharajadhiraj's Alipur residence. I was very kindly received by him. In the course of the conversation which followed, the Maharajadhiraj assured me that he had become a Brahma, an *anusthanik* Brahma, as he did not take any part in idolatrous ceremonies. He also told me that he would like to help the preaching of Brahmaism in his Zemindari by appointing a missionary in every village. I informed him that the number of our missionaries was very small, so that if he wanted a large number, a college should be founded to prepare missionaries. The Maharajadhiraj liked the idea and wished to take the advice of our leaders on the subject. Accordingly, Pandit Sivanath Sastri with Dr. Hemchandra Sarkar and myself, saw him at his local residence and also paid a visit to Burdwan, where we preached in the local Samaj and addressed a public meeting at the local town hall. Very soon the proposed College was established in a hired house in Beadon Street. A College Cimmittee with about half a dozen members including Pandit Sastri and Principal Herambachandra Maitra, and Dr. Sarkar as Secretary, was also appointed. We met the Maharajadhiraj at the Vijay Manzil once every week. Of the College, the teachers, all paid, were Principal Govindanath Guha, who taught Sanscrit Grammar, Dr. Sarkar, who taught Brahma doctrines, and myself, who taught the *Upanishads* and the Philosophy of Brahmaism.

Bengali Texts At I. C. S. Training Camp

There is an I.C.S. Training Camp at Dehra Dun where, among other things, junior I.C.S. men learn some of the languages of India. We understand that at present those who learn Bengali have to do so from four stories published ten years ago in a Bengali children's magazine named "Sisu-Sāthī" ("child's companion") and four chapters from a Bengali domestic novel named "Svarnalatā." We are not concerned here with the merits of the children's magazine in question, nor with the stories selected from it. But it strikes us as very absurd that for grown-up men wishing to learn a language stories meant for children should be selected. There are plenty of stories in Bengali written for grown-up persons and by very famous writers, too. We would suggest that some stories by Rabindranath Tagore be selected for the purpose. Bengali is at present written in two forms, namely, the one generally used in writing books, and the other used in conversation but for some years past used in books also. Rabindranath Tagore has used both these forms to perfection. Both should and can be taught from Rabindranath Tagore's writings. If for any reasons the authorities want to teach Bengali to the I.C.S. probationers from juvenile books, there are many to choose from that illustrious author. There is no Bengali author who has written so many and such excellent really juvenile books.

As for novels, here again the authorities can select some novel written by Rabindranath Tagore to teach both "spoken Bengali" and "literary Bengali" (known as "sādhu bhāshā"). It will not be difficult to select some book which is entirely free from politics.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee wrote a very few short stories. One or more of them may be chosen, and some novel of his free from politics may also be chosen. But we think the idea is to teach quite modern Bengali, and that can be done by selecting some of the writings of Rabindranath Tagore. Not merely short stories or novels, but other kinds of writings of his there are which can be very effectively used for the purpose. There is no kind of literature which he has not adorned.

We have suggested mainly Rabindranath Tagore's writings. There are, no doubt, other good writers in Bengali literature. But when the very best is available, it is not the part of wisdom to choose anything of lower quality.

As for some grammar of the Bengali language, it would not be impossible to find some grammar written in English. The grammatical appendix to Sj. Rajsekhar Basu's dictionary *Chalantikā* may be adapted and may answer the purpose to some extent.

A Muslim "Speaker" on British Policy in India

PESHAWAR, Sept. 16.

"The policy of the British Government as regards India is wooden, barren and antedeluvian, as it was in the days of Montagu," says the Hon'ble Malik Khuda Bux, Speaker of the Frontier Legislative Assembly and a member of the National Defence Council, in the course of a statement today.

"In spite of the sacrifices which India is making in the present war and the fact that no embarrassment whatsoever is being caused to Government in these critical days, British statesmen," he says, "have undergone no change of heart. They are not prepared to make any unequivocal and definite declaration regarding the future status of India as a self-governing unit. This attitude of the British is rightly resented throughout the country." "Is it too much to hope that sense of justice now will prevail to lead British statesmen to declare freedom for India and also take some immediate steps to secure co-operation of great political parties by conceding real power to India?"—*A. P. I.*

Manufacture of Automobiles in India and Mr. Amery's Attitude

Mr. Walchand Hirachand has issued the following statement on the manufacture of automobiles in India and the Secretary of State's attitude thereto :

Judging from the cabled version of the Secretary of State's reply to Charles Ammon in regard to Indian Motor Industry, the attitude of the Secretary of State is indefensible. He speaks evasively as if the manufacture of automobiles is not a part of war effort. The responsibility of misleading him to this state of mind is that of the Government of India. The automobile scheme has actively been before the Government of India for the last five years. Since the outbreak of the war the promoters have modified their demands necessitated by war conditions and they have been urging upon the Government of India to treat the scheme as war effort because of the great part of the programme of mechanisation of the army has been playing. The Government of India, having failed in their duty towards India in the matter of industrialisation, are now trying to cloak their indifference by saying that the war is an obstacle in the way of starting this industry now. The Commerce Member is already making his plans to meet the post-war depression. When is India therefore going to have automobile industry then?

It cannot be forgotten that after the war broke out a big war order to the extent of 60,000 vehicles worth about 24 crores of rupees has been passed on to foreign manufacturers. The Indian tax-payer pays this amount but India has been denied the opportunity to start her own automobile industry and meet at least some percentage of war needs. It takes only about seven months in the normal course to erect an automobile factory with high priorities. If the Government of India had adopted a more reasonable and friendly attitude the position would entirely be different today.

Look at the picture in Canada and Australia. The Canadian and Australian Governments have under definite arrangement with Great Britain fostered the establishment of engineering factories for the manufacture of automobiles and automobile parts including complicated machinery as engines for aeroplanes. In the latter country which is not so well placed as India, aeroplanes are being manufactured and while in the case of the Bangalore factory we are only able to do assembling after so many months of negotiation with the Government of India. The Australian Government expended 1½ millions in bounties and giving facilities to stimulate the production of automobiles in that country.

The picture in India is different. The Government of India have actually obstructed and are still obstructing by putting up excuses which will not stand any examination by an impartial authority and by refusing to treat it as war potential particularly when the managing personnel, finance, labour and raw materials are available in plenty in this country.—*A. P.*

Bengal European's Protest Against Indo-Burma "Agreement"

A strong protest against the Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement was made by Mr. C. Griffiths, M.L.A., in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the 2nd September last.

In the course of his speech he said :

Finally, regarding our fighting forces, the Indian Army is referred to by Englishmen of mark, men associated with the *Daily Mail* including Viscount Rothermere, as the finest native force that has existed in the world, since Rome raised her provincial legions. India supplies two soldiers to every one the rest of the British Empire can place on the field. Burma needs Indian troops to protect her. So that she may enjoy Provincial Autonomy within the British Empire. Burma might accord a fair deal to all Indians who domicile there. These Indians are an asset to Burma. They develop the country adding to its wealth and prosperity and they do not exploit the country as is said by some.

Today, no country can stand selfishly isolated. It is necessary that the British Empire should stand united pooling and sharing its resources We must be prepared to accept the best and consider the question of domicile within every part of the Empire. If we are narrow and selfish-minded, we cause a division and destroy

ourselves making room for another Empire that can work on broader and more generous lines. United the Empire stands, divided she falls (Loud cheers and applause).

Why the Maharaja of Nepal Is "His Highness"

A correspondent writes from Bombay that he "was immensely interested to read the article in our last (September) number under the caption 'The Independent Hindu Kingdom,'" but he says he is puzzled why the "king" of an independent country is addressed as His Highness, not as His Majesty.

The answer lies in the kind of constitution which Nepal has. We quote below a few words from its description in The Statesman's Yearbook. "The Sovereign is His Majesty Maharajadhiraja Tribhuvana Bir Bikram Jung Bahadur Shah Bahadur Shumshere Jung ..... The government of Nepal is a military oligarchy. All power is in the hands of the Prime Minister, to whom it was permanently delegated by the Maharajadhiraja Surendra Bikram Shah under pressure of the Bharadārs or nobles of the State in 1867."

The Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, though the actual ruler, has the title of Maharaja and is addressed as His Highness, and the King of Nepal, who is called the Maharajadhiraja, is addressed as His Majesty. He reigns but does not rule.

Rabindranath Tagore As Letter-writer

In English there is only one volume of Rabindranath Tagore's letters, namely, his "Letters to a Friend". They partake, more or less, of the character of essays or discourses. All his real letters were written in Bengali. To Bengalis he never wrote letters in any other language but Bengali, excepting of course official letters to Bengali public servants.

There are three or four volumes of his Bengali letters, hitherto published. But they are a small portion of the total number of letters which he wrote. Nobody can say how many hundred or rather how many thousand letters he wrote. For his general practice was never to leave any letter unanswered. Whether the writer of a letter addressed to him was a total stranger or was known to him, did not matter. He would receive an answer in due course. If it was only a little boy, quite unknown to him, he would receive a reply. If it was a mere slip of a girl, quite unknown to him, she would get an answer. And even a few lines from his pen written on a post card partook of the character of literature.

The delicate and pervasive humour in many passages in many of his letters is delicious, and the moral fervour and high spirituality of his serious letters full of inspiration.

His general habit of answering all letters personally in his own hand continued till within the last two or three years of his life. Therefore the output of letters from his pen has been immense. Perhaps there is no special Tagore number or Poojah number of any Bengali newspaper or periodical this year which does not contain some letter or letters of Rabindranath Tagore. Some of them may or may not be important if only their matter or subject is considered, but always their style, their literary excellence, betrays their authorship.

The Tagore letters which have been appearing in *Prabāsī* from the beginning of the current Bengali year are remarkable not only for their style and literary merits, but also because they contain information relating to his life and opinions and glimpses of his personality which no hitherto published prose writings or poems of his contain. No biographer of Rabindranath Tagore and no literary appraiser of his works will be able to dispense with a study of them, if he wants to do justice to his subject.

It may be mentioned incidentally that *Prabāsī* has been publishing photographs of Rabindranath Tagore—either of himself alone or of himself in the midst of others—and those near and dear to him, some of which had never yet been published and a few of which relating to his childhood of which even the existence and whereabouts were hitherto unknown.

Government, Muslim Premiers, and Mr. Jinnah

In the triangular squabble between the Government, the provincial Muslim Premiers, and Mr. Jinnah (or the Muslim League), all the parties have been to blame.

Mr. Jinnah called upon the Muslim Premiers who were members of the Muslim League to give up their seats on the Defence Council on the ground that as the Muslim League had ruled that its members should not associate themselves with the Government's war-effort and as the Defence Council had something to do with the war, the Premiers who were members of the Muslim League should not be on the Defence Council.

But the Defence Council has nothing to do with "military." defence. Moreover, it has neither any power nor any responsibility associated with any power. The business of its mem-

bers is simply to listen to what the Viceroy may tell them once every two months and make known in their respective provinces what they have heard from His Excellency. If this be co-operation with the war-effort, it is very nominal and very indirect co-operation. On the other hand, the Premiers, particularly the Panjab Premier, have, ever since the outbreak of the war, been really and substantially helping the war-effort by obtaining recruits for the army and the labour force, by producing and procuring war materials and securing contributions to the war funds in various ways. Why did not Mr. Jinnah call upon them either to desist from aiding the war-effort in these ways or to resign from their premierships if they wanted to maintain their connection with the Muslim League? He had evidently swallowed a camel but was straining at a gnat.

As regards the three Muslim premiers, the parties of which they are leaders are not predominantly Muslim League parties. These parties consist of members of various groups. In fact, these premiers were not elected on Muslim League tickets. Mr. Fazlul Huq was returned after defeating a Muslim League candidate. The premiers were not returned to the Legislatures on the strength of their Muslim League following but on that of other following. For these reasons, their Ministries, which contain members of other communities and parties, cannot be considered Muslim League ministries, nor can the premiers themselves logically consider themselves either Muslim League ministers or Muslim League premiers. They are, therefore not bound to obey any orders emanating from Mr. Jinnah, who had no right to issue such orders.

As regards the Government, it has been guilty of speaking with two voices. It informed Mr. Jinnah through the Governor of Bombay that the Muslim Premiers had been given seats on the Defence Council as representatives of the Muslim community, and, as hitherto Government has recognized the representative character of no other Muslim organization than the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah was justified in inferring that the three Muslim premiers had been nominated as representing the Muslim League.

But in the statements made by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy it was said that the Premiers had been nominated as premiers, and if they ceased to be premiers and others succeeded them, these successors of theirs would have seats on the Defence Council even if they were non-Muslims.

No satisfactory explanation has been given for these mutually contradictory positions taken up by the Government.

When the Congress ministries resigned under orders from the Congress High Command, the British Lion roared, as they had resigned not because they had been called upon to do so by their constituencies, but because they had done so at the command of an outside body, namely, the Congress High Command. But when the Muslim League acts like the Congress High Command without the justification which the latter had the British Lion forgets to roar and swallows the insult.

The explanation which Mr. Amery gave in the House of Commons on the 11th September last is printed below:

Mr. Amery stated in reply to a question: "There have been no resignations from the Viceroy's Executive Council. As regards the newly created National Defence Council, its main purpose was, as I made clear at the time, to bring the war effort in the provinces and the States as well as in the ranks of Commerce, Industry and Labour into more effective touch with the Central Government. It is on that basis that invitations to serve were issued to, and accepted by, the premiers of four provinces in which the normal constitution has remained in force, in their capacity as premiers and without reference to the fact that three of them were members of the Moslem League. The Working Committee of the Moslem League convened by Mr. Jinnah had since called upon members of the League, including the premiers of Bengal, the Punjab and Assam, to resign both from the Viceroy's Executive and National Defence Councils on the grounds that they had associated themselves with the step taken without reference to, and against the wish of Mr. Jinnah as President of the League. These three premiers have complied with the request of the Working Committee. The Nawab of Chhattari had previously resigned from the Defence Council on accepting the post of President of the Hyderabad Executive Council. Begum Shah Nawaz remains a member of the Council. There have been no other resignations.

Mr. Ammon asked: "How far has this been brought about by the maladroitness of Government representations which had rather claimed them as representatives of the Moslem League?"

Mr. Amery declared: "I think it was made absolutely clear both by the Viceroy and myself that the purpose of the National Defence Council was to bring the provinces, states, Commerce, Industry and Labour into closer contact with the Central Government. Of course, it was essential as is always the case in India that on any public body there should be reasonable representation of the two communities and I think that this was misrepresented by Mr. Jinnah in order to secure the resolution passed by the Moslem League. No claim was ever made by the Government that anybody was invited as a representative of the Moslem League.

The letter to Mr. Jinnah stated that the Moslem community was worthily represented, not represented in any other sense except that there was reasonable proportion of Moslems and Hindus in total. It made amply clear to Mr. Jinnah that the basis on which these invitations were issued and accepted was that they were invited as premiers of their provinces and that if they ceased to be premiers, their position would be automatically taken by those who succeeded them."

This explanation is not convincing.

India and Burma Elections Postponement Bill

According to the provisions of section 61 of the Government of India Act of 1935, the elections to the Provincial Assemblies would have been held by the end of this year or early in 1942, but the India and Burma Elections Postponement Bill which has been passed by the British House of Commons and has perhaps by now received the Royal assent, empowers the Governor of each province to extend during the entire period of the war and for twelve months after its termination the life of the Legislative Assembly. It is a valued right of all democracies that the people should have legislatures consisting of a majority of members whose views are in unison with those of the voters on the burning questions of the day. Such legislatures can be had only by holding general elections after fixed intervals, if not earlier. The provinces of British India have been deprived of this right for reasons which cannot stand scrutiny.

Mr. Amery advanced it as an argument that the House of Commons had prolonged its life on account of the war. But that House represents a self-ruling people and has prolonged its own life. What right has it to prolong the life of the Assemblies of a people who are not self-ruling but foreigner-ruled ? If our provincial Assemblies had prolonged their own lives, there would have been some *show* of reason in calling upon us to accept their decision, though they are not really democratically elected bodies.

Mr. Amery has given expression to an apprehension that elections might interfere with the war effort. But elections have been held during this war in America and Australia, without their affecting the war efforts of those countries in the least.

He has referred to the existence of communal feelings in India and expressed a fear that elections may exacerbate them. But the Bill does not provide that the elections are to be held after communal feelings have died down. It provides that they are to be held 12 months after the conclusion of the war. Can anybody be sure that communal felings would vanish by that time ? What has the war got to do with the communal feeling that it should be expected to disappear 12 months after the war ? That feeling is due mainly to the Communal Decision and cannot disappear until that sinister decision is knocked on the head.

A substantial reason why the elections have been postponed appeared casually in Mr. Amery's speech when he said :

"I think it would be little less than farcical, ... if elections were held merely in order to afford an opportunity of ventilating Mr. Gandhi's policy of negation, without any prospects of returning to constitutional government after elections."

So Mr. Amery was afraid, and rightly, too, that the elections, if held now, would result in a majority of Congress members being elected, thereby proving the unreal character of the British claim that the whole of India, *minus* a few mad men like Mr. Gandhi, was behind the back of the British Government.

Some criticisms of the Bill by some M.P.s were very apposite. For example, Mr. Silverman (Labour) stated that

It was said that this Bill was merely applying to India what we had applied to ourselves. There was a superficial sense in which that was true. But it was the House of Commons which had decided to prolong its own life. If the Legislative Assemblies in India had been asked to prolong their lives, you would have had a parallel to what has taken place in that House. But this Bill was not an act of a democratic Legislative Assembly prolonging its own existence. This was an act of direct and personal rule: it was an act of autocracy: it was an act of dictatorship and an act of preventing the people from expressing their own views. This Bill did not postpone the elections until the communal feeling had died down—it postponed the elections until 12 months after the war. The communal feeling was not caused by the war, and would not be ended by the war. The war might end tomorrow and the situation in India would remain as it was, unless something was done by the Government to give the Indian people the right to govern themselves.

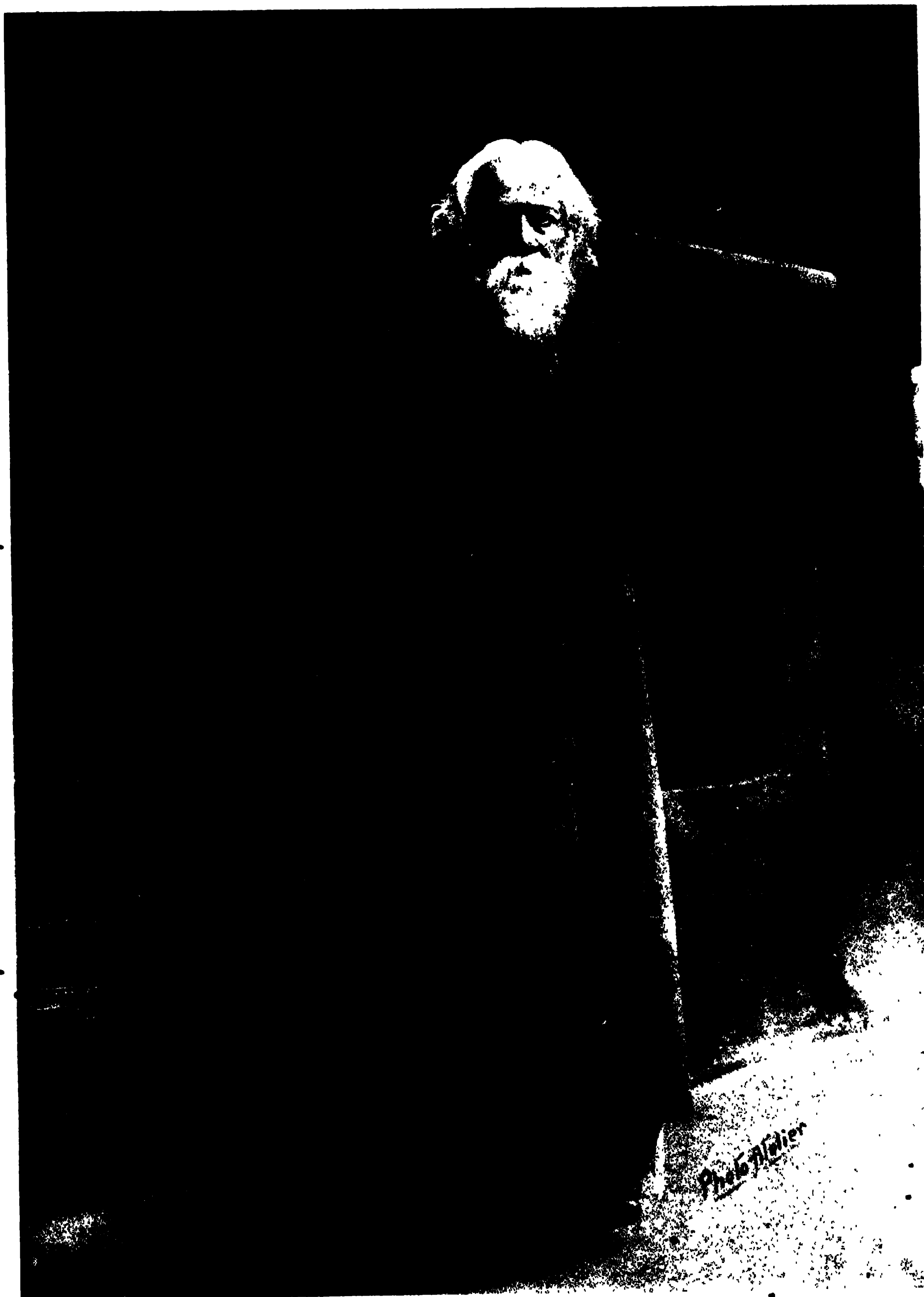
Mr. Sorensen (Labour) said that

If the Government were sure that the people of India would endorse their policy by an overwhelming majority, an opportunity would be seized to hold elections. The Bill was brought forward because we feel that if elections were held now, a majority of the people of India would vote against the policy of this Government. It would be more in agreement with the principles of democracy to hold elections than to postpone them and advance sorry, shallow, untrue arguments in defence of that action. It was made clear by the Prime Minister that the splendid principles in the eight-point Atlantic Charter were signed for general application but were not for specific application in a sphere where we could apply them.

Notice

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 26th September to the 9th October, 1941, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

Ramananda Chatterjee,
Proprietor, "The Modern Review" and
Prabasi Press.



Prabasi Press

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

This is probably the last standing pose, given by the poet in March, 1941.

AKHAND HINDUSTHAN

By RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.L.C., M.A., Ph.D.

India has fallen on evil days, and on evil tongues. She is called upon to defend her very individuality and integrity as a country, and as a political organism. It is curious to note that she is surrounded by a number of neighbouring countries and regions which can freely call themselves Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Turkestan, Turkmanistan; Arabistan, Luristan, Khuzistan, Kohistan, Kurdestan, Kafiristan, Seistan (Sakasthāna), Shahfistan, Faristan, Ardistan; Usbegistan, Tadjikistan, Baltistan and Waziristan. But in the midst of this company, India alone cannot call herself Hindustan. Yet it was left to the ancient Achaemenian Emperor of Persia, as far back as the sixth century B.C., to first apply to India the designation of Hindustan. A country is always called by the name of the majority of its population all over the world. The world has never seen a State which is a purely homogeneous entity in regard to its social composition. It is impossible to construct a State exclusively out of one community. Racial or religious frontiers can never coincide wth political frontiers. A State is bound to have different communities in its population. The mere existence of different communities does not militate against its unity as a State.

In the years following the Mutiny, it had been the policy of some Anglo-Indian administrators to describe India not as a country or geographical unit, but as a continent made up of different countries. The enemies of India's progress are blind to her fundamental unity behind her continental diversity, like the blind men of the adage, each of whom mistook a particular limb of the elephant for the whole animal. It is not for superficial observers to find the One in the Many, the Individual in the Aggregate, the Simple in the Composite. India, in point of diversity, physical or sociological, is, indeed, an 'epitome of the world.' But this diversity is the natural consequence of her size and cannot be taken as a source of her weakness, but a source of strength, not as a factor for disintegration, but as a factor for making for a richer and more comprehensive synthesis. No one can dispute the unity of the U. S. A., despite its phenomenal diversity of every form and type.

To combat this basic misconception regarding India and her civilization and anticipating the ways of thinking which have today culminated in the Pakistan Movement, I produced a treatise as long ago as 1914 on the subject of India's fundamental unity which was honoured by an introduction written by the late British Premier, J. Ramsay MacDonald. In his introduction he states with much feeling:

> "If India is a mere geographical expression, a mere collection of separate peoples, traditions, and tongues existing side by side but with no sense of nationhood in common, Indian history cannot be the record of an evolution of a civilization—it can be nothing more than an account of raids, conflicts, relations of conquerors and conquered. That this is the common view is only too true; that a superficial view of India lends all its weight to that view is only too apparent; that it is the view of many of the present Governors is proclaimed without secrecy from Ceylon to Afghanistan."

Mr. MacDonald combats this view and holds with the humble writer of the book that the Hindu "regards India not only as a political unit but as the outward embodiment, as the temple—nay, even as the Goddess Mother—of his spiritaul culture." He then records a classical sentence which should be adopted as the slogan of all Indians who believe in the integrity of their motherland: "India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul."

It is a matter of sorrow and surprise that in place of the die-hard Anglo-Indian administrators of the last century who believed in the imperialist policy "to divide and rule," there are now found Indians who want to go farther and achieve India's vivisection. Such a process no Hindu can possibly tolerate, because it amounts to an attack upon his very religion. The Hindu has been trained through the ages to offer his worship to Mother India conceived of as a deity, the *Desamātrika,* whose *virāt-deha* extends from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. The federation of the whole of India as a sacred, indivisible, and inviolable unit, an object of national worship, has been an accomplished fact of Indian thought through the ages. It does not take any cognizance of the political and administrative divisions of India into so many States and Provinces. These divisions are artificial and have no application in the realm of thought. The spiritual prevails over the physical. There is a series of national prayers in which the Hindu is enjoined to devoutly meditate on the divine form of Mother India as a land of seven sacred rivers from

the Indus to the Cauvery, of seven great mountain systems from the Himalayas to the Malaya, forming her ribs and backbone; as the land of seven sacred cities from Hardwar to Kanchi. The Hindu sacred texts decorate the body of Mother India by covering it up with a network of shrines and sacred places which are distributed all over the country. A pilgrimage to these holy places educates India's dumb millions in a vivid consciousness of what constitutes their common mother country. The form of India is thus prescribed and fixed for the Hindu by his religious texts. It cannot be mutilated at the bidding of others.

The inevitable differences between communities that are to be found in every country and State cannot be made the ground of its disintegration and partition among them. Even with such partition no part of the State can be rendered a homogeneous social composition; each of the fragments of the dismembered State will be full of minority problems. On the other hand, it is quite feasible to reconcile all conceivable differences of communities in a comprehensive scheme by which, short of the disintegration of the parent State, the minorities can be protected in all matters in which they happen to be minorities. The limits of such minority protection are very well indicated at one of the discussions at the League of Nations:

"We must avoid creating a State within a State. We must prevent the minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of being fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of minorities to the last extreme, these minorities will become a disruptive element in the State and a source of national disorganisation" (M. Blociszewski).

THE "NEW ORDER" OF "ANGLO-SAXONY"

By SURESH CHANDRA DEB

THE phrase "new order" has been made popular during this World War II of the 20th century to indicate the many blessings that mankind will be enjoying after the world will have been purified by blood and fire. We in India whom fate has set apart as observers of the present game of war, spread over continents and oceans, we may not be carried off our feet by the mysticism of the phrase; we appear to be cultivating a habit of cynicism and scepticism with regard to the many promises made and words of hope uttered by the users of the phrase,—a phrase expressing as good or as bad an "indefinity" as democracy. Perhaps this habit of ours enables us to see more of the game, specially of that part of it with which we happen to be politically associated.

It is twenty-four months since the fight for a "new order" started in the plains of Poland. During these months Lord Linlithgow as Governor-General in India, and Lord Zetland and Mr. Amery as Secretaries of State for India in Britain, have been trying their best to enthuse us over this phrase. But we have felt unable to do so; we have refused to be enthusiastic till we have before our eyes a concrete pattern of the "new order" into which we are going to be fitted. The British bureaucrat in India is generally a self-satisfied being; he has little patience with all this talk about "new order," and perhaps less faith in it. He is content with offering incense to the god of his daily files. His contribution to the solution of the Indian problem since September, 1939, has been "merely to dwell on danger and feed panic and terror," to quote the words of Sri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras. He has not been able to make any appeal to the self-respect of the Indian people or to their enlightened self-interest. They have been left to fall back on the last desperate hope of mankind—reliance on fate, or *kismet*, or *adrishta*.

But at the centre of the empire men and rulers have been sensing the approach of a vast change in their affairs. They appear to welcome it. The British Premier, Mr. Winston Churchill, indicated it in course of a speech made in the House of Commons on the 30th of August, 1940, when announcing the lease to the United States of certain sites for naval and air bases facilities in their islands near the Atlantic border of the republic. He ended the speech with a highly emotional appeal :

". . . . . these two great organisations of English-speaking democracies, the British Empire and the United States, will have to be somewhat mixed up together in some of their affairs for mutual and general advantage. For my own part, looking out upon the future, I do not view the process with any misgivings. I cannot stop it if I wish. No one can stop it. Like the Mississippi, it just keeps rolling along. Let it roll. Let it

roll, roll on in full flood, inexorable, irresistible, benignant, to broader lands and broader days."

A British publicist has characterized this development as the easy solution of a very difficult problem—this attempt to set up "a new-style *Pax Britannica* with the United States as a sort of honorary Associate Member...." He does not appear, however, to be very hopeful that his country will find solace and security in the wide embrace of what has come to be known as "Anglo-Saxony". But the growing complexities of international affairs, the mounting intensity of conflict and competition amongst the peoples of Europe, the awakening activities and ambitions of Asiatic peoples, have been preparing the ground for the emergence of such a solution of the difficulties of the British Empire.

II

Mr. Churchill told the world on the same occasion that even before the present war various agreements had been reached between the two governments "about certain islands in the Pacific which have become important as air fueling stations." He instanced this as giving a concrete shape to "the principle of association of interests for common purposes between Britain and the United States." The threat of German hegemony or of Totalitarian leadership have made vivid the consciousness of a common purpose influencing the thought and action of the two countries. More than hundred years back, in 1823 Britain forgot her 40 years old sorrow over the loss of the Thirteen Colonies in north America and could think of restoring the balance in world affairs by calling the new world to her aid. She supported President Monroe when on December 2, 1823, he served notice on the world, specially on the European world, that any attempt made by any non-American power to control the "destiny" of any country in the western hemisphere would be regarded as "a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." By that time that majority of the States in South America had freed themselves from Spanish and Portuguese imperialism. President Monoroe's country, however, lacked the strength to enforce the dictum. The Atlantic Ocean was no doubt a barrier between the ambitions of Europe and America's security. But the real power behind the President's declaration was George Canning, the British Foreign Secretary; the strength that has been maintaining for about a century the Monoroe Doctrine was derived from the British Navy. But since 1914 British command of the seas has been gravely challenged, and the "splendid isolation" of the Americas has ended, and they face the prospect of living in a world of weak States threatened by gigantic, conquering military powers.

III

This development has quickened the realisation of the interdependence of Britain and the United States. But more than this material interest there has existed "a deep sense of family security" between the two countries. Writers on international affairs have acknowledged that "in spite of the lack of demonstrativeness" the English position in the heart of the United States is based on the "solid foundation of family relationship." Andre Siegfried, the French scholar, has in his *America Comes of Age* (1927) discussed with clarity and insight the many impersonal forces, past and present, that have been strengthening the bonds between the two peoples. Though it was from British control that the Thirteen Colonies on the Atlantic border of the United States broke away about one hundred and sixty years ago, the bitter memories of that fight have not been able to erase the fundamntal British character of the country. Its life has been built upon British traditions of faith; kindred institutional arrangements in Church and State have been imported from the "old country." Though it is a cauldron of races of various colours—white, black, brown and yellow—belonging to various linguistic groups, though there are more than 60 lakhs of U. S. citizens of Irish descent, more than 50 lakhs of German descent, more than 30 lakhs of Italian descent, yet up till now the dominant classes have been Anglo-Saxon. As an example it may be stated that except Van Buren and the two Roosevelts there has been no President of the United States who did not belong to the Protestant Anglo-Scottish lineage; the three exceptions bear Dutch names. Andre Siegfried has also told us that there appears to be a "sort of secret doctrine," handed down from father to son, that the United States should remain "Protestant and Anglo-Saxon," that this tradition "guarantees for Britain an undisputed and privileged position" in the life and thought of the greatest republic of the modern world.

It is kinship like this that has mentally and spiritually ranged the United States on the side of Briatin on this the greatest crisis in the latter's history of about a thousand years. It is this kinship that has moved the ruling classes of the republic to go to Britain's help in all ways "short of war," short of sending soldiers to fight side by side with the British in distant lands. But it is not instinct and sentiment

alone that have influenced the mixing up in certain of their affairs to which Mr. Churchill referred in such eloquent terms. Material interests are involved in the fate and fortunes of Britain as viewed from the angle of America. Since the fall of France U. S. public men and publicists have been publicly recognising that "Britain is their first line of defence." The prospect of Britain failing to stand up to German assaults in August and September, 1940, appreciated in their eyes the value of the British Navy. In newspapers and magazines the question was gravely discussed: "If Britain is defeated the United States will find it impossible to cope with the combined sea strength of the Axis Powers." Admiral William Standby, former Chief of Naval Operations, estimated that even in 1943 when U. S. production is expected to reach its highest mark, the number of U. S. ships will be about 422 as against 962 of Germany-Italy-Japan. This estimate underlined the need of the British Navy for the United States, made clear the "relation of mutual selfishness" that existed between the two countries.

IV

The realisation of mutual selfishness is not of recent growth. For about sixty years, since Britain woke up to the fact that the days of her primacy in trade and industry, in the paths of modern imperialism, were coming to an end, that competitors to her were appearing in the field,—her statesmen have been feeling the need of a more consolidated empire and a more coherent economic system. The wide discussion of Imperial Federation and Imperial Preference was inspired by this feeling. A French historian, Eli Halevy, in his *History of the English People* has interpreted the *Jubilee Poem* (1897) of Rudyard Kipling as a mirror of this fear in the heart of the British people. He has quoted the following lines to drive home his point:

> "Far-called, our navies melt away,
> On dune and headland sinks the fire;
> Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
> Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
> Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
> Lest we forget—lest we forget!"

V

It was during this time and under the influence of this fear that British and American thinkers and statesmen, leaders of finance and industry, began to think of stabilising Anglo-Saxon supremacy by some sort of an arrangement the germs of which are hidden in the speech of Mr. Winston Churchill from which we have quoted. A biography of Cecil Rhodes an empire-builder, has described how he proposed in 1891 to finance an organisation, "a Society," the object of which "was to be the establishment of world peace by the union of Great Britain and the United States." The American Admiral A. T. Mahan, author of *The Influence of Sea Power on History*, was commissioned by Andrew Carnegie the American multi-millionaire of Scottish descent, to write an article in support of such a propaganda—"to promote rapprochement between the two nations." It appeared in the *North American Review* (1894) entitled "Possibilities of an Anglo-American Re-Union." Mrs. Annie Besant in her *Ancient Ideals in Modern Life* (1901) wrote of the "dawn" of "a vast Teutonic world-empire, formed by the English and their Colonies, with their off-shoot, the United States, bound in close union." This world-empire will be "next to dominate humanity." At that time the Germans, a Teutonic people, cousin to the Anglo-Saxons, were not excluded from a place in the scheme of world domination. The Rhodes Scholarships of the value of £250 a year which enabled promising young men of the "self-governing countries" of the British Empire and of the United States to finish their education in the universities of Britain were made available to German scholars as well, so that the future leaders of the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic countries might grow up together with like minds and kindred ambitions. Cecil Rhodes' ambition and Mrs. Besant's prophecy appear to be nearing fulfilment, but not exactly in the way they hoped and schemed for. Germany has not been able to co-operate in the enterprise.

VI

We have traced the many forces, personal and impersonal, that have been working for the emergence of the new phenomenon of "Anglo-Saxony" in the modern world. In books on Hindu political thought such an organisation has been called "Mandal," and the guiding power or person has been called "Mandaleswar." In the "Anglo-Saxony" of the future the "Mandaleswar" will be the United States and not Britain. Leaders of U. S. political and industrial life like Wendell Wilkie and Henry Ford have begun to loudly think that the "chaos" in international affairs offered to "America the opportunity for world leadership"; they have been talking of the "role" which their country can play in the modern world by the use of her "strength and ability." For years since the end of World War I, public men and publicists, authors and journalists, have been pointing to the signs and portents of such

a "destiny" for the United States. In 1927 Frank Simonds writing in the pages of the American *Review of Reviews* could write :

"Looking at the map, it is clear that there is every geographical reason why we may one day become the centre of the English-speaking world."

Ludwell Denny in his book published in 1930—*America Conquers Britain*—was more lyrical :

"The 'Americanisation' of Europe and the far places of the earth advances. . . . We were Britain's colonies once. She will be our colony before she is done, not in name but in fact. Machines gave Britain power over the world. Now, better machines are giving America power over the world. What chance has Britain against America ? And what chance has the world ?"

VII

The tramp of German hordes over the continent of Europe, their unchecked march over the free countries of Europe, have put a certain amount of fear in the heart of Americans even They have been feeling anxiety about the air and naval defence of their Atlantic seaboard. Mr. Churchill has told the world that when they "learnt" of this anxiety, they hastened to place at the service of the U. S. Administration on a 99-years lease certain sites in the islands of Newfoundland, Bermuda, Antigua, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Georgetown, Bahama, and Jamaica for the needed defence arrangements. In exchange they got 50 "over-age" destroyers which are "good for convoy duty" only. This deal and the growing help to Britain under the provisions of the Lease-and Lend Act are evidences of the "mixing up" of the affairs of the two countries. Britain's conduct under the hail of German bombs, the intrepidity of her people, their grim endurance, have also been helping to wipe off the eyes of Americans the sin of her imperialism. U. S. newspapermen who have been visiting Britain as pilgrims since August and September, 1940, have by their despatches to the leading papers been forging new bonds between the two peoples. They have been driving it home that only a closer co-operation between Britain and the United States can save "democracy" in the world. Propaganda in this behalf has been passing beyond the region of idle discussion. One instance of this development may be cited here. Clarence Streit of the *Union Now* book fame (July, 1939) founded an organisation known as *Federal Union* to push forward his plan for a "Union of 15 Democracies." In Britain it has 250 "chapters" with 10,000 members. After the fall of France he got published in the third week of July, 1940, in the *New York Times* a full page advertisement. "paid for by a group of American citizens," proposing "Union now ..... of the United States and the six British Democracies ..... before it is too late." Pending a Constitutional Convention, an Inter-Continental Congress should be set up "on this side of the Atlantic," composed of 27 representatives of the U. S. A., 11 from the United Kingdom, 3 from Canada, 3 from Australia, 2 each from Eire, the Union of South Africa, and New Zealand. This number is made up of one representative for each "member-democracy" plus an additional representative for every 50,00,000 inhabitants. The Union would be empowered to handle foreign affairs and relations, establish a common currency, a common citizenship, common communications in the Federal Union. All powers not specifically granted to the Union would be retained by each State which could be Socialist or Capitalist, or a Republic like the U. S. A., or a Monarchy like Britain. Each State would have to incorporate a Bill of Rights granting freedom of speech, of worship, of the press, the right to freedom of assembly. An interesting item in the advertisement was the following :

"The British Fleet would be secured against surrender, and united with the U. S. A. Fleet, to rule the waves, even though England and Ireland were invaded and crushed"

VIII

British public men and publicists could not have missed the significance of schemes like these. They could find no consolation or secure any compensation from the prospect as and when the United States and Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand will be sailing away with the "British Fleet" after England and Ireland had been "invaded and crushed." But they appear to be resigning themselves to this development. Mr. Winston Churchill does not regard it with any misgivings; he accepts it as a decree of nature as the flow and flood of the Mississippi is. He expressed gladness that "the armed and naval frontiers of the United States have been advancing along a wide area into the Atlantic Ocean." The occupation of Iceland by U. S. troops has been hailed with the same relief. Other British politicians also do not find anything unnatural in the United States becoming the senior partner in "Anglo-Saxony." Colonel Josiah Wedgewood, a knight-errant among British politicians, writing from the United States where he had gone evidently to present the Liberal side of the British character, suggested that there should be set up a joint War Cabinet in which certain of the British Ministers and the Prsident of the U. S. A. with his

Secretaries could find a place; selected members from the British Parliament should be delegated to their opposite numbers in the U. S. A. Legislature and *vice versa*. This is just the preliminary step towards the political and constitutional union of the two countries.

In the excitement of the war period, moved by admiration of the superb fight that Britain has been putting up, standing almost alone in the world, a halo of idealism may be thrown over schemes like that of Clarence Streit. But there are men other than idealists and dreamers in the most pupulous of Anglo-Saxon countries. There are many hard-headed men among them who have been drawing up a balance-sheet of profit and loss that would acrrue as a consequence of Anglo-American partnership in world affairs. Their mind peeps out of the words that appeared in an article published in the U. S. monthly—*The Living Age*—in its February (1941) number :

"Physically speaking the British Isles are of little value to us, even if they survive. . . . . We do want, however, tariff-free access to the vast markets of the Dominions and Colonies. We want free access to their sources of tin, rubber, nickel, magnesium, gold, vegetable oils, iron, and a long list of other materials. . . . . We want a more responsible interest in the British Navy, and we could save millions in projected naval construction by a joint ownership of the British and American Fleets."

It is the hard-headed appraisers of the assets at present under British control, represented by the article from which a quotation has been made above, who will be controlling and influencing policy in "Anglo-Saxony." To us in this country the possibility of such a development raises the question—what place will India occupy in such a scheme of things? If men like Clarenence Streit are to have their way, India will continue to be part of a "dependent empire" of "Anglo-Saxony" as she is today of Britain. After fighting two world wars it may happen that Britain will not be much of an asset, financially speaking, to "Anglo-Saxony". But as mistress of a vast "dependent empire," she can make a great contribution. She will be bringing to the common stock of "Anglo-Saxony" the undeveloped and the immeasurably rich potential wealth of her dependencies and protectorates, of which India is the brightest gem. The World War II of the 20th century, fought to defend and advance the cause of democracy, may end in this paradoxical development—the rise of "dollar imperialism."

IN MEMORIAM

Rabindranath Tagore

(1861-1941)

Not a meagre bunch of flowers, O Gardener,
Your lasting gift to us,
But a full garden, a paradise
Large and bountiful as your land,
Large and bountiful as your heart.

Rich flowers born of your country's soil,
Soft flowers moistened with her rains,
Bright flowers burnished by her sun,
Flowers tinged by all her seasons' moods,
Flowers fair as her own sons and daughters.

Flowers richer for your wealth of wisdom,
Flowers softer for your gentleness of heart,
Flowers brighter for the touch of your sure hand,
Flowers deep-hued from your radiant vision,
Flowers fairer for the dreams of your great soul.

And now you have gone, dear Gardener,
To the Giver of soil and seed and skill...
But you leave us this paradise,
These flowers from your soil and soul.

To our bruised but grateful hearts
Press we fondly all these flowers
Dear to Memory because they are Bengal's
All the dearer because they are yours.

—*The Light of the East*, for September, 1941.

GURUDEVA

By JNANENDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY

The sorrow is much too recent and fresh to allow me to collect my thoughts, and the shadow is much too deep for me to see beyond the immediate loss. This is a short discourse, and I shall not be able to touch on many of the outstanding things in Gurudeva's achievements and must wait for other opportunities. A Nobel Prize is only a prize, and a Knighthood is but a word, when we speak about him, his life and work, the legacy he has left us, not merely the people of this country but also of all countries. Gurudeva has for all the years that I have been alive,—more than half a century,—taken interest in everything that concerns man's life. Indeed he did this even before my birth. The people of my generation, and those who have come after us, have been born to a fortune. Nothing that is in the interest of mankind has escaped his attention; our folly has given him worries, and no piece of good fortune, that has come our way, has he neglected to felicitate. And in all this he has widened our outlook, for while we have seen only the things on the surface, he has seen deeper and has given meaning to human endeavours which no one else has been able to give.

As we all know, he was born in a noble family, the most noted in Calcutta, the first city of India. His grand-father, Prince Dwarkanath, was noted for his generosity and urbanity, more than any one else of his age. He was called a prince not because there was the usual reason for that appellation to be added to his name, but because he was a prince in his spirits, in actions and thoughts. It was a unique family in which the Prince was born, one to give lead to society and light to intellectual and thoughtful men through generations. His commercial projects were pioneering in character. But he died suddenly in England before he could put his affairs in proper shape. Debendranath, more truly known as Maharshi Debendranath, was his eldest son. Suffice it to say now that he was a Maharshi, and his son, the youngest but one, Kaviguru Rabindranath, was on occasions his companion during his devotional tours, and had opportunities to share his life of a pilgrim. This must have left a stamp on the young poet's life, which has manifested itself in various ways and has enriched the world. So much devotional was the poet's up-bringing that we find that even in his early youth he composed a hymn which would do credit to the best of the composers of songs of prayer. This song is still sung in religious services and is considered to be one of those rare pieces which shed the light of Divinity on human life.

Many of you must be acquainted with the poems of the Poet. Any discussion of them cannot but be profitable to us, for they are an abundant source of happiness and satisfaction. Here I have no opportunity to speak of them. There is no aspect of human life which has not received treatment in his poems and which has not been set in the true light. Deep in thoughts they are, deeper far than many can fathom, but yet there they are from which even the least penetrating mind will receive what it profoundly needs, for above everything Gurudeva's poems are rich in human sympathy.

The keynote of the life of Gurudeva is in his love of beauty. To those who have read his autobiography I need not mention how he describes this attitude of his. He says how everything was beautiful in his eyes. His father used to see the evidence of divine beauty in everything and this son of the Maharshi lived so much immersed in beauty that at one place he has said that he saw rhythm even in the movements of the street porters carrying their loads in the baskets on their heads.

This power to see beauty provides the keynote of the song of his life, for it is a song, sweeter far than anything we know, from the beginning to the end, a song that has charmed the world, and has inspired it, a song—the thrill of which will last for all times.

He used to live a very simple life. But it was entirely beautiful on account of its purity, and its generosity. I have always wondered at his frugality and simplicity. In everything he was beautiful. The Divine Father endowed him with personal beauty; he had a voice, which was the sweetest I have ever heard. And he had a mind which never failed to see anything that was beautiful. I have already said that his habits were just the opposite of expensive, and yet one could never find near him, whenever one might visit him, anything which did not suit the rest and did not contribute to the atmosphere

which was entirely beautiful. And this he translated into his writings, into his talks and into his conceptions. His words charmed our hearts, for they came from a heart which was all the time thinking beautifully.

He was a seer, a *rishi*, who took interest in everything that was human. While he recorded his beautiful thoughts in inimitable verses, gave expression to his concepts of life in fiction, stories, drama and narratives, the best the world has ever seen, his heart was not bound by them. He thought of "Swadeshi" more than fifty years ago. For him to think was to act, unmindful of the consequences. One of his elder brothers, Jyotirindranath, was his friend, philosopher and guide, particularly in these matters. He used to speak of an act of this brother of his, very often in fun, but always in deep appreciation and devotion, how he staked a good deal to have his own loom, and in the attempt sustained a heavy loss, for the project ended after producing only one piece of cloth, the size of a towel, as the Poet used to put it.

He threw himself into the political movement which followed the partition of Bengal. But the light in which he viewed the problem was so much different from that in which others saw it, that very few would understand him. More than 50 years ago, he was the first to draw the attention of the people to the danger which the Indians must face on account of want of sympathy and affection between the two communities, the Hindus and Muslims. He told the people to take care, but few could foresee what he anticipated, and I need not tell you that the present time has shown quite clearly how far-sighted he was, and how we would have been today much better off than we are, only if our forerunners had made the attempt which Gurudeva advised them to make. His political essays are not read very much now-a-days, as appears to me judging by the utterances of our political leaders. But these should be got by heart by those who have been working in this field, for, in them he has always taken intensely human views of things with uncommon foresight. No small purpose would ever move him. The universal spirit, which he inherited from his father, was all the time working in him, and he was a worshipper of Bhuma, the Infinite, and therefore all that he ever handled he treated with comprehensiveness of a unique character.

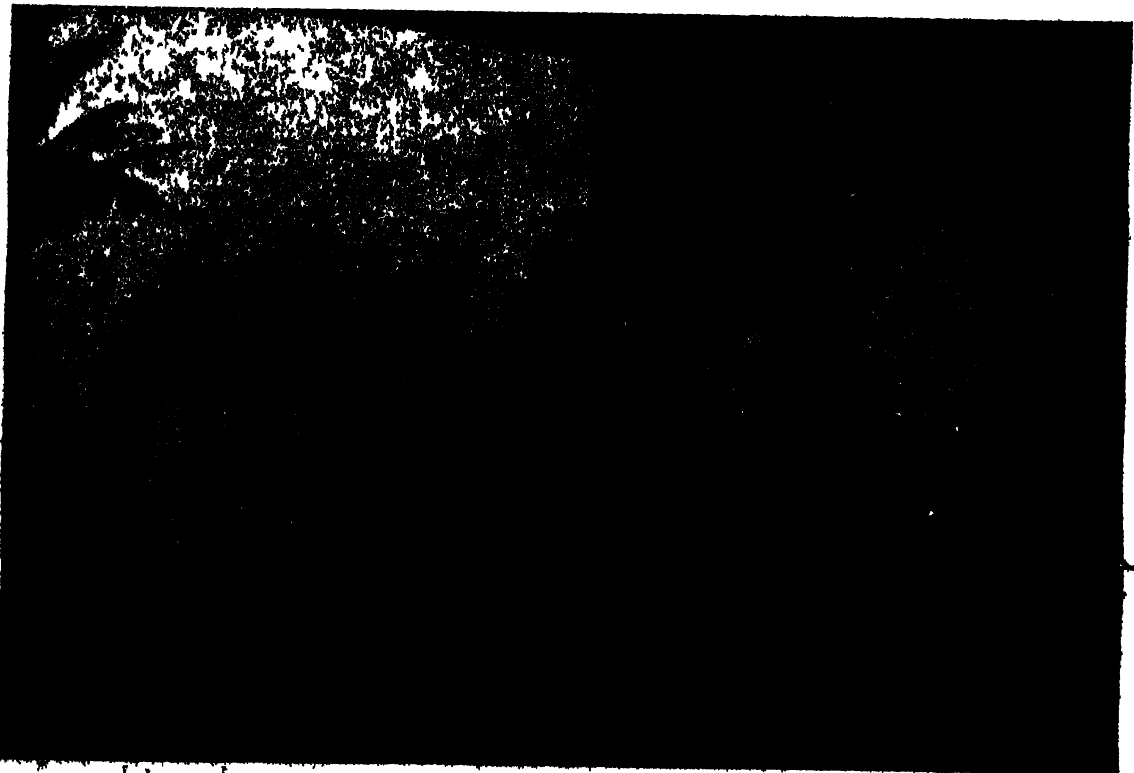
His love for the village and the villagers is well-known. He spent a considerable part of his life in the villages, shared the happiness of the villagers, and their sorrows. He sang their song and gave new songs to them, for he attuned himself to them in life and interests. He never forgot them even when he finally devoted himself to the Visva-Bharati. There is the Sree-Niketan of his, a unique creation. While others were thinking about village uplift and welfare work, he had already commenced his experiments at Surul, at the place to which he gave the name of Sree-Niketan. His experiments have been successful, he has revived many a village industry, and organizations for village welfare in all its aspects are at work. It will take long to describe all that is being done there. Intensive work is being done, and ideas are being formulated there for further work. We all should study the work and draw inspiration from it, for through this kind of work only our motherland may again get that beautiful look of plenty and prosperity for which in days gone-by she was noted.

The ideals and the inspiration of Raja Rammohun Roy gave us Maharshi Debendranath. Rammohun could take interest in men in the remotest parts of the world—could rejoice in the freedom attained by people not known to him, and for the good fortune of men unknown to him call his friends and arrange for a feast. In the same way worked the mind of Gurudeva. He was a lover of humanity and his heart felt sympathy wherever and whenever man in any land had prosperity or adversity. He honoured Japan when Japan was honourable, he wept for China in her troubles.

He was not the product of any school or college, and his heart wept over the hard time our children had in the schools. Forty years ago, when he had not yet been out of the financial embarrassment due to his business projects, he began to work for the children of the country. Their lot was too much for him to bear without an attempt on his part to show the way how they should be treated. He felt he must have a school of his own where he could bring up the children in the way they should be brought up. Against much opposition he worked and through many a vicissitude his school passed—it was a heavy burden, but he bore it. Round him flocked many young men who worked for him. Many of them are no more, I salute their memory. The ordinary methods of teaching were the greatest trouble he had to face. They formed the stumbling-block which conservatism always sets up whenever a genuine attempt is made to bring about a reform. He would himself teach all subjects; would himself train up the teachers; would live with the students and share their life; all of them, the senior ones and the youngest, shared his love. He had to write text-books for use in his school, for the usual ones would not suit the improved



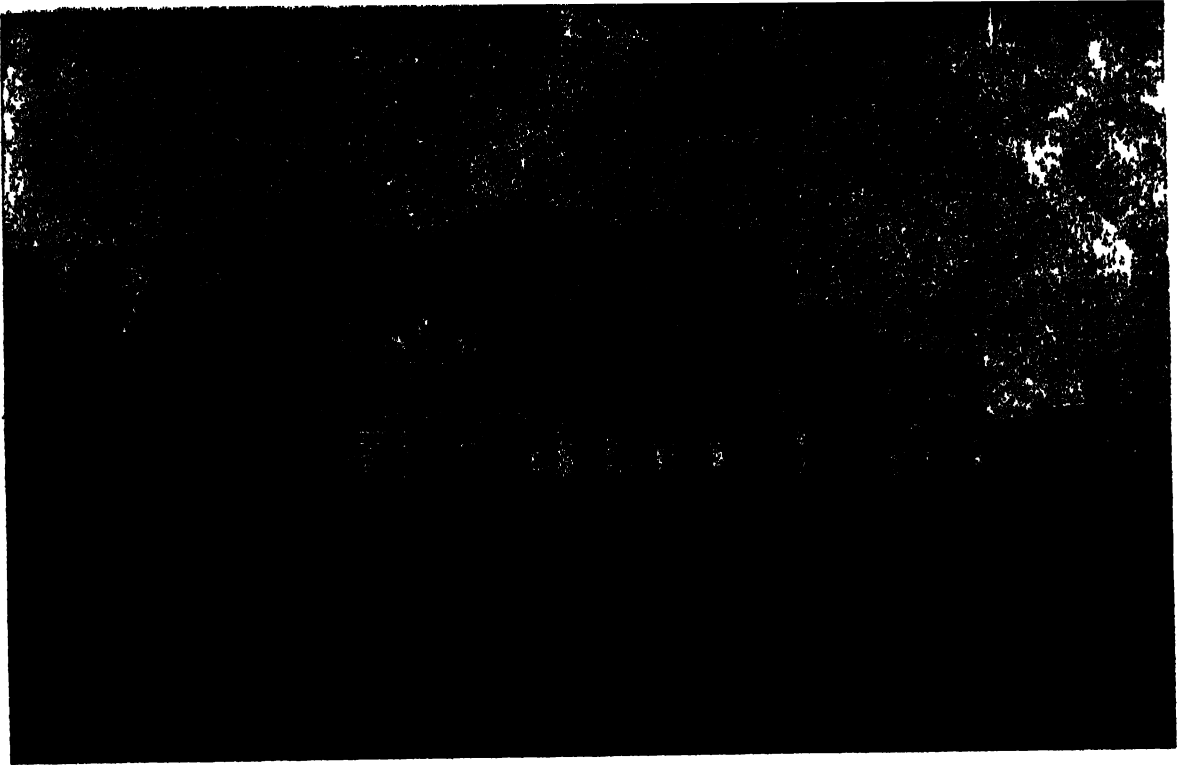
The conferring of the title of "Bharata Bhaskara" on Dr. Tagore by he Tripura State on the completion of 80 years by the Poet



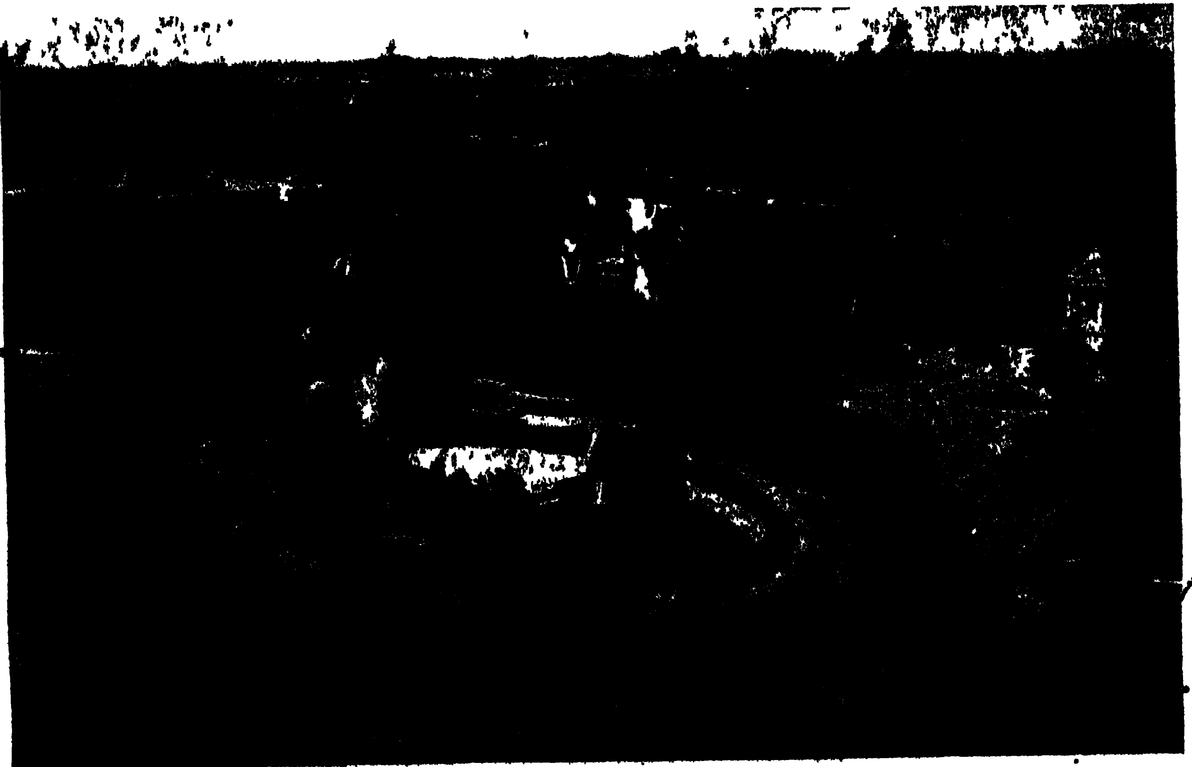
The reply to the Tripura State address



Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet



Uttarayana the residence of the Poet at Santiniketan



The gardens of the Uttarayana

[illegible], the pioneer of the modern Renaissance movement in Indian art

methods he evolved. While at this work, he lost his wife, and his first two daughters. He lost his second son also, the youngest of his five children. These sorrows made him cling even closer to the school than before, although he had given himself up entirely to it already. He devoted everything he had to the school. Slowly his school has grown into a university, the finest we know. The history of its growth is a profitable study. To it has come many a savant from far and near. I wish I had time to give details of this University and its work. But some features I must mention. As you enter the compound through the eastern gate you see the Hindi Bhavana where researches in Hindi are being carried on. You move up a few steps and cross a road that leads to the left to the Gurupalli, the residences of the teachers, and to the right to the Mandir, the temple of worship built by Maharshi, and then you find the Cheena Bhavana where researches are being carried on by the students under a man of immense learning from China; a true relationship of many ages is being revived here. Elsewhere learned men have been carrying on researches in Muslim Culture. We have the Visva-Bharati Library most modern and yet most ancient,—over this in the first-floor the Home of Indian Culture, and beyond this the House of Art, the Kala Bhavana,—and at one end, far from all disturbances, the Sangit Bhavana, the House of Music and Dancing.

Gurudeva in his faith was a follower of Truth, like his father who revived the ancient belief in सत्य, the True. For the Kaviguru all sources were equally sanctified if it gave the light of truth, and he had great regard for all who had left records of their devotional experiences, and he could not neglect any source of light. For him Truth was one—he was the life-long worshipper of the One God—neither distance, nor mannerisms of culture, nor any other consideration could make any difference in his quest of Truth.

If you want to see a happy band of children, come to Santiniketan. If you want to live in an atmosphere in which culture is breathed, and an atmosphere in which a new meaning is being given to things which we pass by as being ordinary; come and breathe that life-giving atmosphere at Santiniketan.

India, and the voice of India, have been clothed in a new light, and in a new music, by Gurudeva. This music has been carried to far reaches of the world. The message of India,—India so miserable,—has been spread to all corners. Only a few years ago, India to most people was but a dominated and subject country,—the vaunt of the foreigners that they were civilizing it was given ready credence, and with no credence was received the occasional story which they heard, that one day, in ancient days, India gave through life expression to Truth which had remained the greatest so far. They heard only occasionally from sources not properly informed. In Rabindranath they saw that greatness of India embodied in a way which could not be mistaken. They have heard his voice—the voice of India—they have seen him, the harbinger of salvation.

In this world of ours we see monstrosities at work. Causes are not yet completely known, and we are anxious to find out what have led us to this. In our transgressions they have grown, and through *sādhanā* we shall have to stem their tide. But God has not forsaken us. Even now He lights up the world and keeps it. The morning is as beautiful as ever, and the flowers are as brilliant in their colours as ever. We see Him in these, and the fact that He sent us our Gurudeva to illumine our lives and instil hopes in us, miserable that we are, proves beyond doubt that He is with us.

We have lost our Gurudeva,—it is almost unbelievable,—he took interest in all our affairs, unseen by us, and everyone may say the same thing, for he neglected none, known or unknown, to him. His sympathy he spread over all humanity. We yearn today for a breath of his voice, for a look of his face, for a touch of benediction which so many received from him. He lives still in our faith, and our misery will be worse than it is if we lose that faith.

Gurudeva of ours sang to the last. What a sorrow it was when he left the Ashrama on his last journey. Everyone was crying, but he kept calm—no human calamity could ever shake his mind, which was deeply absorbed in meditation: and on this occasion too, when he knew that most probably he was leaving his beloved ashrama on his last journey,—the ashrama which was the embodiment of his life,—his life's *sādhanā*,—he was his old calm self.

INDIA IN CRISIS

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

THE world is passing through the gravest of all crises. India, howsoever she might wish to remain aloof owing to her national pre-occupation, could not escape it. She is caught up in the throes of the crisis, the crisis this terrific war has precipitated.

Disastrous Policy of Isolation

Civilisation has long reached a stage when no country can live in isolation, however splendid and desirable it may be from a purely nationalist point of view. India has attempted it in the past. She has lived in blissful forgetfulness for centuries. But in the end she has met with disastrous consequences. Even were it possible to live peacefully in the past for centuries without caring for the world outside, it is no longer possible in this age to do so even for a decade. To attempt it is to invite a sure disaster. We may remain in the illusive sense of a splendid security, yet at any moment we may be swept away by any catastrophic blast of a hurricane from outside. India has met that fate again and again. She may meet it once more if she is caught napping.

India Unprepared

And we fear, India has been caught napping in the throes of this catastrophic crisis. The last World War found her unprepared. She was simply swept away by the devastating current of events. It was neither possible for her to tide over it or to march with it consciously and purposefully. The second World War has come. The current is twenty times stronger and deadlier than that of the last war. Events are happening today in lightning rapidity. The crisis has come with a cyclonic force. And who can doubt with any knowledge of the Indian situation that India has been the least prepared to meet it, to utilise it, to tide over it. If it is true, it is a tragedy of great magnitude.

India Puzzled & Swept off Her Feet

The entry of the Soviet Union into the war has only more complicated the issues and bewildered nationalist India and even puzzled those who raise the slogan of socialism and communism. The crisis has come in spite of us and against our fervent wish and cherished dream. At least, India has taken no part, conscious or active, to precipitate it. Very few of us have tried to understand scientifically the root causes of the rising menace of Fascism in the decaying period of Imperialism. Far less, have we made any attempt to arrest its disastrous course. Not only the Congress leadership but also good many courageous nationalists of various shades of opinion preferred to remain in bilssful indifference to the epoch-making social forces of revolution and counter-revolution that have been working out all the time their antagonistic purposes silently but surely to make or unmake history, to build up anew or to destroy all that is worth preserving, to accelerate or to arrest the march of events, the process of social evolution. No wonder, India, bewildered and puzzled, has been suddenly swept off its feet and is being carried headlong helplessly in the stream.

War Efforts Unaffected by Resistance

Tied to the clogwheel of the foremost imperialist power, India, whether she wished it or not, has been made a party to the war. How can it escape its consequences? In spite of the half-hearted opposition of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other organisations to the war-time British policy towards India, the fact remains that Britain is having no dearth of men and materials. They are having their way in spite of active, half-hearted, wavering or threatening non-co-operation in an extremely limited form. No doubt, India has tremendous resources. But they are mostly untapped and undeveloped and unorganised. Even the existing industries are ill-equipped according to the latest technical standard. It is true, India has a huge reserve of man-power. But again, it is mostly unorganised. The organised forces are far behind in technical and military skill. India, dependent for all this on an alien power, could not help it. Whatever war materials the British Government wanted to produce in India, it secured easily. Every appeal for men has been speedily responded to by far larger number than there are situations for. Whatever may be the nature of nationalist India's war resistance, it

has not made the least difference in the prosecution of the war by Britain according to its wish and plan.

The Government Responsible for Backwardness in Preparation

Yet if India remains far behind in military preparation and defence, the British Government must thank itself for it. Its suicidal and shortsighted policy stands in the way. Nothing prevents it from accelerating the pace of preparation. There is still no indication that Britain wants to make any better use of India's enormous man power and materials with the active co-operation of all those who really count in her national life. But why this curious attitude towards India? Why does it stand against what, in all appearance, concerns its vital interests?

The Forces Operating to Make or Unmake History

To understand this dilemma, we have to understand the forces that are operating in this war. We have to study them and the British policy towards India not only in the national but in the international context. The purpose of this ariticle is not to make that exhaustive study, far less to pronounce any judgment on the course of history, but to state the principal problems that are facing the world and our country at this critical stage and to give a broad outline of the forces that are trying to make or unmake history cutting across all national barriers.

Results of the War to Affect Every Country Profoundly

Whatever may be the character of the war it has raised and pushed to the forefront of national and international struggle for bread and freedom and against all forms of exploitation of nation by nation and of class by class, certain outstanding issues, the solution of which one way or the other, will profoundly affect every country and arrest or accelerate its march to progress. The problems are at once national and international.

Antagonistic Forces Sharply Divided in Two Camps

On one side are arrayed evolutionary, progressive and democratic forces with revolutionary possibilities. On the other, against the culmination of that welcome process, are arrayed retrograde, reactionary, anti-democratic dictatorial and counter-rervolutionary forces. On one side are the forces of evolution and revolution for freedom and progress, for progressive realisation of human values through self-government and for gradual or thorough-going abolition of all forms of exploitation. On the other, are the forces of reaction and counter-revolution that strive to destroy all that is worth preserving through a ruthless and relentless military dictatorship of the few.

Why then the Difficulty in the Choice

If the issues are as straight as they look by this presentation, there should be no difficulty in making the choice according to one's disposition and interests for or against the social process. But unfortunately, they are not so.

The Difficulty in Identifying Parties

Our difficulty arises as soon as we attempt to identify the different warring parties with the one side or the other. This is not only because both the imperialists and the fascists, apart from genuine democratic forces, confuse issues deliberately and declare themselves loudly to be the sole defenders of civilisation and founders of a new world order and peace, but also because they themselves are caught up unavoidably in an epoch-making social process that cuts across national antagonisms and strives to establish a social purpose, a unity of interests not only of all oppressed and weaker peoples but also of all the exploited toiling masses, regardless of their willing or forced participation in the war on the side of their country for the time being.

The Bitter Lessons of the Last War & Its Aftermath

In the last war the supreme issue was as straight as anything. It was war between imperialist powers, an internecine conflict in the capitalist camp. Those who did not want to give any support to the imperialist interests of either of the parties, had nothing to choose between them but to resolutely stand against the prevailing national antagonisms and fight for the unity of all oppressed peoples and exploited masses of the world. Yet it is well to remember that the nationalist propaganda of the imperialists clouded even so straight an international issue from the vision of not only oppressed peoples and masses, but also of a host of pacifists, internationalists and socialists who cried so loudly against the war till the last moment before its outbreak. Even the Indian apostle of non-violence supported the war of violence. Immediately each condemned the other as the real culprit. A hysteric outburst of a terrific national hatred was let loose by

nations against nations in the name of democracy and world peace. The war was fought on the issue to end war for all time to come. But how the victorious powers fulfilled their pledge, so solemnly given to their own peoples, is writ large in undying ink in the Versailles Treaty, and in their treatment towards the weaker and subject nations. How peace was maintained by the upholders of the League of Nations and democracy was also seen in the rape of Abyssinia, and Manchukuo, in the massacre of the Spanish Republic, in the barbarous onslaughts against China.

The Same Cry Raises Suspicion

No wonder, when the same cry is raised in holy vehemence but in vague terms by those who have been a party to these infamous happenings, oppressed peoples and exploited masses are reluctant to take them seriously.

Yet We Must not Fail this Time

But that does not mean, we should again fail to see things in their clear perspectives behind their face values, to determine the issues involved in the war, to identify who's who in this terrific clash of social forces, to visualise the possible developments and decide our course of action.

It is Wrong to Identify Nations with War Aims of their Government

We must understand the basic position that it is idle to identify a whole nation with the war efforts and war aims of its existing Government be it imperio-democratic or fascist. If Germany has gone down under the iron heels of Fascism and swallowed Europe, it is no less tragic for the people of Germany than it is for the suppressed peoples of Europe. To stigmatise, therefore, the German nation as barbarous Huns and attempt to dominate and fetter it again would be no less a folly than it was in the last war. To do that would be to arrest the very process of revolution, the very resistance that is being silently organised by so many brave men and women of Germany and other parts of oppressed Europe. Though the upward curve in the social process is far more promising in Britain than anywhere else, yet we must see the truth that so long as the British masses do not get an upperhand in the direction of their country and their fate, they are also as helpless to put an end to exploiting imperialist system and to enforce the essential conditions for real peace and democracy, as the German people has been to resist the menacing rise of fascism and its aggression.

No National War by A People Against A People

There is nothing like a wholesale war between the British and the German people. To indulge in that type of national war by a people against a people would amount to a gross betrayal of all that we hold dear and claim to fight for.

International Identity and Clash of Interests between Classes and Masses

To begin with, we must see the rock-bottom truth that there is an identity of interests as well as a clash of interests between the warring parties, between the social classes composing them, both in the national and international front. That is the decisive factor in determining the developments of the war. That is the crux of the whole problem of the war.

The Real Nature of National & International Conflict

Although the classes of Britain and Germany are today deliberately engaged in a deadly war, there is deep below the surface an identity of interests between them. On the national front, on the question of their vested interests, their hegemony, their senior partnership in the capitalist, nay imperialist mode of production, they are enemies but only so long as they can afford to be. Yet, on the international front, on the question of a dominating control of their States by the masses, on the matter of elimination of all forms of exploitation of nations by nations and of masses by classes, they are potential allies to each other and ememies to the masses of their own countries. Similarly the British and German masses have a unity of purpose, an identity of interests in their common fight against the domination and exploitation of the classes. Fundamentally, the clash between the warring peoples, whatever may be the measure of support of the toiling masses in the actual declaration and prosecution of war, has been forced upon themselves by the very process of the capitalist system of exploitation, by militant nationalism, by the very logic of events over which they had little or no control. History would have been radically different if the peoples of Britain and France, Germany and Italy could have their way in preventing the brutal aggression against one country after another. If the peoples have their way even today, the fratricidal war would end in no time.

Its Outcome: Gradual Alignment of Classes and Masses

If we understand the real nature of the national and international conflict, of the forces heading towards a developing international class war, we would also understand that identical interests of the classes and the masses have met in the past, may be even meeting today partially behind the scene, and will meet in future cutting across the national barriers of mutual antagonism. Only in that context would the British policy towards India, towards the Soviet Union, towards its own masses be intelligible. As the war will develop and the warring countries will plunge deeper and deeper in the ecomonic crisis, they will move nearer and nearer to the crisis, this contradictory nature of the social conflict would come more and more into prominent relief and the alignment of classes and masses would be clearer and clearer. Nothing can stop this, if we blind ourselves to the realities, refuse to eradicate its root causes and deliberately move down to the precipice.

That Alone Accounts for Petainism and Hessism in Europe

It is because of the realisation of this identity of interests that the French bourgeoisie, faced with the defeat and the only other alternative of siding irretracably with the force of revolution, preferred to surrender to the German fascists, to the German bourgeoisie, and to bid for a junior partnership under the German hegemony. It was this identity of interests of classes that made Poland and Czechoslovakia reject the Soviet military aid. It was again this identity of interests that encouraged the fanatic Hess to indulge in a mad risk and gamble not only with his fate but with the fate of the German people. It is true, Hess has failed so far. But Hessism is not merely a German but a native British variety as well. It has its powerful ramifications in Britain in so many veiled and open but ruthless supporters of imperialism, of fascism, of capitalism. It may raise its head in any crisis.

No Short cut to A Decent Burial of Hessism

Hessism can be given a decent burial only if the masses in Britain can have their way and give a decent burial to the forces of reaction and counter-revolution. There is no short cut to an abiding class peace and world peace.

India Puzzled because of Her Failure to Understand the Social Process

The failure to understand the social forces working in every warring country and the war aims of the masses and classes reflected in lesser or greater degrees through its respective Government has landed nationalist India in a mess and made her behave like a stumbling, groping and blundering child in darkness in face of the crisis.

The Disastrous Nature of the Majority Opinion

The majority opinion seems to be in favour of a policy of watchful neutrality. It finds nothing to choose between imperialism and fascism and does not, therefore, know how to act in this "imperialist" war, so long as India remains a slave. It has naturally a deep antipathy, if not positive hatred, against British imperialism for its part in India. That antipathy and hatred make the nationalists blind to immediate consequences which they cannot avoid by being neutral or indifferent. Yet paradoxical as it may appear, many of these very people, although actuated by profound nationalist sentiments, support willy nilly or with enthusiasm the separate communal demands of their own community, forgetting that their very act may be obstructing the process of Indian nationalism which they welcome so warmly. Faced with the ugly aspects of fascism, rooted in imperialism itself, they, no doubt, shrink from it. But in action they are simply carried away by their spontaneous antipathy against British imperialism. Yet they fail to take an independent attitude without depending on the very imperialism they condemn.

The War Can Not be Both Moral and Immoral

Those who want to resist the war non-violently on the moral ground that all wars are violent and therefore evil, must pursue their logical course regardless of any political consideration. They cannot at the same time talk of not embarrassing the Government and advocating conditional support to the war. The immoral war cannot be turned into a moral war if only the Government grants some sort of central responsibility to the Indians. If the war is violent and "imperialist," it will still remain so.

If One Can Fight Imperialism, One Can Fight Fascism Too!

Those who fail to take any active part against fascism, the ruthless defender of the tottering imperialist system and the spearhead of the international counter-revolution on the ground that India is a slave country, cannot at the same time talk glibly of having every inten-

tion to fight fascism if they can. If they can find their way to fight imperialism, they can surely find their way to fight fascism as well.

Dangerous Demands

Those who are willing to support British imperialism in its war efforts only if it promises India independence after the war and transfer certain "substantial" powers to the Indians now, take a far worse stand. They condemn British imperialism, yet the logical termination of their position is to fall in line with the same war efforts of British imperialism. They claim to fight against imperialism, yet they expect independence as a gift from it and tell the British Government in advance that they are prepared to liquidate their struggle for freedom only if it fulfills their demands, which undoubtedly fall far short of complete independence.

Repudiation of the very Basis of International Solidarity of all Toilers

To those who consider that the possibility of the Soviet Union's entry into the war was not inherent in the very development of the war, the Soviet participation in the war cannot make the least difference in determining or changing its character. They cannot claim to give every aid to the Soviet Union, yet at the same time weaken by resistance the war efforts of a country with whom the Soviet has formed a close alliance to fight against the fascist powers. They may point out and make the peoples conscious of those elements which may be pretending to fight fascism, but they cannot talk of fighting fascism and yet fail to help those progressive and revolutionary forces which are objectively or subjectively arrayed against fascism. They cannot pose as genuine Marxists and advocate international solidarity of the exploited masses against reaction and counter-revolution and yet falter in action and take a purely nationalist-jingoist attitude and proclaim that their first task is to fight for Indian independence, regardless of any development in the international situation. To take that position at a time when the very existence of the Soviet Union and forces of international revolution are at stake, is to repudiate the very basis of international solidarity of the masses.

Self-contradictory Nature of the "Unconditional" Support to Imperialism

Those who advocate "unconditional" and active participation in the war efforts of the British Government and prefer not only bourgeois democracy to fascist dictatorship but also imperialism to fascism, fail to explain how fascism can be fought in preference to imperialism when they also admit that fascism rises to defend the very tottering imperialism and that there is no irreconcilable clash between imperialism and fascism. They also fail to explain why the bourgeois-democrats and imperialists surrendered to fascism almost everywhere in Europe and refused to save even their national freedom with Soviet aid. They utterly misunderstand and ridicule the anti-imperialist disposition of the Indian masses, antagonise them unnecessarily and fail to give expression to their objective urge for freedom in their anti-fascist programme. They dangerously limit their very propaganda against fascism by hesitating to explain its blood connection to imperialism lest their so-called anti-fascist allies get sacred away. While they rightly expose the grave dangers of a purely nationalist attitude taken up by so many rightists and leftists, they utterly ignore the limitations of Indian dependence.

The Way Out

Without expecting anything from British imperialism and making our active participation in favour of the international forces of progress and revolution conditional on the acceptance of certain partial demands by the British Government we may well advocate India's right of self-determination on its own merit to expose the absurd claims of the imperialists and even those socialists and labourites who proclaim that they are fighting for democracy and yet deny India her right to democratic freedom in the same breath on this or that ground. There is no question of choosing between imperialism and fascism or supporting imperialism as against fascism. In this decaying period of capitalism when fascism raises its ugly head exactly because of the tottering conditions of imperialism due to the sharpening of the international class struggle, it is idle to pretend to smash fascism with the aid of imperialism. That is Petainism in the garb of anti-fascism. The imperialists and those labour leaders who, faced with the gravest crisis, fail to forego their imperialist interests and support the right of self-determination of all oppressed peoples, are bound to surrender to fascism if they face a defeat as the French Government did. The Indian masses can, therefore, well tell the British masses that if they who have little or nothing to lose, fail to see the truth and assert themselves in time against the potential fascists, they cannot even defend their own freedom, far from smashing fascism.

Help the Process

The Indian masses, realising the international unity of the toilers against the reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces, can, therefore, play an active role, conscious and purposeful, for the culmination of that welcome process which has been greatly strengthened by the Soviet participation against the Fascist powers. That participation will be necessarily limited by India's conditions, but it will be no less positive and active. Will India play her part and do her utmost to tide over the crisis and prepare for every emergency ?

HALF AN HOUR WITH TAGORE

By Professor ISH KUMAR

We are two of us, both Professors from the Punjab. We had been waiting for two days at Santiniketan. Gurudev was not keeping good health. More important things than our interview were waiting. His latest play had been rehearsed and prepared and had to receive his final touches and blessings before being put on the Calcutta stage. It was said to be about untouchability and was creating quite a stir in the whole institution. All that we could follow of it was the excellent musical tunes and the dances—both were new to us then, half a dozen years ago.

Next morning, when the soft mellow August sun was gilding the eastern panes of the *Uttarayan*, we were ushered into Gurudev's presence. He was sitting in an armchair wrapped in a white shawl and was looking exactly as he looks in his pictures—only his eyes were deeper set and even at that age in that condition of health there was animation and brightness in them that no picture can convey. But we were too overpowered to observe him or to talk to him for the first couple of minutes.

"You're coming from the Panjab," he said.

"Yes" we answered, as we sat down. By this time, I had found my tongue.

"You never come to the Panjab. Recently you went to Karachi and from the route you took, coming and going, we all thought you were purposely avoiding our province. There may be hundreds of youngmen there wanting to have your *darshan* who can't come all the way to Santiniketan.

He more than smiled and said, "I feel nervous about that *darshan* business. It is a tiring process—crowds at the stations, elbowing to take dust off the feet and so on."

"But you have been facing bigger crowds in America."

"It is different there—there 'tis an ovation and that is all—your contact with the crowd is more of an actor than of a Gurudev," and he smiled again.

"I hope you have'nt misunderstood the agitation in the Sikh press."

"Now, the Sikhs have misunderstood me. I have done more for spreading Sikhism in Bengal than any one else, even of their own community. I was the first to introduce the message of Nanak to this province and have preached it in one form or other in a hundred different ways. And yet the Sikh can't stand an honest difference of opinion on a minor point from one who still has a great admiration for their Gurus and their doctrines. They have raised an unnecessary storm which has caused me considerable pain because most of it is the result of ignorant and misunderstanding."

The secretary peeped in. We understood his reminder not to detain Gurudev for long, but Gurudev was himself getting interested in the talk.

"But that does'nt mean," he went on, "that I shan't come to the Panjab. In fact I do want to get some money. I really wonder what art Pt. Malavya knows of raising subscriptions. I lack that art. In America people promised me millions of dollars, but the slump came and with the slump came their apologies and I am left to the Indian resources. My present need is a women's university."

I got my chance. I had been reading Bertrand Russell's *Marriage and Morals* and all sorts of female problems had been vexing me during my tour in Southern India.

"But what about your ideal of co-education ?" I asked.

"Personally I am for wholesale co-education; but I feel people are not yet ready. Hundreds of parents would entrust their girls' education

to me if I could make separate arrangement for them."

"But has co-education succeeded in the West?" interposed my friend.

"Not much in England, but certainly in America, especially because there they do not attach an emotional importance to chastity that we do in India."

The secretary peeped in once again. Thank goodness he was not looking daggers at us and our eyes had an expression of appeal as well as apology.

"Bath is ready, Gurudev," he said. But Gurudev was not ready and put him off by saying that he was coming.

"What are *your* views on chastity?" When I asked that question, I was feeling not so sorry for keeping Gurudev from bath for another five minutes, rather happy for the talk having turned exactly on the topic I had been thinking over for weeks.

"I should like to reserve my judgment," came the damper.

"But where else have we to look for guidance, when people like Bertrand Russell are changing all the fabric of convention and morality in the West?"

The sun was now falling on Gurudev's face and all of us shifted our seats a little.

"One can't deny," came the reply of the sage, "that marriage as an institution has failed, especially in the West, and chastity, after all, is a social convention."

There was a pause for a minute and his last words of warning and wisdom came ringing; ringing is the only word for the poet's voice even in that delicate condition of his health. His words were: "But we shall be committing suicide if we imitate the West. We can't have the same moral standards till we don't have the same social background. The West evolves and discovers new ideals and values as time changes. We don't evolve. We stand and wait and like to live on the discoveries of England and America. Let us learn but let us have our feet firm on the ground. Let us evolve from what we are and think what is good for us. The West has broken loose of conventions and perhaps can stand the open air. Who knows we still need the protection of the glass house? Perhaps our stomachs are too weak and can't stand the tonic the West is living on. Read Russells and Huxleys as much as you like, but do not forget that they are essentially addressing the Western world. You will have to produce your own Russells and your own Huxleys who will study your life and lead the process of evolution. Philosophy does not live in air. It has its solid base on *terra firma* and you can no more build society purely on Western books any more than you can order Taj Mahal and St. Paul's to change places."

The secretary peeped in a third time. He must have been thinking we were a nuisance. Even if Gurudev was not ready for his bath, we were feeling ashamed for having stayed too long. We got up full of thanks and apologies. He didn't like we should feel so guilty and said as he was being helped from the chair, "I hope we shall continue our talk someday."

The day has not come since then. Today our great Russel has been snatched away. To us he was a Russel and a Yeats in one!

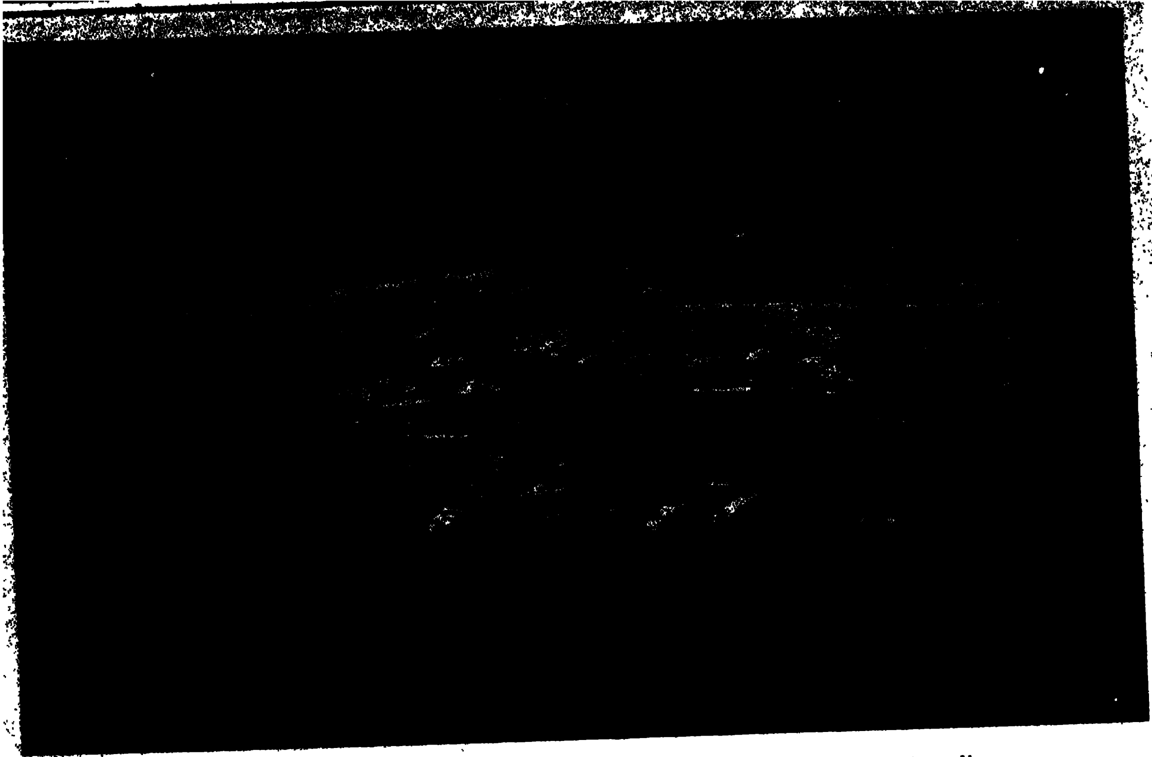




Girls from Boda in their local hand-made costume Dalacarlia



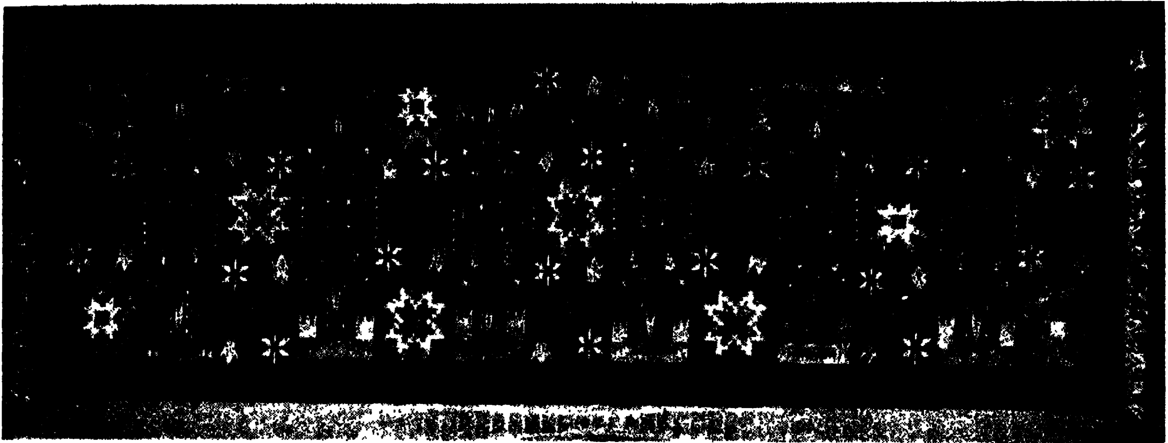
Dalecarlian girls in the front of the main building of the Alvros farm from Harjedalen. The farm includes 15 different log-houses used for different purposes. The main building shows as a whole how Swedish peasants in the forest tracts arrange their home



A view of the parish Gagnef from the mount Djurmo Klack. Dalacarlia



The [illegible] weaving school at Sätergläntan. The assembly-room. Insjön. Dalecarlia.



Modern weaving after old pattern. Dalacarlia.

ANDERS ZORN—THE ARTIST AND HIS DALACARLIA

By LAKSHMISWAR SINHA

Of all Swedish artists, Anders Zorn was undoubtedly the painter best known abroad as a brilliant portrait painter as well as a depicter of nude with brush and etching needle. Besides his own work and closely connected with it, the great work Zorn did for home industries and crafts of his own province Dalacarlia in particular, is perhaps not so widely known outside his own country, Sweden. My special interest in Swedish Sloyd and crafts made me pay several visits to Dalacarlia and its craft centres and thus I had had occassion to know something of the traditional arts and crafts as well as the life of the province.

Zorn came from Mora—one of the large parishes on the Lake Siljan (175 sq. miles) in Dalacarlia—a province which is known as the "Heart of Sweden." His childhood was spent at his grandfather's farm in the village of Utmeland.

"Zorn as a shepherd boy," writes Oraxel Romdahl, Professor of History of Fine Arts, "started carving figures in wood, and he remained faithful to this plastic gift throughout his life. At the age of twenty, he found the golden apple of fortune in his cap, and throughout his life he succeeded marvellously well in the world and in the era in which he was destined to live."

Zorn while staying abroad, used to pay occasional summer-visits to his own district and it was then that he understood clearly the importance of preserving the best of the local arts and crafts and folk-music, etc., *i.e.*, the ancient culture of the place. He then painted a good number of pictures of old craftsmen at their



The Writer at Mora Church where Zorn's tomb is to be seen

work and thus preserved the memory of the dying trades declining under the influce of modern mechanisation. He visualized a plan and actually began to lay the foundation of that collection, a knowledge of which is so necessary to an understanding of the ancient culture of Dalacarlia.



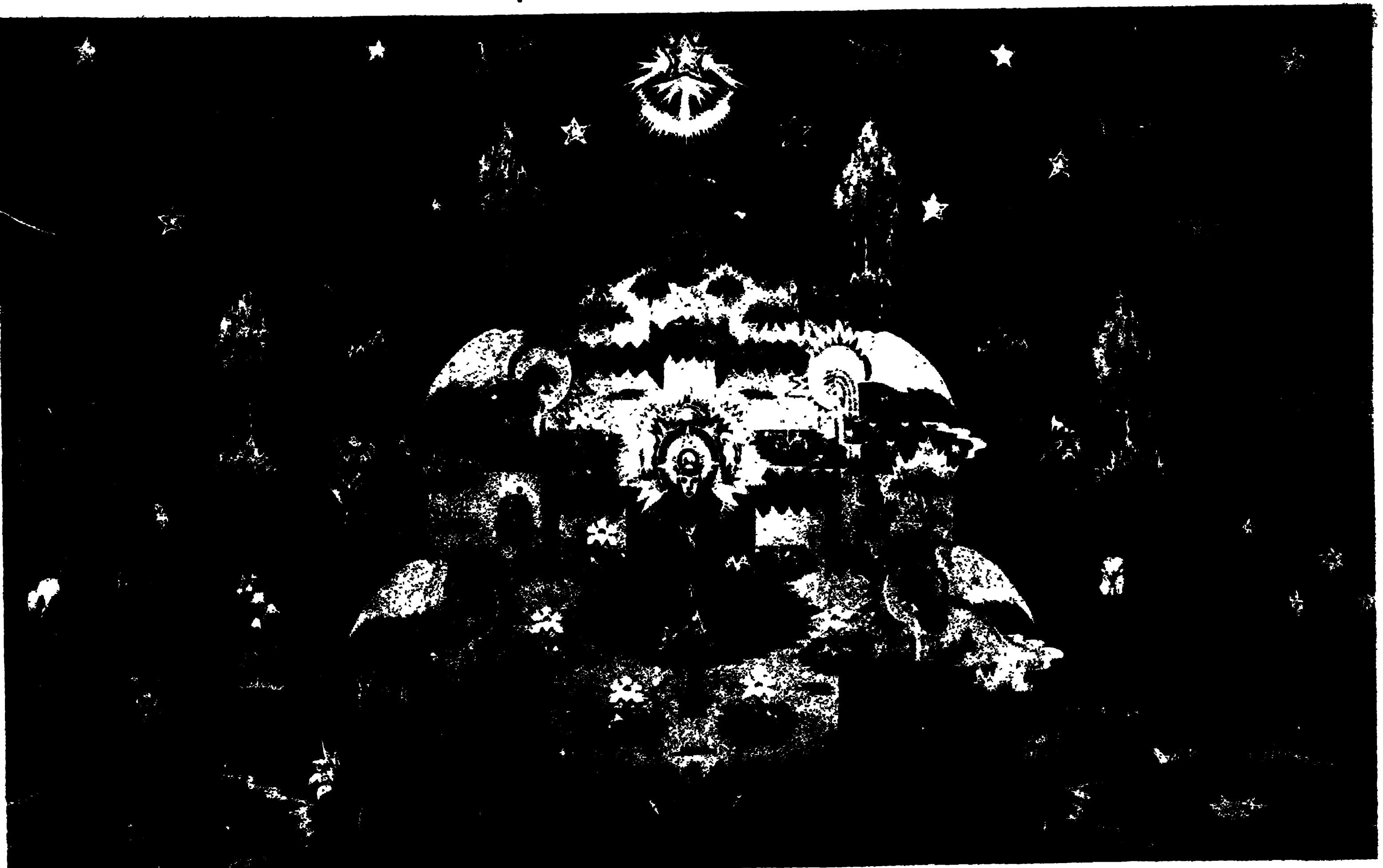
Winter view of a farm in the Gagnef parish

After spending years abroad, he returned to Mora with his wife Mrs. Emma Zorn and made his home there and began his widely planned work for his people and district. He founded a museum of local arts and crafts at Skeriol—now known as "Zorns Gammelgard." It is the largest and finest of all such museums in Dalacarlia. It is made up of nineteen buildings of different types and ages (dating from 1100). It gives a picture of a Mora farm and the work and life of the inhabitants and provides an opportunity to study the development of wood work during ages. There is a large collection of antiquities and objects from the stone age and it gives a vivid picture of the ancient culture of the place. Museums of this type are now-a-days to be found almost in all big parishes. It was Zorn who inspired the people of his district to respect and preserve from destruction the magnificent heritage of the past.

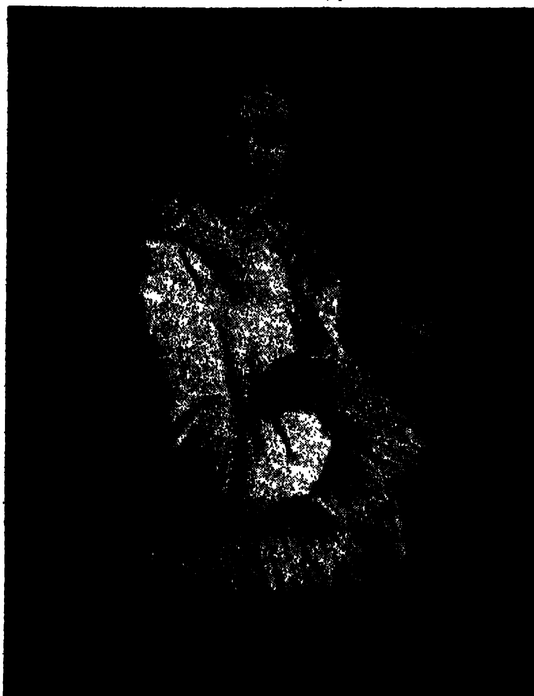
Besides the museum at Skeriol, Zorn also founded a people's high school and an agricultural school at Mora. In this school, there is a choice collection of old textiles from all parts of Dalacarlia. A large collection of modern Swedish art is also to be seen there,



A corner of Zorn's studio



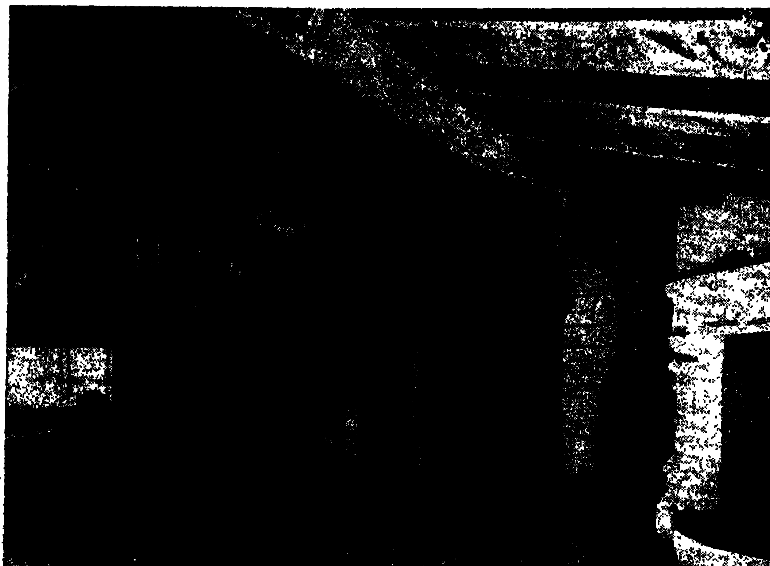
“Abbot Hans” of the famous legend—“Christmas Rose” by Selma Lagerlof. Composed and weaved by Ruth Fischer at South Birgittaskolan



A girl of Gagnef in her winter-costume. She is a sister of one of the models of Zorn

including his "Self Portrait in Red," a portrait of Emma Zorn, a good number of etchings and a fountain-figure in bronze standing in the court-yard.

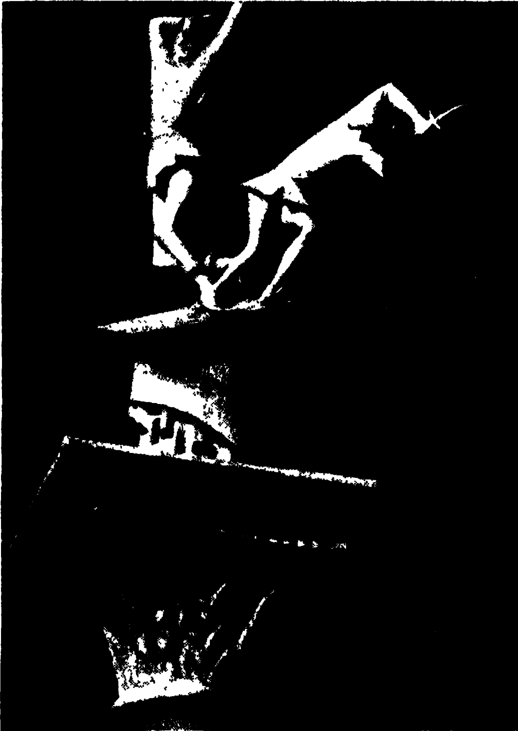
There are villages—a good number of them—round the smiling shores of the beautiful Siljan, where the inhabitants have retained their old style of dress and ways of living more than anywhere else in Sweden. Mora is one of them. It occupies from olden time a position which has made it the centre of important roadways and have given the village a special importance in the eyes of the Swedes. With it is associated many a historical event. It is no wonder that Zorn after spending years abroad came back again to his birth place and devoted himself to the cause of culture of his own district.



The parlour in the "Bergsmansgarden," the mine—owner's manor. Dalacarlia

The church of Mora dominates the valley and is surrounded by the largest of the villages in this district, Morastrand. Near the church on a barrow-like mound stands Zorn's statue of Gustavus Vasa which is considered his noblest sculptural work and is one of the great national monuments of Swedish Art. To the west of the church and not far from it, lies Zorn's home known as Zorngarden which was constructed in accordance with the old traditions of Swedish wood-work and wood-architecture, with tarred timber wall and steeply sloping roof. His widow is now living there and therefore the house is not open to the public. On the western side of the leafy garden lies Zorn's studio—" My workshop " as he called it. It is a stately old building dating from 1500. In the garden there are two famous figures in bronze—" The Morning Bath." Their replicas are to be found in the garden outside the Academy of Art, Stockholm.

The province of Dalacarlia is righty called a miniature Sweden—reproducing within its border all the characteristic features of the country's landscape with the sole exception of the most northerly mountainous regions. The Dales are a virile race of independent-minded men and women, who have preserved the character and customs of their forefathers more than the Swedes of other parts. The out-of-the-way position of the district has exposed its inhabitants less to foreign influences. They are calm, deliberate and firm in their determination. Falun is the principal town of the province, and known especially for its copper mine. The Store Kopparbergs Bergslags Aktiebolag which owns



Wood-sculpture : By Sculptor Gnista
"The bailiffs being driven away from the Castles"
by the Sculptor Gnista

the mine is perhaps the oldest chartered company in existance. During my stay there I visited the museum of the company. Among the interesting objects, there is a big collection of coins including the largest coin in the world. weighing 40 lb; there is also the document dated 1288, touching the right to exploit the Falun mine. It is estimated that since the middle of the 17th century, it has produced 500,000 tons of copper, over one ton of gold and 15 tons of silver. The mine galleries are more than 12 miles in length.

Besides the above, the province is rich in iron ore deposits. The mineral resources of Dalacarlia made the province "the treasury of the crown" during the whole of the middle ages,—and it has, even to this day, preserved its reputation as one of the chief mining districts of Sweden.

Mora, Orsa, Leksand, Rattvik and Gagnef are some of the villages well-known for retaining their ancient but beautiful costume, crafts and mode of building houses.

One summer day, while returning from Mora —the Zorn's place, I stopped at Orsa which is surrounded by perhaps the most beautiful scenery. I met there, to my great surprise the Hon'ble August Silfwerhjelm, the retired Swedish Consulate General for British India. He was the first Swede that I had met in my life. It was he who while residing in Calcutta, as Consulate General, gave me all information regarding the educational Sloyd in Sweden. He invited me to stay with him. In fact, I paid him several visits since then, whenever I went to Dalacarlia for a respite. Once he took me with him to the famous hill-shieling of Fryksos. As we went up to the summit of the mountain, which is the highest spot in the vale of Siljan, I could enjoy therefrom the wonderful panoramic view over the lake Orsa, the great—as if boundless—stretches of forests and chain of mountains and also the whole valley. It can only be described as magnificent. Knowing my interest in music,



"Self Portrait" by Anders Zorn

one day my host invited the famous group of Dalacarlia singers. I had had an occasion to



Maria Magdalen: Wood-sculpture in the Vika Church in Dalacarlia (latter part of the 14th century). The Vika Church is situated near the old "copper-town" Falun

hear their wonderful folk-songs before in Stockholm in a public gathering This time the leader, Mrs. H., sang one after another folk-songs of Dalacarlia, just to entertain me. It was, as far as I remember, sometime in the third week of April when the spring-air had already forced itself upon the retiring winter and the day light was increasing every day. It was one of the unforgettable evenings that I had had during my tour there. This folk music rang beautiful even to my Indian ears.

On an inlet of the eastern shore of the Lake Siljan stands the parish of Rattvik. The bright and handsome local costume of Rattvik is commonly worn by the native of the village.

The type of buildings in Rattvik is very attractive. The architecture, as well as the Sloyd and handicraft has a district style of its own. The village with large red painted farms and a four-sided court-yard inside have both a decorative and a monumental appearance. While wandering in this region, once I stopped in the village Sjugare and had a glance at the farm of Erik A. Karlfeldt, the great poet of Dalacarlia. A couple of years before his death, I had the good fortune to meet him at Stockholm just before the award of the Nobel-prize.

Of Zorn Dr. Carl G. Laurin the famous art-critic of Sweden wrote some thirty years ago:

"Zorn has sometimes taken peasant girls from Rattvik as models for his etchings. Their tall conical hats and the motely cross-striped patch on the front of their skirts are well-known all over Sweden. In no part of Sweden do we find such a highly-developed



A Dalacarlian at her spinning-wheel

peasant culture as in Dalarne (Dalacarlia), and it is a fortunate coincidence that perhaps our greatest artist, Anders Zorn, was born in Mora, and, after travelling

all over the world and achieving universal fame, has gone back to settle there. That elemental force which has always been found and still exists in Dalarne, whose roots extend right into heathen times, which shines forth in the blood-red colour of the peasant's dress, and resounds in "marrowy heathen music" in the tunes on cow-herds' horn echoing among the hill-sides and through the forests, is also found in Anders Zorn. Like his friend the poet Karlfeldt, who is also a *Dalakarl*, he has with every fibre of his being sucked in all the beautiful visions which Dalarne has to offer; he has gazed over the glittering bay of Gesundaberg; he has drunk at the cool "bottle brown water of the Dalalfven; he has drunk in the juices



A Dalacarlian with her guitar

of the berry-laden soil, he has chewed the resin of the firs, and inhaled the smell of the mountain dairy, a mixture of cow-house odours and the fresh scent of the forest, with a tang of sour milk from the milk-room. It is in the same surroundings and on the same fare of hard bread and pea pancake with a sweet or two on Sundays on which "Kings-Karin" has been reared, the healthy-looking peasant-girl in red shawl, with her unruly eyes, her slightly protruding cheek-bones, the fresh, almost too red, complexion, with a healthy, unconscious sensuality, who embodies some of the most precious characteristics of our race. She is a symbol of uncorrupted peasant life, a spring of power which it is to be hoped will never be troubled nor ever loose its force. No painter has ever been able to render the peasant nature in all its fulness and strength like Zorn."

The quotation above gives a picture of Dalacarlia and her gifted son in their truest colour.

At the most southerly point of the lake is situated Leksand, like Rattvik one of the most prosperous parishes of Dalacarlia. The inhabitants commonly dress themselves in colourful costume of their native parish. On Sundays one can see them assemble to attend the divine service in the church in their parish-costumes.

Tallberg is another place of interest. There is an open-air residential school, where I passed one night as a guest of its rector. He took me to Gustav Ankarcrona's home, built in the style of an old timbered Leksand farm. Ankarcrona, who had become famous for his paintings about the last decade of the nineteenth century, came to Dalacarlia in the beginning of the present century and did much for the retention of the beautiful peasant dress, old customs and manners. He founded the Home-Sloyd Association of Leksand. The large collection of old handicraft he made on behalf of the association, demonstrates the development of the ancient hand-work and peasant art of the district. Ankarcrona's home is situated on the most beautiful point of the height called 'Holen.' His farm and collections now belong to Leksand's Home-Sloyd Association.

The above is a short and incomplete description, of the services Zorn the artist rendered to his native province Dalacarlia, and of Dalacarlia itself, which attracted and fascinated me by reason of its ancient culture, boundless expanses of forests, and wealth of magnificent views, and above all my long association with the kindly people who made me feel always at Dalacarlia, "He who knows thee, longs for thee."



TERRITORIAL RE-GROUPING OF INDIAN STATES

By Prof. K. R. R. SASTRY, M.A., M.L.,
Reader, Law Department, University of Allahabad

One finds 601 States, Jagirs and Estates in India. Of these 286 are organised in groups called Thanas under officers appointed by the Government of India. These States vary from Hyderabad with a population of 14 millions (1931 census) and an annual revenue of eight and a half crores of rupees to the State of Bilbari, having a population of 27 souls and an annual revenue of eighty rupees !

Wide Diversity All Round

The area of 178 States is from 10 to 100 square miles each; 202 States have each an area less than 10 square miles.

Only 40 States have High Courts. Thirty-four States have separated executive from judicial functions. Fifty-six States have a fixed privy purse. Forty-six States have a graded civil list of officials. Fifty-four States have pension or provident fund schemes.

More than six hundred States, Jagirs, and petty principalities have persisted in India owing to the *might* of the Paramount Power What would have happened to these petty States which cannot maintain a policeman and a schoolmaster if their terrain were in Europe, it is not difficult to surmise.

Lesson of History

Many years ago Germany did deal with a somewhat similar situation

"when she had a number of tiny States. The Princes of the fragmentary States in Germany retained their titles and some revenue, but their powers were taken from them and their States were absorbed into the German Reich."

"It seems to me," said Mr. H. S. L. Polak, a friend of India, "that something of that kind might be done both as regards British India and as regards the larger and better administered States." (*Journal of The East India Association*, October, 1939).

No Violation of Engagements

Paramountcy owing to peculiar developments has become a huge "hospital" with too many patients suffering from incurable diseases but undying ! (Lattbe). Except *a few* well-governed States, how many of these petty bolstered up relics of medieval barbarism could have continued with their territorial integrity, once the big arm of the Paramount Power had elected to remove itself from the vortex of affairs ? Illustrious Sir Henry Maine had observed as early as 1864 that the petty Kathiawar States would have "hastened to utter anarchy" if the Protecting Power had not "interfered for their settlement and pacification."

Elsewhere a complete analytical study of all treaties, engagements and Sanads has been made in a forthcoming work of this writer. A careful study of them reinforces the lesson that when the number is reduced to 200 from 601 neither treaty *nor any other solemn engagement would be violated.*

Thus the *size and income* of many of these small Jagirs had been *permanent impediments* in the way of a minimum standard of civilized administration. Periodical sermons by successive Viceroys since 1927 had had little effect. The new body, "Chamber of Princes," has thus far essentially bestirred itself to the preservation of treaty-rights and remedy of economic grievances. Winterton's famous declaration of February, 1938, hedged in by later ones is having the same result as the pious Art. XIX of the League of Nations' Covenant for peaceful alteration of treaties !

Suggested Solutions

Suggested solutions of this problem give an unerring clue to the method of approach. In sheer disgust it is proposed that all States should be liquidated and the ruling families pensioned off. This is revolutionary and subversive of solemn undertakings. There is nothing inherently vicious with the institution of Kingship, if it has adjusted itself to the modern rôle of a Constitutional Crown. Further, the Indian States have played and are playing an important rôle as the training ground of Indian administrators.

A doughty thinker and brilliant lawyer, the late Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, would prefer to incorporate all minor States into the adjacent Provinces and to make the major States, Constitutional Units in a Federal India. The rulers in these major States should become strictly constitutional monarchs. Following

the ancient Indian precedents, Mr. Iyengar would prefer that the legislature of each State should elect a qualified member of the Ruling family to be the head of the State for life.

In his memorable speech to the Chamber of Princes on March 13, 1939, the Crown Representative stated that

"in no case was there a greater and more immediate need for co-operation and combination than in the smaller States, the resources of which were so limited as virtually to preclude them from providnig for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards."

In this view, the Crown Representative advised these small States to take early steps

"to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services, so far as this was practicable."

The All-India States' Peoples' Conference held at Ludhiana in February, 1939, recommended that all States with a population below 20 lakhs or an annual revenue of less than 50 lakhs of rupees should amalgamate with neighbouring provinces. If given effect to, only 21 States will remain as separate units and the remaining 580 would get absorbed. Can such a *drastic* remedy, evolved from the cool research bureau, pay sufficient deference to sentiment, tradition and historic facts?

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavacharier, the veteran Indian publicist has well stated that

"the innumerable small States, unable to maintain a School or a Magistrate should be absorbed at once either in British India or the neighbouring Indian States." (Message to the Congress, dated March 14, 1940).

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who has continuously studied the problems of the Indian States' people feels compelled to state as a solution that

"the vast bulk of these States must be merged either with the British Indian territory or as was suggested by the Viceroy amalgamated with the adjoining Indian States."

In ultimate analysis, he visualises not more than 50 States—50 Constitutional units comprising the territory of 601 States. On a proper readjustment according to a linguistic basis, there will have to be 14 Provinces. The scheme of Federation which is the only *natural* solution for India will centre round the problem of federating these 50 units with 14 Provinces of British India.

Wanted a Royal Commission

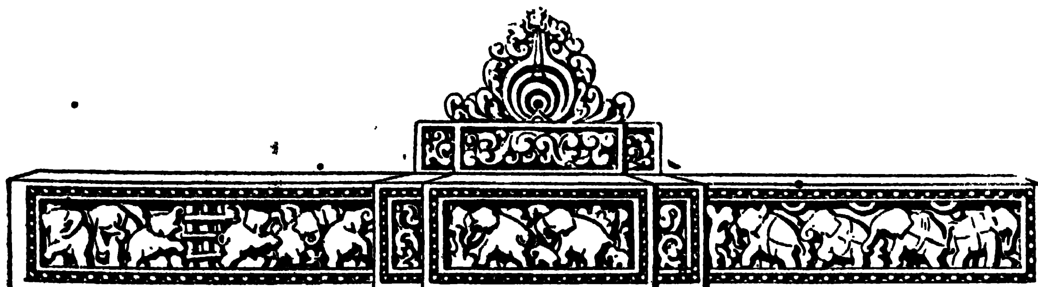
Through a process of constitutional *evolution*, this phase of the problem can be solved aright through the *appointment of a Royal Commission empowered for the purpose by the Crown* immediately after the end of the maelstrom in Europe. The fact-finding process may proceed in advance. It is high time that the group-gatherings of Rulers do apply their minds to this problem which "*transcends the struggle for democracy and freedom within Indian States.*" (Italics mine).

The obvious destiny of small States is to become merged in democratic India. *Conditions of the Indian problem have vitally changed.* The safety of British rule in India, wrote Lord Canning, "is increased not diminished by the maintenance of Native Chiefs well affected to us." His words that

"one of our best mainstays will be found in these Native States, when the interests of England elsewhere may require that her Eastern Empire shall incur more than ordinary risk,"

have proved prophetic. One has only to cite the Panjdeh Incident, the Great War (1914-1918) and the present lawlessness in Europe.

The safety of India had rested on a firm basis when Britain had trusted India. In the disturbed conditions of modern world and the nature of a modern three-dimensional warfare, small States are a perennial source of constant anxiety and weakness all-round—internal as well as external. The historical antecedents of these petty creations and the results of the policy of vacillation and non-interference on the part of the Paramount Power alike justify *the exit of these feudal relics* (small States).



CONTINUED ABDUCTION OF HINDU WOMEN—ITS EFFECT ON THE GROWTH OF THE BENGALEE HINDUS

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L.,

Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society

The surest way to destroy a nation or a community is to confiscate its women. The Arab conquest of Barbary in the seventh century was consolidated by every Arab soldier and adventurer forcibly marrying several Berber women; making it difficult, if not impossible for a native Berber male to marry a Berber female. In about two or three generations Barbary became entirely Muhammadan in religion and Arabic speaking in tongue. Since then it has remained so.

A similar phenomenon is happening before our very eyes—although on a smaller scale, and at a much slower rate. During the five years 1926-1931, at least 3,499 Hindu women were kidnapped or abducted. Of the offenders more than three-fourth were Muhammadans. Those Hindu women, who were abducted by Muhammadans ultimately became Muhammadans, and mothers of Muhammadans in the next generation. Those who were abducted by the Hindus not finding any shelter or place in Hindu Society also ultimately became Muhammadans. Such is the weakness of the social organisation of the present-day Hindus. It can neither protect its womanhood; nor can it find for these unfortunate women any very honourable place in society, and practically forces them or drives them away to a hostile fold.

The average number of abductions of Hindu women is 700 per year. It may be said that the number is too small to affect the growth of the great Hindu community, nearly two and a half crore strong. We shall try to show that the number is not quite so small as to be negligible in its effect on the growth of the Hindus.

The number of Hindu married females aged 15 to 40, *i.e.*, of the reproductive age-period and those who may be expected to give birth to children and thus contribute towards the growth of the Hindu community was in 1931 as follows :

Aged		No. of Hindu married females
15-20	..	9,36,000
20-25	..	9,82,000
25-30	..	7,43,000
30-35	..	5,80,000
35-40	..	3,36,000
15-40	..	35,77,000

Those women who are abducted are generally between the ages of 15 to 25. It is the younger women of the reproductive age-period, who are valued most by the abductors and kidnappers. The notorious *Lal Istahar* or Red Circular issued during the communal riots of 1925-26 in Calcutta referred to these ages as the most suitable age for kidnapping Hindu women. Out of about 36 cases where the ages of the abducted women were reported in the newspapers, 25 were below 20, 7 below 25 and as regards the rest there were conflicting versions about the age.

And of these those who are now aged 15-20 would contribute 5 times more towards the increase of population than those who are now aged 35-40; those who are now 20-25 would similarly contribute 4 times more. If we *assume* that 700 young Hindu women have been kidnapped or abducted every year throughout the relevant period. *i.e.*, since 1905—an assumption erring on the side of under-statement of the truth, having regard to the political, social and communal situation in our province of Bengal, the ratio of growth these kidnapped and abducted Hindu women would have contributed towards the increase of population to the total growth of the Hindu population would be in the proportion of $3{,}500 \times (5+4+3+2+1)$: 35,77,000, *i.e.*, the quinquennial total multiplied by the sum of their productivities to the total number of married Hindu females or 52,500 : 35,77,000 or about 1·5 per cent of the total Hindu growth. We submit that 1·5 per cent is not quite negligible.

The Hindus have been growing at a lower rate than the Muhammadans during the period censuses have been taken. The causes are many and various; partly social, partly climatic, and partly accidental. To eliminate the social causes as much as possible we shall confine ourselves to the growth of the Hindus alone in the

different parts of the province; and to eliminate the accidental causes or to reduce them to a minimum we shall confine ourselves to a single census decade, 1921-1931, when we know Bengal suffered the least from floods and famines and fevers.

During the decade 1921-1931, the Hindus of the Burdwan and the Presidency Divisions have increased from 114,70,000 to 123,43,000 *i.e.*, they have increased by 7·6 per cent. During the same period the Hindus of the Rajsahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions have increased from 93,38,000 to 98,68,000 *i.e.*, they have increased by 5·9 per cent. What is or are the cause or causes of the slower growth of the Hindus in the Eastern portion of the province compared with the Western? Eastern Bengal is reputed to be the healthier of the two. If restriction of widow re-marriage is the main cause of the slower growth of the Hindus, it affects both the Eastern and the Western portions equally well. To what, then, the slower growth of the Hindus in the Eastern portion is due? That a portion—a considerable portion—is due to the abduction of women, there cannot be any doubt.

We have seen that abducted Hindu women account for 1·5 per cent of the total growth of the Hindus. This is the *all*-Bengal figure. It is likely to be much higher in Eastern Bengal; for in the Dacca and the Chittagong Divisions the Muhammadans form more than 70 per cent of the population; and in the Rajsahi they are 61 per cent; and the police stations are far and few between and over-worked; and often inaccessible on account of the many creeks and rivers. We give below the average area and the average population served by a police station in several Divisions in 1921 as well as in 1931:

AVERAGE AREA AND POPULATION OF A THANA

Division	Area 1921	Area 1931	Population 1921	Population 1931
Burdwan	103	115 sq. miles	58,000	70,000
Presidency	123	136 ,,	60,000	68,000
Rajshahi	120	125 ,,	63,000	68,000
Dacca	113	113 sq. miles	90,000	97,000
Chittagong	194	191 ,,	92,000	1,03,000
Bengal	123	128 ,,	70,000	79,000

Without being dogmatic, we may safely estimate the percentage for the Eastern half to be at least *twice* the provincial figure, *i.e.*, 3·0 per cent; for more than 80 per cent of the cases come from Eastern Bengal and Rajsahi; and only 43 per cent of the total number of Hindus live there. Now, for every case reported to the police, several more cases escaped detection, or go unreported for fear of social scandal. To be on the safe side let us assume that every *alternate* case is reported to the police—a very modest estimate; for those who are engaged in women protection work, such as the field-workers of the *Matri-Sadan*, the Hindu Mission, &c., &c., estimate the actual number of cases to be five to ten times the number reported to the police. So in the Eastern half of the province we may safely say that about 6·0 per cent of the growth of the Hindus is retarded by the kidnapping and abduction of women.

In the Western portion the growth of the Hindus is 7·6 per cent; in the Eastern it is 5·9 per cent. The difference is 1·7 per cent. Of the 5·9 per cent of the Hindu growth in the Eastern half about 6·0%, *i.e.*, about 0·36 or 0·4 per cent of the total is accounted for by the abduction of Hindu women. Thus about *one-fourth* to *one-fifth* of the slower growth—we are not very anxious about the particular figure in the Eastern portion—is due to the kidnapping and abduction of women. This on the supposition that the Hindu growth in the Western half is normal. In any view, abduction of Hindu women by the Muhammadans, and their total loss to the Hindu community, so far as it affects the growth of the Hindus, is a matter which cannot be neglected any longer without serious consequences.



EFFECT OF BRIDE-PRICE AND DOWRY ON MARITAL CONDITION AMONG HINDUS OF BENGAL

By Prof. KSHITISH PRASAD CHATTOPADHYAYA, M.A. (Cantab.)

A bill has recently been introduced in the Legislative Assembly of our province, with a view to restrict dowry given at marriage to Rs. 51/- only. The necessity of a piece of social legislation is to be judged by the welfare it may be expected to bring about to the members of society. The proposed bill seeks to impose a limit only on the money paid by the bride's father when bestowing his daughter in marriage. No limit is however set to the value of ornaments or any other thing in kind given by the bride's parent as a gift or on bride-price *i.e.*, payment by the bridegroom.

Under the Hindu law of inheritance a married woman does not inherit any portion of her father's property, if there be brothers of the woman. What is bestowed on her at marriage is however her own property, *stridhan* as it is termed. Until recently, this was about the only kind of property which she normally owned. Gifts to the daughter or her husband at marriage are however made only by the higher castes, like the Brahman, Baidya and Kayastha who form 14% of the Hindu population of Bengal, and such sub-sections of other castes as aspire to elevate themselves above the general body of caste men. Even among Brahmans, important sections like the Srotriyas, and among Kayasthas, the lower ranks usually exact a bride-price. This realisation of a payment from the bridegroom or his guardians is in fact universal among Hindus, barring the exceptions noted. "The general rule" states the Census Report of 1901 for Bengal "is that a man has to pay for his bride ..... In the case of Goalas, Kaibarttas and Rajbansis it is said to range as high as Rs. 300/- and is seldom less than Rs.40/- or Rs. 50/-. The Namasudras and Pods pay from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 150/-." A similar price is paid by the Sadgopes. The practice of taking a bride-price prevails also among the aboriginal tribes; but in their case the difficulties caused by this custom are mitigated by the fact that

(a) Marriage by service is allowed in lieu of payment, as among Santals and Koches.

(b) Leviration and widow marriage in general is permissible.

As the Census Commissioner notes, where the cost of getting a wife is great, the men have to wait until they are able to save enough money to buy a wife. Further, if a man is past middle age by the time he has accumulated the price, he would be unwilling to marry too young a girl who cannot be a helpmate or really a wife. But a girl near the age of puberty was formerly, at least, rare to find unmarried. The price asked is much higher than for a child bride. The result is that a certain proportion of the men die celibates. We find for example that in 1901, as many as 161 Kaibarttas in 1000 were unmarried between the ages of 20 and 40, and that 20 were still unmarried even after 40 years of age. The corresponding figures for Brahmans in Bengal were 208 and 72 respectively. Part of the postponement of marriage among Brahmans was probably due to the desire to be an earner after completing education. It should however be remembered that the figures for Brahmans include a large number of sub-castes and castes, who exact a bride-price. The Moslem Julahas, on the other hand, who are economically comparable to the Kaibarttas but who encourage widow remarriage had only 71 unmarried betwen 20 and 40, and only 9 after forty years of age. In the adjoining province of Bihar, the bride-price is very low. The usual amount paid in 1901 varied, according to the Census Report from Rs. 1/4/- to Rs. 10/- in different cases. In some cases, no price was paid. In this area we find that the Kahars had only 57 and 16 unmarried in the age groups noted while the Barhi give returns of 43 and 13 in Bihar proper. If we compare the figures for the same artisan castes in Bengal and Bihar, the effect of bride-price in retarding marriage among men becomes even more apparent. The blacksmiths of Bengal had 147 and 29 unmarried men in the age groups considered against 38 and 19 for the corresponding group in Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. The figures for Kumhars in Bengal were 158 and 30, while in Bihar (for the area noted) it was 25 and 13 only. It is to be noted that besides lowness of pride-price, there are other factors which facilitate marriage in Bihar among these groups. Both leviration and widow remarriage are prevalent.

Now, it is obvious that if the wife is below the age of puberty at marriage and the disparity in age between husband and wife is great, the effective period of child bearing is shortened. Also, the woman is left a widow earlier. with fatherless children to bring up by her own efforts. A young man of the artisan castes or a peasant will be earning average wages when he is 20-21 years of age. A girl can take her place as a wife in such a household when she is 14-15 years of age. A difference of one or two years more will not create any difficulty. Any factor which tends to increase the average difference in age beyond eight is therefore likely to be harmful socially. According to the Census of Bengal for 1921, the average difference in age between husband and wife was 8·7 years. As the Muhammadan men marry earlier than Hindus and the women marry equally early in both communities, the disparity in age is greater in the case of Hindus.

In the Census of Bengal 1881, a rough calculation has been given of the mean duration of married life. The mean age of the married of both sexes is subtracted from the mean age of widows and widowers. The duration comes out as 15·77 years. Obviously, a good part of this period among Hindus is really not of adult married life, especially among the lower castes. The effective duration can be brought near the mean duration only by raising the age of marriage. The effect on the number of children per family is apparent from certain investigations carried out in 1921 by the Census authorities. Several thousand families were examined and the duration of married life and number of children were noted. A period of 33 years, commencing from puberty was taken to include the child bearing age of the wife. It was found that for every hundred families, there were 56 children among Hindu bhadraloks, 57 children among Muhammadans, and 55 only among other Hindus. The number of women who remain unwidowed up to the age of 43, near the limit of the child bearing age, is much less among "other Hindus" than among higher castes. Thus the Chasi Kaibarttas had 345 widows in the age grade 24-43 for every 1000 women as against 280 among Brahmans and 208 among Baidyas, in 1931. A correspondingly lower proportion of families among " other Hindus " therefore have the full number of children per 100 units than among the high caste Hindus.

Apart from the smaller number of children born per family and the higher proportion of celibates, there are other harmful effects. In a community where widow marriage is definitely discouraged, and socially condemned, the presence of a large number of young widows cannot but lower the moral tone of society. The danger is heightened if the men of the community have to postpone marriage long after reaching sexual maturity. Both these factors are in operation among our common people of the Hindu religion. An immediate attempt should therefore be made to reduce bride-price to a nominal amount as in Bihar. The other device, by which bride-price can be brought down,—the encouragement of widow remarriage, should also be taken up by social agencies. Otherwise legislation is likely to be powerless in the fact of vested interests. The writer is personally aware of the virtual decimation of the Sadgope community in a group of villages in Midnapore, owing to the difficulties of marriage at a reasonably early age.

The custom of making a payment to the bridegroom has a different effect on the relative age at marriage. Here it is the bride's father who has to amass a certain amount. The result is that the marriage of a daughter is postponed, until social opinion creates difficulties It is well known that the age of an unmarried daughter is understated in such houses, to avoid social opprobrium.

We may examine the figures for marriage age among the higher castes, especially of such groups as have no section which exacts a bride-price and compare the figures with those for castes which realise a bride-price.

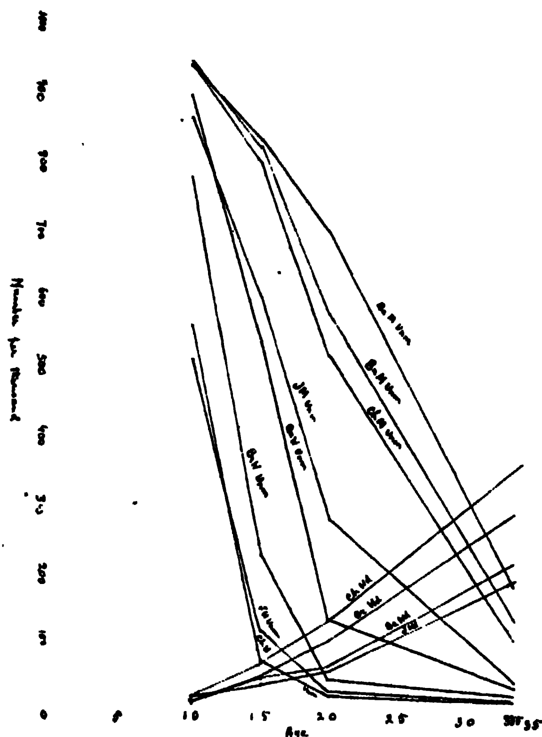
	1911	1921	1911	1921
Unmarried Men (Baidyas)	(Age Group 12-20)		(Age Group 20-40)	
	905	912	205	250
Unmarried Women (Baidyas)	178	370	10	11
Unmarried Men (Chasi Kaibartta)	1911 (Age Group 12-20)	1921		1921 (Age 20-40)
	753	839	155	190
			1911	1921
Unmarried Women (Chasi Kaibartta)	76	75	12	16

It is clear that the age of marriage among Baidya men has not changed very largely between 1911 and 1921; but twice as many Baidya girls did not marry until the age of 21 than in the earlier decade. On the other hand the age of marriage among Chasi Kaibartta women had remained unaffected. It is the men who were marrying much later in the second decade.

The figures for 1931 noted in the Census Report for Bengal are for different age grades.

		Age Grade 14-23 Baidya	Chasi Kaibartta
Unmarried Men	..	761	654
Women	..	328	42

The proportions of the unmarried at different ages are brought out better with the figures for 1931 on a graph. I have given the comparative graphs for Brahmans, Baidyas, Chasi Kaibarttas (Mahisyas) and Julahas (Mumins), plotting the points ıor the mean age of each age group. The curves for widowhood have also been drawn for these communities. The graphs bring out clearly the effect of bride-price (along with prohibition of widow marriage) on retardation of marriage. It shows, also among the Hindus, the consequent increase in widowhood. The highest rate of widowhood is found among the Chasi Kaibarttas (Mahisyas). The table noted below includes the figures used. It will be appearent from the table and graph that the age of marriage for Chasi Kaibartta (Mahisya) men is nearly 5 years behind that of Julaha (Mumin) men, although the women in both communities marry at the same age (thirteen years). For Julahas the average difference in age of husband and wife is approximately seven years. It rises to twelve for the Chasi Kaibarttas (Mahisyas).



TABLE

		Age 7-13 Unm.	Wd.	Age 14-16 Unm.	Wd.	Age 17-23 Unm.	Wd.	Age 24-43 Unm.	Wd.
Baidya	M.	941	2	829	7	694	26	176	43
	W.	896	5	531	43	126	69	28	208
Brahman	M.	947	2	821	16	577	16	126	49
	W.	778	8	224	44	40	94	12	280
Julaha (Mumin)	M.	865	2	599	11	274	24	33	46
	W.	510	14	111	31	22	50	8	183
Chasi Kaibartta (Mahisya)	M.	942	1	796	8	513	11	94	51
	W.	560	15	68	65	17	123	7	345

Unm.—Unmarried. Wd.—Widowed. W.—Women, M.—Men.

In the graphs, the above abbreviations have been used. Also Ba, Br, Ch and J have been employed to denote Baidya, Brahman, Chasi Kaibartta and Julaha respectively.

It is also evident that even now very few Brahman or Baidya girls remain unmarried after 20, since the greater number of spinsters in the age grade 17-23 get married in the earlier half of the period. The slightly increased number of girls who marry after 20 corresponds to the slightly larger number of men who are marrying later in life in these social groups. While this rise in the age of marriage of both sexes will reduce the number of children of each such couple by at least one, the duration of marriage will not be affected. There will be no increase in early widowhood and fatherless children left to be brought up by the mother. On the contrary there is a drop in early widowhood, as among Baidyas. It would however be a mistake to ascribe this rise in age of marriage entirely to the dowry system. The deterioration of the economic conditions of the middle class Hindu in Bengal has made it increasingly difficult for its young men to marry in the early twenties and support a wife and children. The same factor has made it equally difficult for the father of the bride to save money for a daughter's dowry. While it is certainly hard and harsh to exact a large dowry at marriage and the abuse has gone very far among our upper classes, it seems to be overlooked that the girl will inherit nothing from the father subsequently. Some property, should therefore be settled on her at marriage as her *stridhan*. The real difficulty lies in the fact that the woman has no effective safeguard that her property will remain intact. There should indeed be an upper limit for such gift or dowry of the girl but it should have some relation to the income and property of the father. There is no reason why any part of this payment should

be made over to the bridegroom's father at marriage.

It is however far more important for the welfare of the Hindu community in Bengal that the bride-price should be reduced by legislation to a nominal figure, and public opinion organised to ensure a proper observance of the limit. The problem is most acute in our own province. The Indian Census Report for 1911 states, "the disparity of ages between husband and wife is greatest in the case of Bengal castes ..... in this province, more than in any other part of India the males are in the habit of marrying immature wives far youger than themselves."

A rough estimate may be made of the proper limit for bride-price and dowry. Since a man of the middle class who works up to the age of 55 or 60 may normally be expected to earn for about 30 years and to save about two months' earnings annually, he may have a total capital equal to five years' income at the end. Dividing this amount equally among the parents and children, we find that each child gets about six months' income as his or her share (since there are six children in each complete family). The limit of the daughter's dowry may be fixed in relation to this amount. Some allowance should be made for the fact that the payment is made at marriage, for the girl, but postponed for the boys till they are in middle age. A fair limit for the dowry and marriage expenses would probably be half the above amount, *i.e.*, about three months' income. This would work out in practice at about Rs. 240/- for a clerk at the age of forty for the marriage of his first daughter and at about Rs. 90/- for a prosperous peasant with twenty acres of land, who tries to imitate the middle class. The actual dowry will be less than the above figures and depend on the amount needed for the other expenses at marriage. There is also no reason to exclude the value of gifts in kind from this figure, as contemplated in the bill. It may be of interest to note that the Mānava Dharma Sāstra, the most authoritative code of traditional customs, prescribes the making over of a fourth of the brothers share to the sister, (IX.—118), deducting the same from the brother's share. The commentator Medhātithi explains that the value of ornaments given at marriage is to be included in estimating the total amount given. Also the value of such a share is to be made over at marriage in the life-time of the father. (7)

As noted before, bride-price is charged by the ordinary peasant, artisan and labouring classes and not by the middle class families of even these social groups. Under present condiions, the loss of a daughter by marriage is not a serious economic loss to the parents, among these castes. Hence there is no real justification any longer for payment of a large amount as compensation. It may however be urged that the bridegroom needs a wife to look after his requirements at home and is also helped to some extent in his work. Thus among the peasantry we find that in 1931. 79 women were engaged in agricultural work for every 1000 men so employed. For fishermen the proportion is 188 to 1000. In basketry it is as high as 558 for 1000 males. On an average however only 150 women are employed for 1000 men in all occupations. The amount that a young man can save in the working class communities after a year's work, is however small. It will probably not exceed twenty rupees, if he is continuously empolyed. On an average it will be nearer ten. It will be much less for occupations like basketry.

The bride-price may, therefore, have as its upper limit Rs. 20/- only, representing ordinarily two years' postponement of marriage. As a woman earns less than man, and has a much smaller chance of employment, it will compensate the father for the loss of the girls' savings for at least four to five years. Even if she had continued to live in his house, as a married woman, her savings would thereafter have gone to meet the expenses of her first child which would have come normally within this period. He cannot therefore reasonably expect a higher bride-price.

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CHURCHILL-ROOSEVELT DECLARATION

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The two representatives of two powers, Mr. Winston Churchill representing the United Kingdom and President Roosevelt, representing the Government of the U.S.A., issued a Joint Declaration on the 14th August last unfolding the future plans for permanent world peace. An examination of the said declaration reveals some strong points as also weak points in the declaration and it is clear beyond a shadow of doubt that it requires a further elucidation.

A few days after the declaration President Roosevelt made it clear, on behalf of the Government of the U. S. A. that U. S. A. would not join the war. And if she prefers this policy of isolation we are afraid that the declaration will be deemed to contain a mere string of pious resolutions so far as the U. S. A. is concerned. Our ears have got attuned to hearing many high-sounding phrases from another President of the U. S. A. during the final stages of the last world war, wherein phrases were used by President Wilson as also by other prominent people all the world over, namely, that the world will be made safe for democracy, it will be made a fit place for heroes to live in, it will be a heaven on earth, but when after all President Wilson came in contact with the politicians of Europe, notably Mr. Clemenceau and Mr. Llyod George, in the Peace Conference, he could translate almost none of these 4 principles and 14 points which he declared from his august seat of power in Washington, into reality. The world situation was left in the same stage of intense selfishness and conflict of interests, the after-math of which we are witnessing in the Titanic struggle of today.

The corner-stone of U. S. A's foreign policy is the famous Monroe doctrine of 1823 which lays down the principle that the U. S. A. would not embroil itself in European affairs and do call upon the European powers not to interfere in the affairs of the American Continent. Furthermore, U. S. A. was to play the big brother to all the states in the Western Hemisphere. President Roosevelt may have set his heart on actually participating in the hostilities on the side of Great Britain, but there is undoubtedly a strong party in the United States who prefer to remain where they are, namely, not to be drawn into the European conflict. The isolationists in America form a very strong party and therefore they may put spokes in the wheel of President Roosevelt's foreign policy. The Army Expansion Bill, passed just the other day, indicated that there were a large number of those who were opposed to the Governmental measure, and the Government could carry it by a solitary vote. This fact is indeed significant. Coupled with this fact stands out another important matter, namely, that immediately after the declaration of the future plans of the world peace, President Roosevelt stated that the declaration did not imply that U. S. A. would join the war.

The declaration no doubt proceeds on the assumption that the Allies will win the victory. Therefore if U. S. A. does not prefer to join the Allies, but see the game between the Titans from afar, it is only natural to conclude that U. S. A's voice in the final peace settlement, if Britain is victorious, will indeed be of a muffled nature, for Britain may well turn round and say that in the darkest hours in her history, when she was encompassed all around by perils and dangers which seemed insurmountable, U. S A. except sending supplies to England (which were indeed of great advantage), did not send her manpower to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Allies. Therefore the declaration will lose much of its character of a binding nature upon Britain, and would not be operative against her.

There is no specific reference to India and the other nations of the world who have been enslaved before the present war. While the declaration sets forth that those states that have been enslaved during the continuance of this war would be free, no provision has been made for those states or territories that have been enchained before the war. We Indians, therefore, desire that there should have been a specific reference to India, for if India remains in bondage there can be no world peace. An emancipated India will alone be able to usher in world peace, for it is a well-known fact that her resources and teeming millions of population offer ample temptation to other powers to exploit this country. But with a free India, able to direct her own policy, external and internal, the matter will be quite different, for she

will then be the mistress of her own destinies and able to control her own affairs without any dictation from any foreign power and thus when all the foreign powers know that India is a free country they will cease to turn their covetous looks towards her.

The declaration is also wanting in another important matter, namely, laying down the broad principle that the rule of law would be applicable to all the people in all the dominions, for example, Indians today smart under a very cruel differential treatment meted out to them in Africa as also in other self-governing British Dominions, though they are fellow-subjects of the British Crown. Negroes also in America and in Africa are under great handicaps against the full realisation of their own selves. Therefore the supremacy of law should also have been mentioned as one of the policies ushering in the world peace in the programme.

Nothing has been said in regard to the League of Nations or to the establishment of a better League of Nations. It is patent from the year 1932 that the League of Nations has become really an incompetent instrument for the preservation of world security. The League merely became a specious ornamental debating hall where representatives of states met in the gilded chamber to discuss high matters of international law and relations. The votes recorded at Geneva do not have the same effect as a joint diplomatic note. The representatives of States gather at Geneva, record opinion of great weight, but these opinions do not bind the governments which they represent to act on these opinions. The Covenant of the League is not a military treaty. The different governments who do not desire to act according to their representatives' votes can always find reasons for not doing so. The League is left without any coercive authority, has no resources at its disposal, and therefore, the opinions formulated at Geneva can easily be flouted by such powers as want not to pay any heed to them. Even if the idea of a world federation is to be carried out, the League, call it by whichever name, cannot be fully obliterated from the sphere of international relations, for there must be some organisation to which powers of coercion must be given in order to check the political ambitions and lusts of those governments that try to ride roughshod over the members of other states. The character and organisation of the League must be recast, and equality of states must not only be thoroughly recognised in international law but translated into reality. Every power, however small, must not be left to labour under the apprehension that its rights can be trampled down by strong power and the League must not be dominated by powerful states to the exclusion of other states. Every member of the League must be made to realise that he has got an honoured place therein to ventilate the grievances of the state he represents, as also to seek redress. And along with the reform of the League comes the question of the reforming of the Permanent Court of International Justice, whose jurisdiction must be expanded in regard to all matters which may give rise to war or to any unneighbourly act bordering on war. The system of national judges must be completely abolished and the Court should have jurisdiction over all matters and disputes between states.

In regard to the revision of treaties, provisions must not be rigid but should be made flexible so that a state that finds a treaty hampering its dynamic growth may at once appeal to the League for revision thereof. Unanimity of decision should not be regarded as a pre-requisite to the revision of the treaties.

The League should have at its disposal sufficient airforce, army and navy. The states must have only such resources left with them as are sufficient to maintain peace within. The declaration of war, whether goaded by aggrandisement and desire for power, or by self-defence should be left to be decided by the League and recourse must be had to embargo, pacific blocade and other forms of reprisals by the League.

On the 16th of July, 1937, Mr. Cordell Hull, the Secretary of States of the United States, laid down 14 principles which were called the "fourteen pillars of peace." True it is that he made some proposals that are entitled to great weight but he has not stated anywhere that war, even for self-defence, must be outlawed. The Briand-Kellogg pact as also the Locarno treaties which aimed at peaceful settlement of international disputes did not comprehend fully the outlawry of war. Therefore not merely disarmament of the vanquished powers and thereafter of Britain and her allies will do. Complete disarmament and then revitalising the League with all the strength of armament is the pre-requisite to the world peace. States must be made to realise that they must completely shed off that thrice told tale of complete sovereignty in external and internal matters and they must be ready to relegate the external sovereignty to the League of Nations. So long as the idea of external sovereignty remains as an essential ingredient of statehood it is quite natural to believe that all the states would prepare themselves in order to repel an aggressor or even to indulge in the luxury of waging war

when she wants to annex somebody's territories. Therefore there must be a radical change. Defence of states and the external sovereignty of states must be delegated to the League of Nations. The aim must be directed towards the complete renunciation of war as an instrument whether for offence or for defence.

In the declaration of August 1941 we do not find any reference to the Mandated States. The character of the Mandated States is indeed mystical.

Lord Balfour stated on behalf of the British Government in 1922 his view as regards the mandated territories in these words :

"... . Mandates were not the creation of the League and they could not in substance be altered by the League. The League's duties were confined to see that the specific and detailed terms of the Mandates were in accordance with the decisions taken by the Allied and Associated powers, and that in carrying out these Mandates and Mandatory Power should be under the supervision, not under the control—of the League. The League possessed the necessary organisation for obtaining the fullest informations as to the method in which each Mandatory Power was carrying its duties. A Mandate was self-imposed limitation by the conquerors on the sovereignty which they exercised over the conquered territory. In the general interests of mankind, the Allied and Associated powers had imposed this limitation upon themselves and had asked the League to assist them in seeing that this general policy was carried out, but the League was not the author of it; the duty of the League, which was a most responsible and difficult one, was first to see that the terms of the Mandates were in conformity with the principles of the Covenant, and secondly, that these terms would, in fact, regulate the policy of the Mandatory Power in the Mandated territories."

Jurists are divided amongst themselves as to the question whether the sovereignty in regard to Mandated territory resided in the Mandatory Power or in the Allied Powers or in the League, or lastly, whether the suspended sovereignty vested in local inhabitants which would come into existence at some future date. It is amply clear that though the Mandated territories came into existence through Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, yet from the pronouncement of Lord Balfour it is clear that Mandated territories are half-way houses to complete annexation. It is therefore time that the freedom of the Mandated territories should be completely declared. Furthermore, there are other countries which are under the sovereignty of some other power or powers. In order therefore to create the best atmosphere for bringing harmonious relationship amongst all the different states it is essential that all the states—European and Asiatic—should have been told in clear terms that all the territories taken from their countries would become free. No distinction should have been made between territories acquired during the continuance of the present war and territories acquired before the war. For slavery is as galling during the war as it was before the war, and, therefore, the bonds of slavery must slip off from the bodies of all people in the world.

The system of leases, spheres of influence, spheres of interest and protectorates must also go out of international law, for it is clear that these methods have been devised in order to enable powerful states to rule over territories under inchoate title. All of these methods are devised with the object of exploitation, and are more convenient sometimes than complete annexation.

If the right of self-determination is to be the genuine right upon which the two representatives have set their hearts, it is but essential that they should have been content not merely with laying down the principle of self-determination but going a step further, namely, assuring all countries of freedom in the nearest future as soon as the war would come to an end, and as regards territories which are under their domination or under their control or over which they are ruling they should have set an example by freeing them from slavery. For after all example is better than precept. "Follow what I say and do not follow what I do", is an advice which has no appeal for people who have grown beyond the stage of political babyhood. Every state now scans with great care any utterance of any responsible statesman to find the real import of his speech and therefore the declaration would be really scrutinised with the utmost care and thoroughness by all in Europe, Asia, Africa and in America. Therefore it is high time that there should be a supplemental declaration to this effect, namely, that all peoples enslaved before and during the continuance of the war should be free, and that example should be set by the United States of America as also by England by freeing the countries which are under their domination and rule. It may be asked that Mr. Attlee, the Deputy Prime Minister of England, has recently stated that the principles laid down by these two representatives would be applicable all the world over, but this is not exactly an assurance from the Prime Minister of England, but from Mr. Attlee, who qualified the statement by saying that he was speaking on behalf of the Labour Party. It is a well-known fact that the Labour Party is one amongst the many parties in power in England. The Labour Party is not the only party and therefore Labour's voice may be drowned by the Conservatives and Liberals acting together. It is to be hoped therefore that Parliament will openly

and clearly make a statement which will go to show that what Mr. Attlee has stated is applicable to India as also to every country.

The European powers have grabbed many territories and therefore they must now be asked to disgorge them. There can be no demarcating line drawn between territories lost during the present war and territories enslaved before the war. We are to see today that the same principle be applied to all the enslaved countries. Those of us who were optimists prior to Wilson's great doctrines had grown pessimists afterwards. 1918-19 was an apex of optimism in men's minds when people realised that really the Allies with the help of America meant business and might sit down to secure the conditions laid down by President Wilson. Only they were disillusioned soon after and found the world in the same naked state of brutality. Man now is a mere dot in the world. Nobody cares for his moral, physical, intellectual or educational well-being, but he is merely a useful instrument inasmuch as he may be cannon-fodder for extending a state's limits or for stemming the tide of aggression of the power that seeks to invade it. Man has lost therefore his great significance. He is no longer the Lord of Creation, but seems to be once more the wandering beast in the jungles of slavishness, callousness, heartlessness and cruelty. If this state is to be outgrown, it behoves the best brains of all nations to formally plan for the future peace—a peace that will never be destroyed by any one power, however great it may be.

The two representatives indeed are entitled to great thanks for having at any rate come forward with tentative proposals of peace, but we hope that these proposals will be immediately supplemented by another declaration which will go to show that this time it is not permeated by mere fondness for words or idealism but by the practical necessity of realising that war is not at all a paying proposition for any power, however mighty it may be. It is therefore but meet and proper that the declaration cannot be accepted by all the states in toto by all the peoples of the world as ushering in world peace, and therefore must be strengthened and fortified by further declaration which will go beyond doubt to prove that all the nations, specially England and America, take upon themselves the great responsibility of seeing that in future war is outlawed and man is able to realise fully his potentialities and rise to his full stature by virtue of his great talents with which the Creater has vested him. If the declaration is to catch men's imagination, and to set their minds at rest President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill should supplement it, as I have already noted, with a further declaration, and then and then alone will they go down in the pages of history as people who were in dead earnest in bringing about world peace, which must be the highest ideal of all nations. Behind the blood bath as also agonies in the battle field and at home, the economic crises through which the nations are passing, the facts are crystal clear that the nations are realising that it is no good waging war. If the money that is being spent for buying arms and ammunitions and for killing men had been invested in much better methods for the amelioration of the condition of the downtrodden, the oppressed, the poverty-stricken as also to bring the world to a higher social, intellectual, and moral plane, then the world with its manifold resources would have afforded ample ground for each individual, irrespective of nationality or creed, to rise to the fullest realisation of his powers.

Addendum

Since the article was written Mr. Churchill has delivered a speech on September 9, 1941, in which he states that "the joint-declaration does not qualify, in any way, the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about developments of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire." His speech, therefore, definitely tells us that so far as India, Burma and other parts of the British Empire are concerned, they would remain perfectly unaffected by the Joint Declaration. In other words it means, so far as these parts are concerned, the *status quo* will be maintained. While other parts of the globe will be in enjoyment of the fruits of the Joint Declaration, India and other parts of the British Empire will remain where they are. He tells that the British Government are pledged by the Declaration of August 1940 to "help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of races subject of course to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connection with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests. Burma is covered by our considered policy of establishing Burmese self-government by measures already in progress." The qualifications and reservations thus introduced by Mr. Churchill have practically nullified the beneficial effects of the said Declaration.

The pertinent question is, was it open to Mr. Churchill *singly* as representing the British Government to introduce these reservations and qualifications, when the Joint Declaration

emanated from representatives of two states? Further, is it correct to put subsequently a new interpretation upon a declaration after 24 days? The canons of interpretation of treaties, agreements and covenants, have also been violated; for it is a cardinal rule of interpretation of statutes, treaties, agreements, etc., that words must be read in the natural meaning. The Joint Declaration was put before the world in the full blaze of publicity and Mr. Churchill now in contravention of the binding rules of interpretations introduces reservations and qualifications which, I think, he is not entitled to do. If he and Mr. Roosevelt had, as he says, in view primarily the extension of the sovereignty and self-government and national life of the states of Europe under Nazi control, what prevented them from stating so in the Joint Declaration? Mr. Churchill now excludes India and the other parts of the British Empire from the operation of the Joint Declaration. Mr. Roosevelt may exclude in a subsequent speech from the operation of this Declaration other countries. So Mr. Churchill's speech, I am afraid, may not even carry conviction into the minds of the people in the Nazi-controlled countries.

So far as India is concerned, the speech of Mr. Churchill will not be able to satisfy any section of the Indian population. The speech, may be said to be highly reactionary. It is not calculated to satisfy Indian aspirations. While Mr. Churchill's heart yearns after the restoration of freedom of countries overrun by the Nazis, he seems to be completely indifferent to the aspirations of 40 crores of Indians. Indian soldiers have fought most bravely the battles of the British, Indian money and resources have been a great help in the war; yet Mr. Churchill seems to be oblivious to the high responsibility of his office so far as India is concerned. It is the ardent desire of all Indians that Mr. Churchill should go back upon this speech, and immediately declare India's right to frame her own constitution through a constituent assembly and declare that within the shortest possible compass of time, even before the termination of the war, Dominion Status of Westminster Statute variety, if not complete independence, should be accorded to India, and if such a promise is forthcoming immediately, India will be convinced that Britain is fighting the battle of democracy, and Indian men, money and resources will pour forth in ever abundant measure to ensure the victory of Great Britain in the war. It is up to Mr. Churchill to rise to the full stature of his statesmanship by placating India, which can be done by, according to her, her inalienable right to be the mistress in her own house. The freedom of India, as has been ably remarked and proved by the Editor of *The Modern Review*, is a pre-requisite to the freedom of the world and if America, who styles herself as the "arsenal of democracy" and England, who calls herself the "home of democracy," are sincere in their intentions for ushering in world peace, India must be accorded freedom—the sooner the better.

THE MUSAHARS

By BALDEVA NARAYAN

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THEIR HABITAT:—The Musahars are perhaps the poorest and most backward tribe, living mainly in the Province of Bihar. They are found also in Oudh, the eastern part of the United Provinces. But the cream of the race inhabits the Nepal territory bordering on the districts of Darbhanga, Bhagalpur and Purnea of Bihar where they are said to have succeeded in keeping, comparatively speaking, their racial purity and peculiarities intact.

Physical Features:—The Musahars are characteristically dark and medium-statured. But in Tirhut in North Bihar, one occasionally comes across with tall and fair figures also. They have broad head and short face with low and retreating forehead. Their lips are thick and nose broad with wide nostrils. Their hair is black and somewhat straight and scanty specially on their face. Their eyes are not so wide open, the irides of which are dark brown.

Name:—The Musahars are only a little more advanced than the aborigines of India. Their very name betrays their backwardness. Musahar is a compound Hindi word meaning a rat-killer: *Moos*—a rat and *Har*—a killer. And rats are not killed in vain. They go to make a dainty dish. The Musahars, irrespective of age and sex, relish rats like anything. But they have other names as well. H. H. Risley says that in Oudh they are commonly and in some places exclusively known by the title of *Ban-manush* or men of the forest. Other names

less commonly known or used, are Deosia, derived from their great ancestor Deosi, and Banraj and Maskhan, meaning thereby king of the forest and eater of flesh, respectively.

Origin :—The origin of the Musahars is rather obscure. H. H. Risley says that they are a fragment of some Dravidian tribe recently and imperfectly absorbed into the Hindu caste system. He traces the Musahars of Bihar to the Dravidian Bhuinyas of Southern Chota Nagpur and thinks that he is supported by J. C. Nesfield who connects the Musahars of the North-West Province (more or less the modern United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), with the Dravidian Savaras and Cheros. But Nesfield does not stop there. He tells clearly that the Musahars are Kolarians and there are many anthropologists according to whose opinion the Savaras and the Cheros also belong to the Kolarian tribes. Risley explains that the Kolarians and the Dravidians can only be regarded as local varieties of one and the same stock. But it is safer to call the Kolarians 'Proto-Australoids' or Pre-Dravidians, among whom the Musahars can safely be counted. The modern Indian anthropologists would call them the Nishadas. They say that it is more appropriate to describe this race as 'Nisdic' the generic name given to them by the Vedic Aryans.

Descent from Deosi :—Many a myth are popular among the Musahars accounting for their name. A few may have some historical elements in them. There is a story connecting them with the Chero tribe :

The King of the Cheros, Makara Durga Rai, lived in the Pipri forest somewhere near Chunar in the United Provinces. Unluckily, a clash became inevitable between him and Lorik, the Ahir King, who was formerly his friend. He set out against Lorik with Deosi, one of his seven sons, at his back. And though success crowned him in the beginning, he was slain in the long run by Lorik who found him fighting all alone, his son Deosi being away from him. The disaster exasperated Durga Rai's family so much so that they expelled Deosi from home for his not being with his father in his final trial. He became a flesh-seeker or hunter in the jungle and was known as a Musahar and his descendants are called Deosiya. He invented the digging instrument characteristic of the tribe and with this he one day slew Lorik but was himself killed by one of Lorik's grandsons.

Here it may be noted that there had been a Lorik in Darbhanga District, the remains of whose fort are still pointed out to visitors. But this Lorik had had clashes with the Dusadhas only. The Musahars of the district are neither aware of Makara Durga Rai, nor Deosi, nor the Pipri forest, which is as sacred to the Oudh Musahars as Gaya to the Buddhists.

Mixed Blood :—Another story suggests that the Musahars are cross-bred.

There was a damsel visiting a hermitage every day to cater to the needs of the occupant. Once having taken the monthly purificatory bath she entered the hermitage and her eyes met with those of a Savara, who was none else than Mahadeva himself in disguise. And she conceived and gave birth to ugly-looking twins. The hermit taking her to be a bad character drove her away as a result of which she took to jungle life.

The Musahars believe that it was she who gave wild fruits to Shri Ram, which the latter relished so much. She was known all round as a Savari or Sabari and her descendants came to be known as Musahars.

Curse of God :—There is yet another story which is not a bad comment on the intelligence of the Musahars.

When God created the first man of each caste, He gave each a horse to ride on and a tool to work with. All made proper use of both the gifts but the Musahar who started cutting one hole on each side of the horse with the tool to support his feet while riding. This enraged God who condemned him to eternal sweating and digging of the earth and rat-eating.

And really today, no one sweats more profusely, digs earth more efficiently and enjoys roasted rats more than the Musahars, who form a class apart from other communities of the Indian Society and are exclusive in their outlook and ordinary dealings.

Village Site :—The Musahars prefer the out-skirts of a village for their settlement. They may also choose some secluded place for it, but they never like to settle in the interior of a village. They generally live in large family groups, though only three or four huts of theirs, erected at some isolated place, may also be seen here and there. Their settlement is called a Musaharee.

Houses :—The Musahars build their houses very close to one another, as a result of which a Musaharee is always found to be most congested. The poorest section construct their semi-circular huts with grass and wattle, into which they simply crawl to sleep on grassy beds which they share with their womenfolk and children. But the number of such houses, Khoprees as they are called, is fast decreasing. Today two gabled Tatti huts and Kachcha houses of the same type are becoming common. At many places Kachcha houses with tiled roofs are also found. On the southern side of the Ganges, in some Musaharees situated on the outskirts of busy towns, there are many such houses. But invariably all their houses are built low, with characteristic small entrances and having no wooden doors to almost all of them. They are all one-room houses, each meant for a family, big or small.

Besides such houses, each Musaharee,

specially on the northern side of the Ganges, has its place of worship called Gahwar which is preferably located at a central place amidst comparatively neat surroundings. There also stands an English Babool tree in each of them, the bark and leaves of which are valued highly for their healing properties. The Musahars on this side look more tidy and try their best to keep not only their houses clean, but their Musaharee also sanitary. But with the Musahars in South Bihar the case is quite different. They keep piggery attached to their houses and kill or catch almost all animals within their reach for food and throw the remnants behind their houses. All this goes to make their Musaharees dirty and filthy.

The Musahars generally put on scanty clothing. The elders are half-naked and the children completely naked. And the best dressed youngman will be seen only in a Dhoti and with a Gamchha or a thin towel. Kurta is a luxury for him. The women also go about with their person insufficiently covered. The sight of old women in extremely soiled tatters is by no means rare in every Musaharee. Ninety-nine out of hundred Musahar women of all ages possess only one piece of cloth to hide their shame. Cleanliness is out of question for them.

In winter, straw comes to the rescue of these people. They simply crawl into the hay stack at night. With straw above them and straw below them and two or three huddling together, they pass their wintry nights enjoying sufficient warmth.

Religious Ceremonies :—The Musahars are ancestor-worshippers. Those of their ancestors, who by their eventful career or by romantic death succeeded in appealing to their imagination, were deified by them. And they continue to be worshipped, today, among all the Musahars. But they, by no means, exhaust the divine list. The Musahars have many more gods and goddesses in common with the Dusadhs, the Chamars and the Mallahas and even the Musalmans, not excluding Kali and Mahadeva who are most popular among the caste-Hindus. But all gods and goddesses do not evoke the same feeling of devotion. Those who are worshipped with awe and ardour are their tribal gods and family deities. The prominent tribal gods are lodged in the Gahwar and the family deities are sheltered in a clean corner of their tiny house where a cane and a pair of *lathees* are kept very carefully. These cane and *lathees* can be used by the Bhagat of the Musaharee for the invocation of gods only either on the occasion of the annual Puja in the month of Shrawan or at the time when a person comes suffering from a disease on an epidemic breaking out in the village, to get rid of which divine invocation becomes necessary. When the cane and the *lathees* get old, they are secretly thrown into deep water on a dark night and new ones take their place.

The Musahars have no idols to worship. They have simply an altar in the courtyard of their Gahwar, which they rebuild every year on the occasion of the Puja. Before this altar the Bhagats, surrounded by a party of the Bhajniks and drum-beaters, invoke gods. Each god has a song reserved for himself, hearing which he comes to possess the body of the invoking Bhagat whom he gives a shake peculiar to him alone, whereby the public come to recognise who is who. The seriousness with which the whole thing is performed inspires faith in the audience which conducts itself in such a disciplined way that the very atmosphere pervading the place seems to be charged with reality. All sorts of people, be they Hindus or Musalmans, come there to seek relief with suitable presents to suitable gods and take it that what the Bhagats seem to speak are the words uttered by the gods themselves in possession of the Bhagats.

Hero-worship :—The Musahars, specially in the east U.P., worship seven *veers* or heroes known as Tulsi Vir, Rikhmun Vir, Balakmun Vir, Ram Vir, Bhawar Vir, Asan Vir and Charakh Vir. In Oudh, Sadalulal is also worshipped with sacrifice of a hog and the offering of liquor. In south Bihar, Kolhu Bahe and Jakkha devata are also worshipped, particularly in Monghyr. No details are available about these gods except that Rikhmun and Balakmun were the two Abrahams of the Musahars: Balakmun begot the ancestors of the Tirhutia Musahars and Rikhmun begot the ancestors of the Magahai Musahars. In Gaya one Mudkatwa Gosain is most popular and about him a story is told.

> He was once suspected to have seduced his master's daughter and was therefore killed. But innocent as he was, his unjustifiable death made a martyr of him and he began to be worshipped on the first day of transplanting rice by the cultivators and the labourers alike.

But of all the gods the Musahars worship, the most fascinating are the gods remembered and worshipped in pairs in Tirhut. Their life histories described in reverential songs give rise to the finest feelings in human hearts. Deena Bhadri, Hansraj Bansraj and Mahaveer Ranpal are names to be conjured with. There is no Gahwar in Tirhut but flies three flags, one consecrated to the honour of each pair.

> Deena Bhadri are the supreme gods of the north Bihar Musahars. They are brothers, Deena being the elder, born of Kalu Musahar and Nirson Musharni. They flourished at Jogianagar, a *milkiat* of Kanak Sinha

Dham of Bettiah. These places still exist in Nepal and attract hundreds of the Musahar pilgrims annually. Once the Dham came to Jogianagar to have forced labour, but found that unless he commanded the labour of Deena Bhadri, not a single Musahar was ready to accompany him to work in his fields. This brought him into clash with the brothers in which he sustained grievous injuries. And he had to flee for life to his home where he entreated his sister Bachia Dai who was a witch, to avenge his hurt and humiliations.

Bachia Dai exercised some influence on Bhimsen, the King of Morang; and Rajah Sahalesh, the chief of the Dusadh community. She sought their help and got Sahalesh as an accomplice to bring about Deena Bhadri's death.

But Deena Bhadri were excellent archers. No man could defeat them. And moreover, they were under the protection of Kama Baghesari, the powerful sister-goddesses. Raja Sahalesh knew that unless the brothers gave up these goddesses their death was impossible and so he approached the brothers to borrow their goddesses for 3 days only on some plea or other.

Kama Baghesari understood everything and so they warned Deena Bhadri not to part with them. But Deena loved peril and moreover he had never said no to any beggar. So he gave away the goddesses to Raja Sahalesh, though his younger brother Bhadri was unwilling. Sahalesh posted these goddesses at Khap Kataiya, a jungle which Deena Bhadri would always visit for games. One goddess assumed the figure of a tigress in the jungle and started prowling about and the other went, in disguise, to Deena Bhadri to induce them to visit Khap Kataiya at once. The brothers came in spite of the definite warnings of men, beasts, birds and trees and met their death while fighting with the tigress whom the Musahars call Geedar (jackal) as the word Bagh (tiger) is not found in their vocabulary. But death could not put an end to their career. It only set them free from the limitations of their physical existence and made them immortal and all powerful, they attaining to divinity thereafter.

The first thing that Deena Bhadri did as gods was to bring their father Kalu through a merchant milkman and get their dead bodies cremated at Khap Kataiya. They had had also to see that their Shradh ceremony was also duly performed as their parents were in great troubles. The whole Musahar community was non-cooperating against them, instigated by Moti Sardar, who was under the influence of Bachia Dai. Only one Musahar family headed by Sundar and Mundar was on their side. The brothers again assumed human form and disguised as Bansuria Baba entered Jogianagar and stopped at the shop of Hemoo Jaudagar who was their boyhood friend and began to play upon their flutes there and attracted a large crowd including their wives named Rijhna and Budhna. When Hemoo saw Rijhna and Budhna, he started making love overtures to them, for which he was badly chastised by the brothers who made him part with as much commodities as they liked, with which their Shradh was performed on a very grand scale. But the brothers came to be recognised by many, including their parents, wives and other well-wishers and so they had had to leave Jogianagar surreptitiously to perform other tasks that awaited them.

Naturally, first of all they wanted to take revenge upon Bachia Dai and her brother Kanak Sinha Dham. They subdued their ally Moti Sardar and compelled him to marry his daughter with Sunder which act consolidated the whole Musahar community. Then they hunted out Bachia Dai and killed her and her brother with his men.

Soon after they killed Jorawar Rai of Konhauli and Phekni Kunjarni, daughter of Tahir Kunjra, both of whom exacted too much labour from the Musahars and paid them too little.

But of all the tasks the brothers performed, the hardest and the most painful was one dealing with Hansraj Bansraj.

Hansraj Bansraj were two brothers, who, coming from Monghyr in search of employment, took contract of a big tank from Shree Raj Maharaj of Darbhanga. Being themselves Musahars, they engaged Musahar labourers in the work and wanted them to show as much work as they did themselves which was quite impossible as both the brothers possessed super-human strength and skill. No Musahar could satisfy them and could get any wages from them. The result was that the whole labour colony began to starve but the brothers remained unmoved. They would not pay wages until the Musahars satisfied them with their work. At last a message of extreme distress was received by Deena Bhadri who hastened to the spot and killed Hansraj Bansraj. But death could not check the mischiefs of the brothers who spread diseases in one Musaharee after another as a consequence of which the number of Musahar orphans and Musahar widows increased tremendously. Deena Bhadri were awfully embarrassed as after all, it was a fratricidal war and they made peace with the brothers on the condition that the Musahars would worship them as well along with Deena Bhadri and fly another flag in their honour also, at their Gahwar. This supreme act of statesmanship endeared Deena Bhadri all the more to the Musahars who look to them as their Messiah.

The Musahars believe that they have got an assurance from Deena Bhadri that they would, in due course, be liberated from the shackles of poverty and pestilence to enjoy all earthly bliss one can imagine. The third flag that flies in every Gahwar is in honour of Mahavira and his god-son, Ranpal.

Mahavira had no child although he had two wives, named Lokesari and Suresari. Once when he was travelling with Suresari, he went to a tank to fetch water for her and there he found a boy sitting on a lotus-leaf whom his wife reared up and called Ranpal.

Today all the four are worshipped and their temples still exist in the valley of Kosi where they flourished. The father and the son are gods of good harvest.

Social Customs :—Not caste-distinction but geographical division of Bihar has ranged the Musahars into two groups. Those living north of the Ganges are called Tirhutia Musahars and those living to the South are known as Magahia Musahars. Distance has introduced some different customs and conventions in their midst on account of which, each group thinks itself superiod to the other and does not intermarry.

The caste-surname of the Magahia Musahars is Manjhi. But the Manjhis are not all Magahia. They have got two sub-castes more, known as Rajwar and Chaurwar. But they do not enjoy the same status as do the Magahis.

on account of their doing also the job of scavengers and eating the crumbs from the dishes of others. Their women-folk serve as midwives as well. The Magahia Musahars refrain from doing such jobs but in other respects they are at par with the Rajwar or the Chaurwar Musahars.

Marriage :—Each sub-caste marries in its own fold simply avoiding the families of near and intimate relations. Adult marriage is prevalent. Though lapses within the bounds of the caste are connived at, yet virginity is very much appreciated and paid for. Marriage ceremony is very simple. One of the elders present recites

गंगाके पानी समुन्दरके सेख, बर कन्या जुग जुग आनन्द

followed by sprinkling of rice and water on the head of the bride-groom. The bride is then lifted by her mother to get her forehead marked five times with vermilion by the groom, bringing the ceremony to a close. Widow-marriage is permitted and divorce is allowed, but polygamy is not liked at all.

The Tirhutia Musahars call themselves Sada which is their caste-surname. There is no sub-caste among them. But they have got something like Gotra and Moola which they take into consideration while entering into matrimonial alliance. They remember formulæ telling them where to marry and where not.*

Child Marriage :—Child marriage is prevalent among the Tirhutia Musahars. When a boy gets four years old, he is married with a girl whose height measures only 2 inches less than his. If the girl is fair, her being of equal height is also tolerated. Before the groom starts for the bride's house his mother or some such near relation gives him a suck at her breast and he is carried in the arms of his uncle or other elders excluding his father. The marriage ceremony is very simple and is performed by a Bhaginwan of the village. After the ceremony is over, the girl is carried to the groom's house by her father or brother, only to go away after a day or two, to return again for good when her consummation ceremony will be performed. This ceremony takes place only when the girl has definitely attained maturity and the boy has become strong enough to bear the conjugal responsibility.

Side by side with child marriage adult marriage is also in vogue among the Tirhutia Musahars. Widow marriage is allowed and divorce is permitted on numerous grounds. Promiscuous sexual intercourse also is sometimes tolerated but within the caste.

Social Organisation :—Social organisation of the Musahars is very strong and interesting. Every Musaharee has its own Mukhia to whom social matters are referred for settlement. Where he fails or finds himself weak, Chhadidar steps in and submits the case to the judgment of the Dewan. And where the Dewan fails or finds himself weak, the Sardar comes in who is the highest officer of the organisation and whose judgment is final. As his jurisdiction extends over very many Musaharees, he gets the chance of exercising his power fairly frequently. The guilty are fined, flogged and pillowed in more than one way. The worst offender is ostracised, sometimes in most humiliating manner. The Chhadidar executes every order.

Food :—There is remarkable difference in respect of food between the Tirhutia Musahars and the Magahia ones. The latter not only take rats, fowl and swine but squirrels, cats, jackals and all things including lizards, crocodiles, snakes and frogs. But they do not take the flesh of horses, cows and donkeys, dead or butchered. Nevertheless, their food is dirty and has made them dirtier still.

The Tirhutia Musahars show a distinct improvement over their Magahia brethren. Without exception, they have given up taking pork and those of them who are non-vegetarian, Sankat, as they are called, follow the likes and dislikes of the caste-Hindus in so far as the selection of meat is concerned.

Five years ago a strong wave of vegetarianism originating at Jogianagar swept the Musahars of Tirhut off their feet and even the sucklings were admitted into the fold of Vaishnavism. When the wave subsided, thousands of Musahars reverted to their non-vegetarian diet. Yet those who have been sticking to their guns do not count small.

Occupations :—The Musahars engage themselves in various kinds of work. They scavenge streets and remove night-soil and their women attend to the ladies in confinement. They collect fuel, lac, resin and gum and make catechu and supply indigenous drugs to the Vaidyas and the Pansarees. They stitch leaf-plates and cut wood for sale, some are intelligent enough to rear silkworms and learn spinning. At many places, they bear on their shoulders conveyances accom-

* One such says

कबरैता मुसहर रेवाघाट अकौना डीह
जे घर उके घर न करिह बिआह

meaning thereby the house claiming to have descended from Kabraita Musahar and come from Rewaghat. Akaunadih is a house in which you should not marry. because this is your house as well. There are numerous such formulae dividing Tirhutia Musahars into as many sub-sections, all of which are exogamous.

modating one or two persons. Some work in factories and many on roads. But large number of them are known as good spade-workers. So the Musahars are generally wanted



A hamlet of the Musahars

for cutting earth and breaking the soil of fields. And though not a few of them are cultivators on their own account, yet they may be called a race of agricultural labourers without fear of contradiction. And digging the earth and watching the fields are their speciality. Like other agricultural labourers the Musahars are paid wages in kind. The rate of payment is uniform throughout the Province. It is one seer and fourteen chataks of rice or such other grain without husk for full one day. But when the grain is paddy or barley or such other grain with husk, it is two seers and a half, time being the same.

Janouri System or bonded agricultural labour:—In Tirhut the payment in kind is called Bun and the receivers thereof are called Bunihars. The Bunihars are free to work under any tenant who is called a Grihastha. Their labour cannot be claimed as a matter of right by any Grihastha unless they bind themselves to him under Janouri system. Janouri system is a custom much in vogue in Tirhut under which an advancement of interest-free loan is made to one or more Bunihars according to the requirement of the Grihastha binding the recipient to work under that Grihastha alone, unless they be permitted to do otherwise. By accepting Janouri they cease to be ordinary Bunihars and become Jans. If comparison is made between Jans and Bunihars, it is seen that the lot of the former is always worse. No doubt, when a Grihastha employs Jans and Bunihars both, on the occasion of harvesting he gives his Jans preferential and more liberal treatment. But for all the favours shown by the Grihastha in season and out of season the Jans have got to pay sometimes very heavily. Their movement is restricted and they get no opportunity of learning new things. To a Grihastha from whom they get land, free of rent, to erect their huts on, they become no better than a helot. They are paid less wages and their whole family sweats for him. That is why every employer of means is anxious to have a desirable nu[illegible] Jans under him. If any one does not show anxiety on this account he is the Zemindar of the village. Because as such he has right to command the labour of every man living in his 'milkiat,' be he a Jan or a Bunihar. But every Grihastha cannot be a Zemindar. So Jans are valued most by his class. They are inherited and distributed among the co-sharers just like their property.

The Musahar-Jans are prized most. But their social instinct is extraordinarily strong. If one elderly Musahar family flees from a village for which there is always some justification, the whole Musaharee will be empty in no time.*



A Musahar girl, with two inmates of the Vidyapitha Village branch Boarding House, Tarwara

In South Bihar also, similar condition obtains. In Monghyr, a man owning at least 10 acres of land engages a Musahar Halwaha or

* That is why the Grihasthas say :

कोदों मडुआ अन्न नहीं, मुसहर पावा धन नहीं

meaning thereby that as millet is not regarded as good grain, the Musahars and the pigeons are also not to be regarded as good assets.

ploughman including his family, permanently, by having advanced an interest-free loan of Rs. 25/- only. In Gaya, Kamiya system prevails according to which a decent cultivator binds, for all time, one or two Musahar families, according to his means and requirements, by advancing interest-free loan of similar amount. Such employers are called Shreemans throughout the South

Indebtedness :—The Musahars as a class are badly indebted. Generally they borrow grain and pay back the same adding 50% more to the quantity they borrowed, by way of interest. On cash loan they pay various rates of interest,



A Musahar woman

37% per annum being the minimum. Those who borrow money to go out in search of employment, have to pay one anna per rupee per month, if they pay after a long time. But when payment is expected within 3 months, 4 annas for every rupee for the whole period, is charged.

The inability of most of the Musahars to pay back cash, makes their exploitation go to any length. They generally have no assets except their peculiar houses and their insufficiently clothed bodies. They use earthenware and if any family be known as very rich in their midst one may find in its possession a few brassware and aluminium utensils. But the money-lender seldom fixes his eyes on these things. The man in him does not allow him to visit a Musaharee at night, generally where no lamp burns. But there are other things which a few Musahars in every village come to possess after a long time and longer process of labour. They are goats, cows and buffaloes. The money-lender pounces upon these things and gets them very cheap in satisfaction of the petty claims he may have against the Musahars.

In Monghyr, the Shreemans lend grain but write down its money-value in their register and when the time of realisation comes, they ask their borrowers to pay the money value plus the compound interest at the settled rate, in term of grain only. And this, at the rate of 2 seers cheaper than the prevailing market rate, for a rupee.

Of course, loans are never advanced to Musahars on simple interest. What they have got to pay is compound interest, pure and simple.

Lack of initiative and general backwardness :—The Musahars as a class are timid and without ambition. They lack dash, initiative and enterprise. They enjoy a peculiar sort of contentment. If they will earn more than they need one day, they will sit idle the next day, to eat up the surplus. They do not like saving and live literally from hand to mouth. As a class they are most slow in learning and unlearning things. In work they are accustomed to, they will show marvellous skill and perserverance. But they will get nervous at innovation. Their women and children may be seen busy all day long in picking up scattered grains from fields and farm-yard and digging out edible roots of some watery plants. But they are loath to take to spinning and husking and pounding of rice and such like. That is why during about 4 months in a year, their standard of living is as low as can be envied only by beasts. In Vaisakh and Jyaistha, they wander from field to field turning up the soil thereof, in quest of the root of Saruk, Chinchor and Karhar upon which they mainly live during the time. They take mango-seed cake as well. And again, in Ashwin and Kartic they roam hither and thither in search of shells, snails and crabs as well as the leaves of some trees and roots of some plants with which they fill their stomach mainly. The lot of the Musahars serving at workshops tells the same tale. There is a big railway workshop at Jamalpur, in Monghyr, which employs a considerable number of the Musahars on wages which leave some surplus after having covered the necessary expenses. But the surplus, invariably, has procured Bidi and wine for them and no savings. The same story is true of the Musahars employed in some other concerns in other districts. Eeverywhere the spirit of utter resignation, un-imaginative outlook and idleness stand out as one of the chief features of Musahar character.

An awakening :—But there is the other and brighter side of the shield too. Although the Magahia Musahars have not changed their way

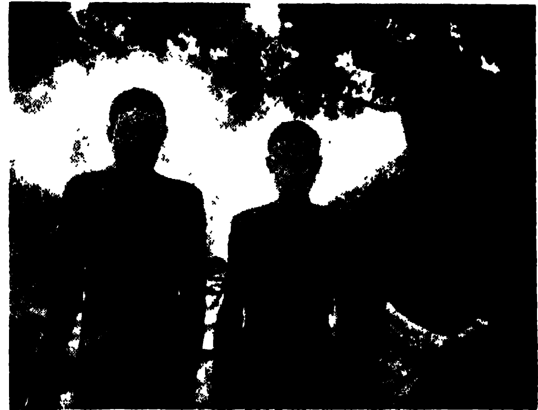
of eating, drinking and living, yet here and there, somewhat educated Musahar youngmen are found with a strong desire to serve their community. Their activities have been slowly but surely leavening up the communal life of the Musahars throughout South Bihar and in a sense class consciousness is dawning upon them.

Reform Momevent :—But in North Bihar amidst Tirhutia Musahars unmistakable signs of great improvement are visible. Only four years back, in 1936, a movement having originated at Jagianagar in Nepal shook them to the foundation. A great wave of reform surged in every Musaharee from one end to the other in the North Bihar as a result of which the Musahars as a community (1) became vegetaians, (2) began taking regular baths and a large number of them twice a day, (3) refused to take food at the houses of caste-Hindus and (4) took vow of honesty and having straight dealings with their Maliks and Grihasthas.

Effects of the Movement :—The movement however, though dead, has left its indelible stamp on the life of the Tirhutia Musahar community. They have become more tidy than before and more organised and more class-conscious. From some time before, already many of them living in the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga have been known to have turned over a new leaf in the day-to-day life. There they have acquired lands and become settled tenants of the Mauzas they reside in. At Karanpura in Muzaffarpur, their holdings measure from two to five acres and in more than one village near Tarwara and Supnul in Darbhanga; some of them own as much as 20 acres of land. Besides, they get Batai lands, keep cattle and also do other work worthy of a decent peasant. Dash, thrift and broad economic outlook have become the chief characteristics of their life.

They visit Calcutta-side to earn higher wages and bring their savings home to invest in lands. Some of them own Palaki, Mahapha and Kharkharia, themselves and bear them on hire. They have thus come to enjoy the status of independent wage-earners. There are others who have taken to new trades and professions, such as gardening, cattle-rearing, fishing, dressing of roads and brick-making. The movement referred to above gave them also a good fillip. And they have now succeeded in raising their social status in public estimation.

The Welfare Work Conducted by Bihar Vidyapith :—The magic of property, in all such cases, has changed the static Musahar into a dynamic individual. And no place brings out in striking relief this change more than Tarwara, a village in Darbhanga, the Musahars of which place were, only some years back, noted for many evils prevalent in their society. Bihar Vidyapitha, Patna, started working in their midst in 1937 through its village branch located at the same place. The branch, first, managed to free the Musahars from the bondage of Janouri system and then encouraged them to go outside to earn more. Sometime after, the Musahars saved some money with the help of which the Vidyapith village branch secured some lands for each earning family of their Musaharee on easy instalments. The acquisition metamorphosed, so to say, the mentality of the whole Musaharee. The Musahars living there now try to save money and evince interest in learning new trades and arts. Their children receive basic education at the village branch school, rubbing their shoulders with the children of the tallest family in the locality. The effect of all this is that they have learnt to look straight into the eyes of their employers and demand their due right from them. Today they seem to visualise their future with confidence and determination.



Musahar labourers

The community which numbers more than 76 lacs in Bihar alone and is described in the provincial census of 1931 as "actually the more backward community than any other caste" and "having 3 literate males per mille" according to the census of 1921, must have very good claims on the reforming zeal of the Indian humanitarians. Should not such claims be satisfied?

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

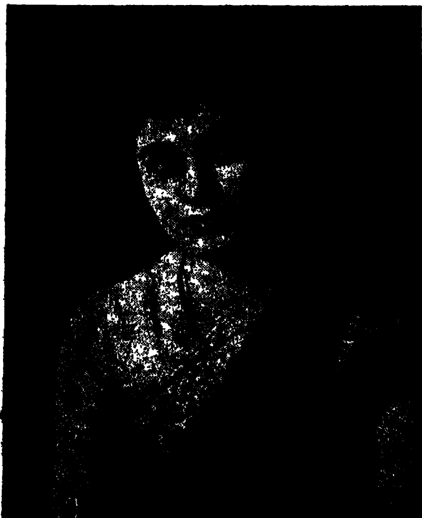
MISS ASHOKA BASU stood first among the successful female candidates in the Intermediate



Miss Ashoka Basu

Science Examination of the Calcutta University this year. She is the daughter of Mr. Hemanta Kumar Basu, M.A., of Taki-Jalalpur (24 Parganas).

MISS AMITA ROY is the only girl-student to secure a 1st Class in the B.A. Examination of



Miss Amita Roy

Calcutta University this year. She stood 2nd in the 1st Class in English.

In the I.A. Examination of 1939 she had stood 14th, appearing from St. Mary's Convent, Shillong. She had secured 5 Distinctions in the Junior Cambridge Examination of 1935, and 1st Class Pass, with 3 Distinctions in the Senior Cambridge Examination of 1936, both from Loreto Convent, Shillong.

She also passed Examinations in Piano, of the Associated Board of Music, of London, with Distinction.

She is the second daughter of Mr. P. C. Roy, late Professor and Vice-Principal of Cotton College.

MISS MUKULIKA DUTT has topped the list of successful candidates in the first M. B. examination of the Calcutta University this year. She also stood first among the female candidates in



Miss Mukulika Dutt

the Intermediate Science Examination of the Calcutta University in the year 1938. In the preliminary M.B. examination she won a gold medal by standing first in Botany. She also won other scholarships in competitive examinations. Miss Dutt is the daughter of Principal Pravash Chandra Dutt of Sylhet Government Technical School.

RUSSIA IN THE TOILS

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

The end of the third month of war between Germany and Russia leaves the Soviets in a rather serious position where the supply of munitions and war materials are concerned. The Ukraine with its vast granaries and sources of iron ore is virtually out of action as a source of supply to the Russians. The region where a large part of the heavy industries of the Soviets is concentrated, with Kharkov as the headquarters, is now directly threatened by the latest German thrust in the South. The great dam of the Dnieper, the biggest source of hydro-electric power in Europe, has had to be blown up, and with its destruction the great Electro-mechanical, Electro-chemical and Elctro-metallurgical industries of that area suffered a total collapse. Further east the Donetz basin—the Donbas—with its rich coal-mines is now threatened, as are the approaches to the Caucasus with its rich mineral and oil deposits. Coal, Iron and Steel, Aluminium, heavy chemicals, grain and sugar are the main items of supply from the regions in the south already



Marshal Budenny

within the orbit of the great ukrainian thrust and the resultant curtailment of the Soviet resources cannot be minimised, although the sources of supply still well out of the war-zone do contain very considerable alternative reservoirs and active centres of production in these very vital materials. There is no doubt that all shortages could be made up from these alternative sources within the Soviets' own territories, if the time necessary fer the expansion and development



Portrait of Peter the Great. Leningrad Museum

were given. In the meanwhile the armies of the Soviets must rely to a considerable extent on outside aid for the replacement of munitions and equipment used up or lost in the war.

There is no doubt that the declaration of "All possible help to Russia" made by President Roosevelt would be translated more and more in the terms of active aid in increasing quantities as and when the production of war material in the U.S.A. goes on in its upward stride towards the vast ultimate plan of all-out production. But here again the time factor becomes all important.

It has been apparent for sometime now that the German plans for the complete defeat and breaking up of the armies of the Soviets have been given up for the time being. The resistance and the fighting power of the Russians have been found to be too great to be overcome in one gigantic blitzkrieg. Even after all the major successes claimed by the Nazi High-Command, it is admitted that the Russians are still fighting with undiminished vigour and



Chinese Fire Brigade during an air raid in Chungking

determination and that numberless counter-attacks are being fiercely pressed forward by



Marshal Voroshilov and foreign military officers.

them in all the battle zones. It is therefore that the German thrusts are being directed at the great production areas, the nerve-centres of the Russian armies. Having failed to beat Russia down on its knees by main force, it is now attempted to paralyse it by putting its supply bases out of action. Leningrad, the Ukraine and the Donetz basin have become storm centres according to this plan, and the only means of defeating it seems to be outside aid on a very large scale, until such time as the other industrial regions of the U.S.S.R can step-up their output to make up for the losses of the production areas occupied or directly attacked by the Germans.

The armies of the Soviets do not seem to have suffered a catastrophic defeat anywhere. It is apparent enough that the armies of Marshal Budenny are unable to stem the flood of the mechanized forces of the Germans and therefore are being obliged to yield very valuable ground in order to prevent being encircled and exposed to a defeat of such a magnitude as would jeopardise the entire defences of the State. As matters stand the armies of the Soviets are still intact, the losses suffered in men can be easily met from the existing reserves, the only growing source of danger lying in the losses in production areas. As yet these losses are not irreplaceable, but the time factor is becoming more and more vital.



A tribal chief of Yunnan, Western China

China

The western marches of Asia are now facing the approach of war with destruction and death on a vast scale in its train. In the furthest eastern areas the violence of the storm has slowly diminished into an uneasy lull. Japan is taking her time in deciding whether to carry on in her attempt to put the yoke of subjugation on the "mastodon of nations" or to launch in a new and desperate adventure in the south according to the wishes of the fire-brands in the navy. A good deal depends no doubt on the results of Hitler's assault on the armies of Russia. Much of the problems facing Japan would be solved for her by the Nazis if the Russians are forced to deplete the armies and the great reserves of mechanised equipment kept in the Eastern Siberian military zones.

No major offensive was attempted so far in China by the Japanese this year. Savage air-raids in a futile attempt at breaking the spirit of Free China, attempts at the shortening of far-flung lines of battle by wiping out pockets of resistance and withdrawals from areas difficult of communications and the boosting up of the "National Government of China"—all gave evidence that the "China incident" still had to be closed—by force or by diplomacy—by Japan.

Mr. Wang Chingwei, the head of the "National Government" set up at Nanking by the Japanese, went over to Tokyo, some time back. He was lavishly entertained and received by the Emperor. He also got the long-delayed recognition of his regime by the Axis powers through the mediation of the "little brother" of the Axis. Incidentally this latter achievement resulted in the breaking off of relations by China with Germany and Italy. But Mr. Wang did not seem to be over-confident that he could "deliver the goods" in the near future, in spite of all the roseate visions of an Axis consisting of Japan, China and Manchukuo for the construction of a "New Order in East Asia" painted by him. "The Chinese said that his trip had just three motives: (1) money (2) money and (3) money" remarked an American commentator, who adds that he did get a loan of 300,000,000 *Yen*.

Free China went on with its plans of reconstruction, arms production and fitting and equipping of the armies for the ultimate trial of strength. The differences with communist forces, which threatened to develop into a definite breach some time back, were made up in time, with the result that the communist units resumed striking at the Japanese on a wide scale in Shansi, by the beginning of June.

Mr. Edgar Snow, the noted American writer, who knows his China intimately, says that the theory of China's strategy involves three stages "which have been defined as retreat, stalemate and counter-offensive." To elucidate, the three "stages" were expected by most generals to develop about as follows: "(1) The enemy advances in superior force while the Chinese retreat in space to gain time and organize their resources for prolonged resistance; (2) the Japanese offensive attains its climax in the foothills of

western China, Japanese war energy diminishes, China continues to mobilize, stalemate ensues; (3) Japan's internal and international contradictions reach a breaking point, coinciding with China's maximum mobilization of support at home and abroad, followed by large-scale counter-offensive and victory."



A Traffic corner in Kiev

The war in China is now somewhat in the stalemate phase. Observers of the critical faculty of Mr. Edgar Snow are definite that China cannot bring on the last and winning stage by her efforts alone. The United States and Britain must not only aid China in war materials, according to him, but also must closely collaborate with her in a programme for the rapid democratic development of China, removing internal antagonisms.

But whatever the future holds for China, she has presented to the world an example of courage, determination and resourcefulness, in the face of conditions so adverse that they beggar description, unparalleled in the history of mankind. If there be any hope for democracy—the undiluted, unadulterated and genuine article—it lies in the salvation of races like the Chinese.

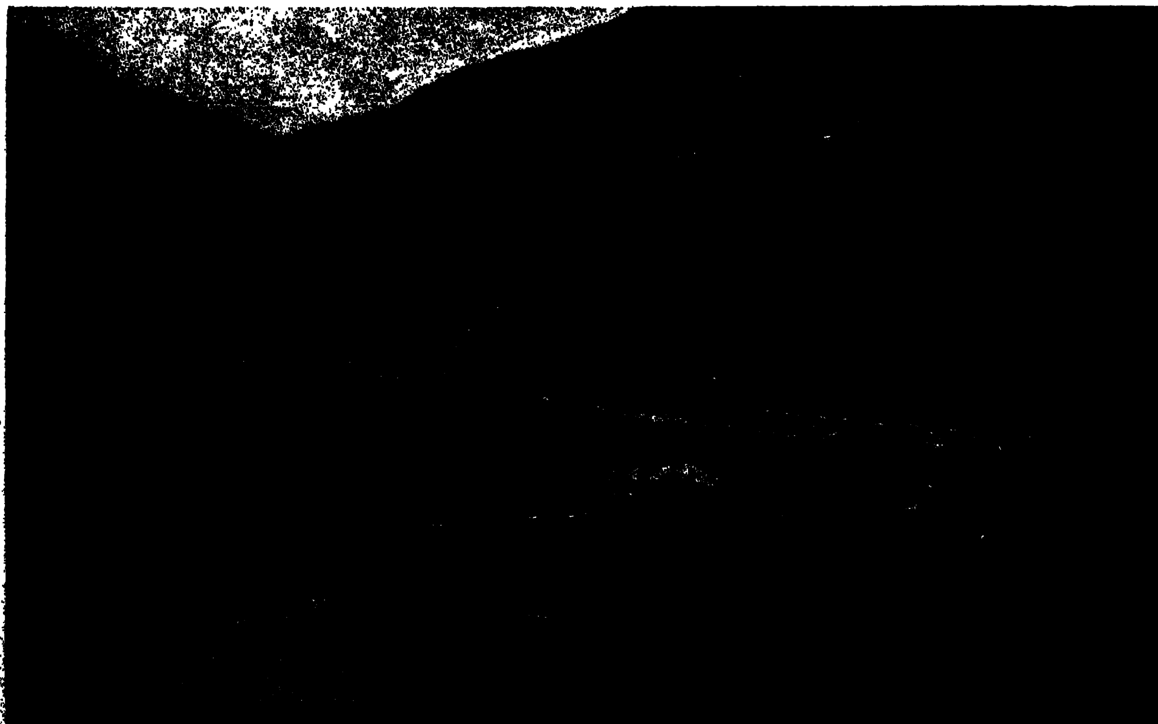
The case of China differs from that of Russia inasmuch as China never evinced any spirit of aggrandisement or aggression. She was engaged in settling her own house in order. In order to get the requisite finances for the amelioration of the condition of her own nationals, she attempted to prevent the foreigners from exploiting her peoples and from bleeding her land white. This did not suit the ends of imperialist Japan. The result was Manchukuo, and the "China incident." Other foreigners looked on with complacency, hoping to get a share of the spoils with the perverted pleasure of seeing China being "put in her place" added on as a relish. Disaster has followed this complacence and greed, for there is not the slightest doubt that the Abyssinian war, the Spanish "revolution," the anschluss of Austria, etc., were all steps leading from the Manchukuo affair to the second world war. Only the profiteer-guided democracies did not—or would not—see the danger signals.



The statue of Peter the Great. Leningrad



Chinese guerilla troops



The Burma-road to Kunming

The Dnieper dam in the building stage. This was built in six years with the day and night labour of over 20,000 skilled and unskilled workers. It was destroyed by the Russians in an attempt to stop German advance



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

INDIA AND THE PACIFIC WORLD: *By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris) of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University. Published by the Book Co., Ltd., College Sq., East, Calcutta. Size D.C. 8vo. Pp. xiv+294. Price Indian Rs. 10 and Foreign £1 or 5 dollars, inclusive of postage.*

I was privileged to see the present work in its proof-stage, and I wish to confirm in this short notice the high opinion I began to hold from the start about the importance of this latest work from Dr. Kalidas Nag. A book like this giving in one handy volume a survey of the world of Man in the Asiatic lands fringing on the Pacific Ocean and in the islands of the Pacific—Indonesia, Melanesia and Micronesia and Polynesia (the study of the two Americas in their Pacific Coasts, and of Australia and Tasmania, as forming two different culture worlds, has not been detailed in the present volume) was for a long time a desideratum, and there were few people, at least in India, who could handle this vast terrain with the authority of the scholar and the traveller. Dr. Nag as one of the founders of the *Greater India Society* of Calcutta is keenly alive to the part which India has played in the evolution of culture and civilisation in the Far East and in the islands, and the title of his books indicates its scope—the Indian background is never lost sight of. Yet it is not a work—it cannot be so, in fact—of a Jingoistic Indianism. An honest attempt has been made to appraise the part played by the Man from India, from the prehistoric times right down to the glorious days of the Guptas and the T'angs and later, in helping the men of the Far East and other distant lands to come to the full height of their being. For this task, Dr. Nag, as it will be admitted by all those who know him and who will read this work, is eminently fitted. An Indian scholar who has specialised in Indology not only in his own country but also in Paris and elsewhere abroad, he is one of the most widely travelled men from University circles in India; and his sojourn at Honolulu as Visiting Professor to the local University and his travels in New Zealand and elsewhere where he could meet prominent men among the important Polynesian peoples, have given him a unique opportunity to visualise some of the situations first-hand. He has besides widely travelled in Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Ceylon, Malaya, Java and Bali, the Philippines, China and Japan, besides the United States and some of the lands of South America in addition to considerable parts of Europe and some parts of Africa. Scholars and learned bodies, museums and private collections have everywhere been consulted by him, over and above the printed page. We have thus in the present volume a unique study of the problems regarding the origin and development of civilised life among more than half of the human race which the author has written with enthusiasm which also infects his readers. A certain amount of repetition was unavoidable as so many peoples and cultures overlap each other, and in this regional survey in dealing with contacts this could not be helped. The bibliographical and other references, all given in the course of the narrative, are full and up-to-date, and this adds not a little to the value of the book. The titles for the different chapters will indicate the scope of the work: The Pacific Basin—a Cultural Survey; Cultural Migrations in Oceania; Maori Land and Culture; The Polynesian World; Cultural Organisations of Hawaii; the Peoples and Cultures of the Philippines; India and the Archæology of Malaysia and Indonesia; Art and Archæology of Thailand; Art and Archæology of Indo-China; Art and Archæology of Sumatra; Java in Asiatic History and Culture; China and the Dawn of Asiatic Culture; Problems of Chinese Art and Archæology; Buddhism and the Evolution of Chinese Art; Collections of Chinese Art and Archæology; Prehistoric Japan; Japanese Art and Religion in its various Periods; the National Art Treasures and Museums of Japan; Art and Archæology in Japan. Conclusion: Pre-history and Proto-history of Asia, India and the Asiatic Background and Pacific Civilisation and India. In addition to a narrative statement of the evolution of culture in these lands, the author has given a running survey of all that modern research and conservation have done to study and to preserve for posterity all the remains of civilisation so far available in these lands. Altogether, the work is well-conceived and well-executed, and it should be read and consulted by all students of Indian and connected cultures.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES: *By Dhirendranath Sen, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. xxxi+793.*

"The Problem of Minorities," rightly says the author of this book, "is one of the most perplexing and intriguing problems of modern democracy"; and, at the same time, "one of the pressing and urgent tasks of democracy today is," to quote the author again, "to secure adequate and effective protection for them and to associate them in the work of administration." "The tyranny of the few is bad; the tyranny of the many is not less so." We think that it is worse as it has much greater power behind it. So far as our own country is

concerned, the problem of minorities is certainly much more complex than what it is elsewhere. Any treatise, therefore, which deals with the question of minorities in a scientific manner, is to be welcomed.

The book under review is really a valuable piece of work. In respect of the wealth of information it contains, the comprehensiveness of its scope, and the suggestiveness of its character, it is a timely and important contribution to the literature of the subject with which it deals. The author has divided the book into three parts. In the first two parts he has dealt with the question of minorities in countries other than India, and he has devoted the third part "exclusively to the Indian problem of the protection of minorities." He has traced the history of the problem of minorities from 1814 onwards, discussed the principles of their protection both in municipal and in international law, examined to what extent and in what particulars those principles may be applied to Indian conditions and has, lastly, dealt with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, in this regard. The method followed in the book is thus both historical and analytical. There is no doubt that the author has studied the subject in many aspects.

We fully agree with what the author has said in regard to the question of residuary powers in the proposed Federation of India. We are also entirely at one with him when he says: "There is no use making a temporary or experimental arrangement. It is a risky proceeding. . . . If a concession bad in principle and injurious in practice is granted, those who make the concession will some day be faced with a *fait accompli* which it would be impossible to alter or modify save by resort to force or at least by the threat of force" (p. 753).

The author is very rightly against any devices "which are likely to assail the foundations of national democracy." "The division of the State into water-tight communal compartments frustrates its object and defeats its purpose. There is ample room for the growth and development of parties in modern democracies; in fact parties keep them efficient and always on the alert. But parties must be based on political ideals and on economic principles and in no case on religious doctrines or race prejudices" (p. 755). These are wise words which deserve a careful attention from all.

The author, however, is not against the legitimate interests of minorities, as he also insists on the point that there must "be the amplest measure of religious and social freedom in the country which ought to be adequately protected against interference by persons for the time being controlling the machinery of Government" (p. 757). But he maintains that "a statutory majority for any community in the Legislature under a system of responsible Government tends to transfer power from the people to a coterie and is, therefore, inimical to the growth of political responsibility in the conduct of the affairs of State" (p. 761). He might have added that it is a travesty of democracy, if not a fraud upon its fundamental principles. He has also laid a special stress on "the point that adequate safeguards should be provided in the Constitution (of India) against centrifugal tendencies, especially against any tendency of (*sic*) what is known as *imperium in imperio*" (p. 761). We are in perfect agreement with this view, which is, unfortunately, very often ignored by some of our leaders.

There are, however, some slips in the book—perhaps difficult to avoid in a voluminous work like this. We may draw here the author's attention to one or two of them. Perhaps *in detail* would have been better than *in details* on page xxvi (line 28); *both in municipal and in international law* better than *both in municipal and international law* on page xxx (line 37); and *tendency towards* or *to* better than *tendency of* on page 761 (line 4). The expression *The Office of Executive Councillors of the Governor-General and the Governor's Councils* on page 396 (lines 33-34) is rather clumsy, if not incorrect. Perhaps the author meant *the conferment of power* when he used the expression *the conference of power* in line 26 on page 760. Moreover, it appears from what the author has stated in the third paragraph on page 619 that he has assumed that an Instrument of Instructions has already been issued to the Governor-General of India under Section 13(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935. We agree that Instructions have been issued to the Provincial Governors in India under Section 53(1) of the said Act. But, as far as we know, no Instrument of Instructions has yet been issued to the Governor-General under Section 13(1) of the Act. As a matter of fact, Part II of the Act in which the said Section 13(1) occurs, has, as it is well-known, not yet been brought into operation. It is true that an Instrument of Instructions was issued to the Governor-General on 8th March, 1937. But it was intended to guide him during the operation of the provisions of Part XIII of the Government of India Act, 1935. (*Vide* Notification, Government of India, Reforms Office, No. F. 5/11/37—G. (A), dated at New Delhi, 1st April, 1937). Moreover, it was issued by the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative as before, and not under Section 13(1) of the aforesaid Act. This will be evident if the Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governor-General on 8th March, 1937, is carefully compared with the Instrument of Instructions which was issued, on the same date, to, say, the Governor of Bengal. (*Vide* the Government of Bengal, Home Department, Notification No. 8374 A.R., dated 1st April, 1937). Presumably, the author had in his mind the Draft Instrument of Instructions proposed to be issued to the Governor-General of India under Section 13(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935. This is clear from the first footnote on page 619 in which he refers to Clause XIV (of the Draft Instrument). Lastly, we may say that there are some matters in the book which might have been left out of it. That would not have taken away anything from its merits. This, however, we agree, is a matter of opinion.

But these are some of the minor defects in a work which, we are very glad to say, has certainly been written with judgment, knowledge, and restraint, and which, therefore, deserves to be carefully studied by those who are interested in the problem of minorities, especially in this country.

We congratulate the author.

D. N. BANERJEE

A HISTORY OF THE HOLY SHRINE OF SRI VENKATESA IN TIRUPATI, VOL. I: *By Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar. Published by Tirumalai-Tirupati Devastanam Committee, Madras. 1940. Pp. 487.*

The publication of this handy volume (called briefly "A History of Tirupati" in one of the title pages) is an outcome of the laudable desire of the management, recently constituted for carrying on the administration of the affairs of the famous temple, to compile a history of the shrine for the information of the public. The authorities must be congratulated in being able to secure for this purpose the services of the eminent and veteran scholar Dr. S. K. Aiyangar.

South India is justly famous for its magnificent temples, but only a few enjoy a sanctity and importance comparable to that which is situated in the small

group of hills called the Tirumalai. The temple, which is referred to in early Tamil literature as Vengadam, and better known to the outside world by the Vaishnava sacerdotal name Tirupati, is situated on the northern border of the Tamil-speaking region. The region is referred to as a well-known place in Sangama literature, but there is nothing in it to indicate unmistakably the existence of a shrine. Dr. Aiyangar's presumption that the references to festivals imply the existence of the temple will not carry general conviction.

Apart from legends, to which the author has referred at length, the first definite mention of the famous temple may be traced in the devotional songs of the Alwars (300-800 A.D.). The author has discussed at length the very intriguing question as to the nature of the deity referred to in these songs. The author's conclusion that "Tirupati was pre-eminently the shrine of Vishnu and none other than Vishnu" (p. 95) is perhaps a little more dogmatic than the evidences would justify. But considering the sectarian susceptibilities of the present day, it is idle to expect a fair and dispassionate judgment on this question in a book published by the authorities of the temple which is now a pre-eminently Vaishnava shrine.

As a matter of fact even down to the twelfth century A.D. the Saivas claimed the temple as one dedicated to Siva, and it was to meet their arguments that Ramanuja paid a visit to Tirupati. The author has given a detailed account of the organisation of the temple by Ramanuja to whom the temple really owes its position as a leading Vaishnava shrine. This is followed up by an account of the temple as gleaned from the records of the subsequent period. The volume ends with a brief review of the history of Vijayanagar, and the second volume promises to resume the account of the temple from that period.

Before concluding this review we are bound to observe that this scholarly volume suffers from one vital defect. The general account of the political, literary, and religious history of South India is given at such great length that the temple of Tirupati recedes into the background. It is, no doubt, necessary to refer to these side-issues, but only to the extent that is necessary for a proper understanding of the main topic. To devote long chapters to the history of Sangama literature and Alwars including the controversies over their chronology, or to describe at length the history of the Pallavas and other ruling dynasties simply because passing references are made to Tirupati in the former, and a remote connection might or might not exist between the temple and individual rulers of the latter, is not only uncalled for, but positively interferes with the continuity of the narrative. The volume before us would appear to many to be more a scholarly, though somewhat rambling, discourse on some aspects of the culture of South India than a history of Tirupati in the strict sense of the term.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

GERMAN CONTROL OVER INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS (1930-40) : *By Allen Thomas Bonnell. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XXVI. No. 1. 1940. Pp. 167. Price $1.50.*

This is a fascinating volume with seven chapters, seven appendices and 21 tables. The title is not very appropriate in view of the contents of the publication : "German Economy as Affected by International Economic Relations" would have been more suitable. For, that is what the pages explain. This volume is a very lucid exposition of the developments in Germany between the two great wars. Standstills, devised conservation, import control, export stimulus, and a host of other concomitants of the exchange control system have been clearly explained, and one might say that it is almost the last word on German exchange control published as yet. The author has very plainly stated in the preface that "this monograph is neither a justification nor a condemnation of German international economic policy." Many sources have been available to him (the author) which are not accessible to "enemy" countries like India, and the narrative scrupulously avoids any prepossession. A review, however brief, could not possibly be fair if the following passages from the volume were not extracted for the general reader :

"German international economic policy is still in a state of flux. To the National Socialists has been assigned a great deal of the responsibility for the disruption of normal economic and financial relations between nations. However, to a considerable extent, German control measures were consequences, rather than causes, of international disequilibria. Germany was not so much the source of international economic and financial disturbances as a medium through which shocks originating elsewhere were transmitted to other parts of the world economy. . . . . Were it possible to retrace steps and rectify some of the politico-economic blunders of the decades since Versailles, some of the basic problems might be reached, the symptoms of which the countries of the world have attempted to solve through restrictions upon the free movements of goods and services between nations. It is paradoxical that nations attempt to relieve international economic disturbances caused in part by the restriction on the free movements of goods and services by still further measures of control over international economic relations—that nations seek through war the economic security which war inevitably destroys."

To the general reader, this is a very respectable non-propaganda publication. To the special student, the volume is a source of manifold interpretations and explanations. Both the author and the University of Illinois deserve to be congratulated on this splendid academic interpretation of German economics preceding the present World War.

S. KESAVA IYENGAR

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE TEACHING OF THE MOTHER-TONGUE IN INDIA : *By W. M. Ryburn. Published by the Oxford University Press (Indian Branch). 1940. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is one more useful book to be written by W. M. Ryburn, M.A., of the Christian High School, Kharar, Punjab, who has already made his mark as an educationist and author of several books dealing with the theory and practice of education.

"This book," we are told, "is an attempt to give teachers at work and teachers in training suggestions as to how modern methods of teaching may be applied to the teaching of the mother-tongue in India." Mr. Ryburn's book is doubly welcome. Firstly, because he believes that training in the use of the mother-tongue—"the tongue in which a child thinks and dreams"—to be "the first essential of schooling and the finest instrument of culture" and secondly, because he champions the cause of the teacher of the mother-tongue who, he says, should be saved from the sense of inferiority, which has enveloped him and reinstated in his original position from which the teachers of English and Mathematics have dethroned him.

In fourteen short chapters the author very ably deals with the mechanics of reading and writing, with the reception-side and the expressive side of the pupils and students in the learning of the mother-tongue and

other topics relevant to the subject-matter. His long experience as an educationist and his familiarity with Indian conditions enable Mr. Ryburn to write with authority and the suggestions made in this book will do much to help the teacher of the mother-tongue to make the subject—the teaching and learning of it—a source of joy and happiness and knowledge. The book will undoubtedly give new inspiration and initiative to all those who feel that all is not well with the type of education that has so long been doled out to us, that the time is now ripe to try new ideas and new values and new ways of approach.

There is a useful bibliography appended to the book.

KSHITIS ROY

CHANGING INDIA: *By Iqbalunnisa Hussain. Published by Hosali Press, Bangalore. 1940. Price Rs. 2.*

Mrs. Hussain, the writer of this book, is a Muslim lady (as the name shows) of distinction. Brought up in strict purdah, she was the mother of seven children, when she took her B.A. degree more than ten years ago. She went to England three years later with her son who had graduated by this time. What she saw in Europe and in Turkey widened her experience and enlarged her outlook and her educational and social activity has still a promising future before it.

The reader, on taking up the book, is at once struck by the novelty of the topics discussed. There is a refreshing attempt to examine the fundamentals of her society. Is purdah good? Is polygamy sanctioned by the teachings of the prophet? Has woman a soul—specially in the East—a soul to be saved? Is there any difference in the mental make-up of a Hindu and a Mahomedan? And if there be, is that difference likely to inhere for all times to come? She puts questions like these with a candour that is convincing, and tries to answer them by herself.

Surely India is changing, and Mrs. Hussain's outlook will undergo a further change. "The Hindus. . . . believe in many gods, goddesses and their incarnations. The Hindu religion divides humanity into different classes according to race, caste or position. . . . . The Hindus venerate the cow, the snake, the eagle, and many other animals. They have strong convictions against the taking of life, while Muslims require the sacrifice of animals for religious and other purposes. . . . The Hindu women do not observe purdah and mix with men well-dressed and decorated." It is evident that there is a regrettable lack of knowledge of the Hindus as a class; the majority community does not deserve to be talked about with complete ignorance.

Again, "the resignation of the Congress Ministry in seven provinces on the pretext of obtaining freedom when the English are engaged in a life and death struggle, and the continuation of the Ministry by the Muslims show the attitudes of their minds. One is more selfish and thinks of his own interest without caring for the condition of his opponent. The other is an open sort of man contented with what he gets, being animated by a principle of action—'live and let others live.' He is as straight-forward as he is considerate." An amusing sample of criticism indeed!

But though Mrs. Hussain's view on Hindu Society and on Congress ideals will not bear scrutiny, her statements on Muslim ideals specially in reference to womankind will be received with approval. When she says that "there is no polygamy in Islam," and bases her assertion on a text from the Quran, she deserves to be quoted and with approbation. With real feeling she says elsewhere:

"Seclusion has undermined the health of Muslim women. They are physically unfit for any strenuous work. Eighty per cent of the girls of school-going age suffer from some disease or other which can easily be cured by sunlight, fresh air and exercise.

Purdah with illiteracy and ignorance has cramped their personalities."

Whether the reader agrees with the writer or not, he will find here the sincere expression of a thinking mind, which seeks to examine the environment in the light both of the past and the future.

P. R. SEN

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL TANGLE: *By Jamil-Ud-Din Ahmad. Published by Shaikh Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. 1941. 90+iv. Price Re. 1-4.*

PAKISTAN AND UNTOUCHABILITY: *By Ch. Afzal Haq. Published by Maktaba-I-Urdu, Lahore. May, 1941. Pp. 164. Price Re. 1-12.*

These two volumes represent two contrasted standpoints among Muslim politicians in India on national problems. Mr. Ahmad, a Aligarh lecturer and member of the Muslim League Council, presents a picture of recent developments in the political situation with a vigorous Muslim League brush, without mincing strong words when analysing the motives of rival parties, especially the Congress. The usual Jinnah-ite arguments about the unsuitability of democracy to India, the two "nations," the Viceroy's offer to the League of a "share of one pice in the rupee" in the partnership proposed by him, the Constituent Assembly plan as a plan of coercing the minority Muslims—are all developed with clarity. To the writer a Central Government in India is "a graft, an imposition; it can never be an organic growth": thereby he and his like strike consternation in the hearts of even sympathetic students of their case.

The author of the other book is a Ahrar leader who has suffered for his cause. He is not in love with the philosophy and programme of Pakistan but he is sincere in his deep abhorrence of the scheme of things in which the Muslims are treated as untouchables. The Hindu-Moslem problem is not a political one, according to Mr. Haq, but is mainly socio-economic. He points out the catholicity of Muslim divines by drawing on their teachings and shows how Muslims in India lead an unorthodox life by adopting many Hindu customs and modes. He believes that a more egalitarian social and economic system will solve the Hindu-Muslim problem and concludes with a warning: "Muslims now refuse to live as serfs of the Hindus economically, and as their untouchables socially. Though we know that Pakistan is an unpracticable scheme, but we will make up our differences with the Muslim League and fight those forces that keep us down."

Indian publicists will profit by a perusal of Mr. Ahmad's elegant presentation of the westernised politicised Muslim standpoint on the one, and Chowdhury Afzal Haq's sincere (though albeit poor and faulty in language) nationalist and realist thesis, on the other. We can no longer ignore the standpoint and criticisms of either of these Muslim schools.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

HUMAN NATURE: *By Arthur Robson. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India. Pp. 352. Price Rs. 3-12 (5s. 9d.). Postage extra.*

The book attempts to examine the instinctive habits of human beings with a view to discover their origin. Although it is a novel attempt which may be amusing to some of its readers, the book does not reveal any great depth of thought. Its merit lies in its lucidity of style and clarity of expression.

N. K. BRAHMA

THE ALL-INDIA INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL DIRECTORY, 1941 : *Edited by M. G. Desai and G. R. S. Rao. Published by the All-India Industrial Federation, Lakshmi Building, Sir Phirozeshah Mehta Road, Fort, Bombay. Fourth Edition. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2.*

The compendium under review gives graphic surveys of the economic and industrial progress of British India and the Native States, made during the last world war and the post-war period. In spite of the numerous handicaps, this progress, though quite insignificant in comparison to other independent countries of the world, is remarkable. Not only major industries but the dying cottage industries have received attention.

The articles, in Section I, by noted publicists and industrial magnates, are thought-provoking and informative. Other sections, containing information about commercial houses and industrial establishments, insurance and banking, commerce and industry in Indian States, and the Directory of industrial establishments and commercial houses, are no less useful and informative. In these days of Economic Planning the value of such a compilation cannot be over-stressed.

SOUREN DE

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF SRI RAMAKRISHNA : *Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Price annas ten only.*

This biography will be valued particularly by those who have no time to go through the big works on the life of Sri Ramakrishna.

Though short in size, it contains most of the important information which is to be found either in the authorised biography by the same publishers, or in the great work by Romain Rolland.

The style of the book makes it pleasant reading and the writer is to be congratulated for being able to describe lucidly, within a limited space, the gradual unfoldment of the spiritual life of the great saint.

A SHORT LIFE OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : *Published by Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Price annas ten only.*

This is a companion volume of the short biography of Sri Ramakrishna, which is noticed above. Both the books follow the same plan and both are written in a pleasant style. They should be largely recommended as prize-books as well as for use in libraries.

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

ENGLISH-BENGALI

STATUS OF WOMEN (WITH BENGALI TRANSLATION) : *By Sj. Mahendra Nath Dutt. Published by the Mahendra Publishing Committee, 3, Gour Mohan Mookherjee Street, Calcutta. Price annas eight.*

In this short treatise the author discusses the position of Women of modern Asia, their inferior status in home and society and makes some valuable suggestions for the improvement of their lot. Though he advocates a thorough overhauling of the present social structure, he does not support a wholesale alteration or a slavish imitation of western countries. He insists on an equal partnership of women with men, the essential prerequisite of which, according to him, is that women must be self-supporting and earning members of the family. Various professions should, therefore, be thrown open to them. He also suggests that a pan-Asiatic organization of women should be started—with branches in all villages, towns, capitals, etc.

The work is sure to be a valuable guide to all those who are interested in the cause of women. The Bengali translation will be helpful to many. Unfortunately, however, both the translation and the original abound in printing mistakes, which, we hope, will be corrected in the subsequent edition. There should have been also a list of Contents and General Index.

JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI

HINDI

RAJASTHAN KE GRAMGIT, PART I : *Collected and compiled by Suryakaran Parik, M.A. and edited by Thakur Ramsingh, M.A. and Narottamdas Swami, M.A. Published by Gayaprasad and Sons, Agra. Pp. 111. Price annas twelve only.*

Folk literature is a mirror not of the primitive mind, as that term is usually understood, but of the basic human instincts and emotions. This is the reason of what appears to be a striking similarity between the folk-songs and folk-stories of the different countries of the world. And who knows if the present-day interest, which is ever widening, in folk literature both in the East and in the West be not one of the many means of re-asserting the truth of the fundamental unity of humanity ?

The late Pandit Suryakaran Parik of Piplani was a pioneer in the field of collecting the folk-songs of Rajaputana, just as he was one of the earliest scholars who engaged themselves in rescuing from oblivion the literature of the land. The present volume, under review, which is the first of the projected and planned series of four, deals with the domestic life of the people with both its shade and light. The struggle for existence of the sons of the soil, the woman of the village, the spinning-wheel, the farmer's monetary debt, the daily menu, the dainties and delicacies of the palate, the cat, the camel and the bullock—all these have been "sung" by the unknown, unsung and unhonoured village singers. While reading them, rather while singing them (the reviewer wishes the editors had given an idea of the tunes in which they are sung), one seems to be listening to some ancient epic, to which the stars "listen-in" every night.

Here are a few quotations, rendered at random into English :

"Mother, do not chastise my sister, for she is but sparrow who will fly away after a few days."

"My beloved is angry with me today. He has hired a separate hut. He is trying to do everything in the house himself, but he has made a mess of it. When I saw all this I exclaimed, 'come back, O beloved, I shall give you some sumptuous dishes to eat.' It is the fate of us poor women, alas ! to drudge the whole day, and for food have only remnants and refuse."

"Fie on you, O cat, you look down upon buttermilk and feed yourself stealthily on cream, sitting under the cot, you lie in ambush and wait for an opportunity when you could spring upon the basket of edibles, hanging from the roof. The mother-in-law has made my life already miserable, and now you have come into the house to add to my cup of misery. Fie on you, O cat !"

"Our domestic or worldly life is but an unending curse. We toil day and night, while it is others who reap the fruits of our toil."

Are these not the voices of the eternal child in Man ? We would await anxiously the subsequent volumes in the series, so that we may hear more such lispings of the eternal child.

A word of praise must be mentioned for the competence with which the editors have done their task. Their translations and annotations will enable the reader to enjoy the original songs better than he would have done otherwise.

G. M.

KANNADA

ANTARANGADA KATHEGALU : *Published by General Supplies Ltd., Udipi. Crown 8vo. Pp. 103. Price annas eight.*

This is a collection of short stories published from time to time in *Antaranga*, a weekly periodical of Udipi. The book contains 13 short stories. The writers of the stories are all budding young amateurs in the art of story writing. They are the men of the soil of Udipi and as such the local hue and tint are much in evidence in the stories before us. Short story—though a recent growth in Kannada—has been successful in having unrivalled sway and grip over the young artists next only to one-act plays. The pens of young artists are very active and alert in depicting a short story in so far as the lyrical sentimentalism of youth finds a free and unfettered play there.

Most of the stories in the book before us deal with problems of marriage and re-marriage. Some of them arouse interest by their wit and humour while a few provoke anxious thought. The get-up of the book is neat. The language of the stories is no doubt simple. But the use of too many foreign words mars much of their beauty. Some of the stories in this collection are either adaptations or translations from foreign languages such as French or English. The famous short story *Sign* of Guy de Maupassant has been rendered into Kannada by P. V. Acharya as "Kansanne." The writers deserve all encouragement from Kannada public.

V. B. Naik

TAMIL

MAHATMA GANDHI AND AHIMSA. Part I. Pp. 1-40.

MAHATMA GANDHI AND SATYAM. Part II. Pp. 41-88.

By K. R. Menon, Ph.D. Published by the Greater India Publishing House, 415, Race Course Road, Singapore. 1940. Each part 30 cents.

One has simply to read these pamphlets brimming with quotations from Western Literature as well as from more familiar Sanskrit and Tamil Literature, to be convinced of the truth and moral grandeur of Gandhiji's philosophy. The author's apt references to our life experiences, further make their reading more homely and interesting. He could have, though not a born Tamilian, very easily avoided some of the grammatical blunders and thus saved the marring of his otherwise splendid work.

ARIGNAR VARALARU : *By K. S. Nathan, 41, Broadway, Madras. With a preface by T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar. 1937. Pp. 74. Price annas four.*

We have sufficient explanation for the author's failure to bring out fully the greatness of his heroes, in that he has compressed the lives of about a dozen heroes in less than 75 pages. The author is mistaken also when he says that Socrates was asked to drink the cup of poison immediately after his conviction.

THAMIZHAR THIRUMANA NOOL : *By Thamizhar's Welfare Association. Pp. 56. 1939. Price anna one.*

This small book describes in short the forms and ceremonies of marriage that prevailed among Tamils thousands of years ago and also the ceremonies that may now be adopted. The suggestions have the full support of very many Tamil scholars. They are further rational and well worthy of adoption.

Madhavan

MALAYALAM

CHHATRAPATI : *By K. P. Leelamma. Publishers : Norman Printing Bureau, Calicut. Ernakulam, 1114 M.E. Cr. Pp. v+95. Price annas eight.*

This is a book dealing with the biography of Shivaji, the great Maratha, who lived in the 17th century. The authoress believes that the Muhammadan historians of Shivaji were biased; consequently readers of those books cannot form a correct estimate of Shivaji's character and attainments. They have designated him a robber-chieftain, a cheat and a "mountain rat." The intention of the authoress appears to be to vindicate his character by portraying the man in the true perspective.

There are several important features in the character of Shivaji other than what the authoress thought fit to compile in this biography. She is therefore referred to certain well-known and authoritative books on Shivaji, such as, Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji* (1929), Balkrishna's *Shivaji the Great* (1932), as well as to Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, extracts of which in English can be found in Elliott's *History of India*. "A life that is worth writing at all is worth writing minutely" says Longfellow, and "the web of our life is of a mingled yarn, good and ill together" says Shakespeare. The book is one-sided and seems to be a hasty compilation, both of which can be overlooked as this is the first enterprise of the authoress in the literary field. Nevertheless, the authoress is to be congratulated for the venture on the biography of a man who was a wonder in his age which is sure to create an interest in Indian nationalism.

P. O Matthai

GUJARATI

VIVECHANA : *By Prof. Vishnuprasad R. Trivedi. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1939. Cloth bound. Pp. 260. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Twenty-eight reviews of books and essays from the pen of a writer who writes after deep study, wide reading and genuine understanding of the function of a critic, are collected in this volume which is a reprint of contributions to magazines. The work is instructive and thought-provoking.

NAVI VASAHAT NO VIKAS : *By Manibhai Dwivedi. Printed at the Anand Sagar Printing Press, Navsari. 1940. Illustrated. Thick cardboard. Pp. 46. Price annas six.*

The sturdy agriculturist of Gujarat, wherever he goes turns a desert into a smiling field. How the intelligent cultivator of Bardoli, migrated into Rajpipla territory and converted the hilly soil and desert of one of its districts—Valia into a land of rich fields and ginning presses within two decades is set out here in a language which reads more like a romance than a true story. Such colonising achievements anywhere out of India would have attracted a host of writers : here we have got only this solitary little book to record it.

VANA NAN FUL : *By Nagandas A. Pandya, B.A. Printed at the Yashwant Printing Press, Joravarnagar. 1940. Paper cover. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1.*

"Forest Flowers" is the attractive name given to this collection of verses, of varying degree as to expression of feeling, thought and emotion. Some of them are really good and promising.

K. M. J.

RECENT BENGALI BOOKS

MEDICINE

Ahater Prathamik Pratibidhan. First Aid to the injured. Trn. by Rai Bahadur S. C. Brahmachari, M.A. Published by the St. John Ambulance Association. Pp. 16+272+47+6. 20th December, 1939. 2nd ed.

Sachitra Strirog-Chikitsa. Illustrated treatment of female diseases. By S. M. Bhar, B.H.M.S. Pp. 6+332 15th December, 1939.

Baiokemic Kamparetibh Metiriya Medika O Thirapiutiks. Biochemic Comparative Materia Medica and Therapeutics. By Bijay Kumar Basu, H.M.B. Pp. 5+342. 10th December 1939. 2nd ed.

Metiriya Medika. Materia Medica. A Homœpathic Materia Medica. By D. N. Chaterji. Pp. 8+221 8th March. 1940.

Laksan Samgraha. Homœpathic Materia Medica. By Nilratan Banerji, M.A., M.D. Pp. 8+566. 22nd December. 1939.

Chikitsa O Pathya-Bijnan. Treatment and dietatics. By Sachi Mohan Chaudhuri, B.Sc. Pp. 5+88. 21st December, 1939.

Klinikyal Meteriya Medika end Therapiutiks. Pancham Khanda. Clinical Materia Medica and Therapeutic. Part V. A short treatise on Homœpathic Materia Medica and Therapeutics. By Upendra Nath Sarkar. Pp. 922-1.137. 15th January, 1940.

MISCELLANEOUS

Gramer Unnati. The Uplift of the Village. By Abdul Hakim, M.A. (Cantab.). Pp. 19+236. 7th March, 1940.

Sri Arabinda O Bhabi Samaj. Sri Aurobindo and the future Society. By Anil Baran Ray. Pp. 43. 17th February, 1940.

Arhiyal Bil-Samasya. The problem concerning the Arhiyal bog. Pp. 8. 5th September, 1939.

Barth-Kantrol Ba Janma-niyantran. Birth control. By Asutosh Mallik. Pp. 4+48. Illustrated. 28th December, 1939.

Paribarik Prabandha. Essays on domestic subjects. By Bhudeb Mukharji. Pp. 3+2+280. 25th December, 1939. 11th edition.

Mukhar Bandi. The talking prisoner. By Bhupendra Kishor Rakshit Ray. Pp. 2+112. 13th January, 1940.

Bidrohir Svapna. Dream of the Rebel. By Bijaylal. Chatarji. Pp. 4+62. 2nd edition.

Banglar Byanking. Bengal Banking. By Haris Chandra Sinha, M.Sc., Ph.D., F.S.S. Pp. 10+211. 10th January, 1940.

Vamsa-Paricay. Panchadas Khanda. Family History. Part XV. By Jnanendranath Kumar. Contains family histories of certain Zemindars and notable persons of Bengal. 28th February, 1936.

———, Part XVI. 4th January, 1938.
——— Part XVII. 6th February, 1938.
——— Part XVIII. 2nd September, 1938.

Manab-Jiban. Life of man. By Dr. Lutfar Rahman. Pp. 138. 28th February, 1940. 3rd edition.

Satya-Jiban. True Life. By Dr. Lutfar Rahman. Pp. 107. 18th February, 1940.

Mahatma Gandhi Ebam Birat Silpa-dhandha O Kal-kabja. Mahatma Gandhi and a great Industrial bewilderment and Machinery and Mechanism. Com. by Birendra Nath Guha. Pp. 15. 28th February. 1940.

Naba Bharat. New India By Mahiuddin. Pp. 37. 11th March, 1939.

Amader Karttabya. Our duties. By Maruf Husain. Pp. 12. 4th February, 1940.

Parisat-Parichay. Acquaintance with (the Bangiya Sahitya) Parisat. Comp. by Brajendranath Banerjee. Contains information about the foundation, works done and aim of the "Bangiya-Sahitya-Parisat." Pp. 2+202+34+16.

Go-jiban. Cow-life. By Prabas Chandra Banerji. On the cow and the treatment of her diseases Pp. 6+553. 1st February, 1940. 6th ed.

Sandhani. Searching. By Prabhat Samir Ray. B.Sc., F.G.M.S. Pp. 2+1+2+226+6+2 4th March. 1940. 2nd edition.

Rabindra-Rachanabali. Dvitiya Khanda Works of Rabindranath Tagore. Vol II By Rabindranath Tagore. Published by the Visva-bharati Pp. 2+651+13. 19th January, 1940.

Biman-Akraman O Tahar Pratirodh. Air raid and its precaution. By Dr. Shibapada Mukharji. M.B. Pp. 1+1+3+106 12th February, 1940.

Kula-Laksmi. A good wife. By Surendranath Ray. Contains instructions for Hindu females. Pp. 3+132. 27th February. 1940. 17th edition.

Svasthya, Dirgha-jiban O Chira-yauban-Tattva. Secrets of Health, Longevity and Constant Youth. Pp. 2+260. 8th December. 1939.

Chhatra-Andolan O Rajniti. Student Movement and Politics. By Quazi Jaherul Huq. Pp. 2+38. 3rd September. 1939.

PHILOSOPHY

Imanuyel Kant. Immanuel Kant. By Humayun Kabir. Contains a brief exposition in Bengali of the philosophical doctrines of the well-known German philosopher Kant. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 5+92. 10th January, 1940.

Byabaharik Manobijnan. Practical Psychology. By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Brahmachari. M.A., B.T. A treatise on the subject compiled from European authors with a foreword by M. P. West, M.A., I.E.S. Pp. 14+16+437. 26th February, 1940

Bankim-Darsaner Digdarsan. A survey of Bankim's Philosophy. By Tripurasankar Sen, M.A, Kavyatirtha-Sastri. Pp. 34. 2nd July, 1939.

POETRY

Madhu-Sandhan. Search for Honey. By Atul Chandra Mukharji. Pp. 1+196. 7th March, 1940.

Amrita-Nirjhar. Pratham Khanda. Nectar-fountain. Part I. By Badiul Alam, B.A. A short biography of the Hadhrat Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, in verse. Pp. 16+200+1. 13th December. 1939.

Rup-Rekha. The Line of Beauty. By Binayak Sanyal. Pp. 2+4+124. 20th December. 1939

Chitra-lekha. Picture Writing. By Khagendranath Ghosh. Pp. 1+99. 20th February, 1940.

Alakananda. Name of a river tributary to the Ganges. By Nisikanta. Pp. 2+105. 20th December, 1939.

Nibedan. An offering. By Nisikanta Guha. Pp. 2+64. 15th January, 1940.

Maharastra. The country of the Marathas. By Pramod Kanta Basu. Pp. 2+460. 2nd February, 1940.

Man-marmar. Effusion of heart. By Prabhat Shamir Ray. Pp. 41. 21st February, 1940.

Sisu. The Child. By Rabindranath Tagore. A collection of poems suggestive of ideas, natural to thoughtful though somewhat precocious childhood. Published by Visva-bharati. Pp. 161. 10th January, 1940. 10th edition.

Grahan. Taking. By Samar Sen. Pp. 34. 12th February, 1940.

Padatik. Pedestrian. Subhash Mukharji. Pp. 32. 4th March, 1940.

Kalahamsa. A drake. By Suresh Biswas, M.A., Barrister-at-law. Pp. 1+2+100. 12th December, 1939.

Saisab-Gatha. A poetical composition for children. By Satya Ranjan Sarkar. Pp. 1+2+44. 20th February, 1940.

POLITICS

Kena Sosyalijam Chai. Why do we want Socialism? By Amala Devi. Pp. 122. 26th February, 1940.

Samya-badi O Kamgres. Communists and Congress. By Manoranjan Ray. Pp. 1+5+20. 18th February, 1940.

Chiner Chhatra-Andolan. The Chinese Students' Movement. By Nripen Ghosh. Pp. 4+25. 18th August, 1939.

Jatiyatar Pathe. On the way to Nationalism. By Rejaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Pp. 2+220. 15th January, 1940

Saktibad. Theory of Power. By Satyananda Brahmachari. Pp. 92. 20th February, 1940.

Tratskibad Banam Leninbad. Trotskyism *vs.* Leninism. Trns. by Braja Bihari Barman. Pp. 45. 18th August, 1939.

RELIGION

Acharyyer Prarthana. Dvitiya Bhag. Preacher's Prayers. Part II. Delivered by Brahmananda Kesav Chandra Sen from 14th April, 1879 to 22nd November, 1841. Pp. 1+12+401—800. 15th January, 1940.

Amader Prarthana-Pustak. Our Prayer-book. A Christian tract book. Pp. 64. 10th September, 1939.

Ananda-Sandhan. Search for Bliss. Pp. 110. 9th February, 1940.

Bhakti-Katha. Kathalik Dharmma-siksar Prasnottarmala. Dvitiya Bhag. Pp. 75. 30th August, 1939. 3rd edition.

Chetan-Dhara. The current of consciousness. By Jivankrishna Das. Pp. 8+84. 15th December, 1939.

Pujar Phul. Flowers of Worship. By Jivankrishna Das. Pp. 12+180. 10th December, 1939.

Chhele-Meyeder Puthi. The Book for Children. By Kshetranath Sen. Pp. 2+31. Contains religious and moral instructions, intended for children. 20th December, 1939.

Yoganubhuti-Giti O Durgar Adhyatmik Byakhyar Panchali. Songs relating union through Yoga and verses about the esoteric explanation of Goddess Durga. By Swami Pranabananda Bharati, Maharaj. Pp. 78. 26th January, 1940.

Atmar Sandhane Pagaler Katha. Lunatic's talk about search of soul. By Purnananda Brahmachari. Pp. 54. 6th March, 1940.

Bhai-Phota (Premotsab). The ceremony of putting a mark on the brother's forehead with auspicious paints. (The ceremony of love). Pp. 10. 30th December, 1939.

Staba-mala. The Garland of Hymns. By Sibchandra Mukharji. Pp. 12. 23rd February, 1940. 2nd edition.

Sri Sri Mahaprabhu Nitai-Nimai Charit. Adi Kanda. The life stories of Nitai and Nimai. Part I. By Srimati Banerji. Pp. 96. 2nd February, 1940.

Sri Sri Thakur Jitendranather Rachita Guru-kirtan O Syama-kirtan. Pp. 1+32. 9th February, 1940.

Dhana-Dhanya Brahma-prem. Love of the Supreme Being manifested through Wealth and Crops. By Surendrasasi Gupta. Pp. 13. 23rd February, 1940.

Thakur Sri Sri Jitendranather Amrita-bani. Tritiya Bhag. Nectarine sayings of Thakur Sri Sri Jitendranath. Part III. Pp 20+510. 11th December, 1939.

Mahapurus-Charit. Lives of great men. By Vishnupada Chakravarti. Pp. 4+109. 19th February, 1940. 2nd edition.

TRAVELS AND VOYAGES

Himalay. The Himalayas. By Rai Bahadur Jaladhar Sen. Pp. 285. 8th January, 1940. 15th edition.

Pathik. Traveller. By Rai Bahadur Jaladhar Sen. Pp. 135. 5th January, 1940.

Prabas-Chitra. Picture of life away from home. By Rai Bahadur Jaladhar Sen. Pp. 2+182. 5th January.



RABINDRANATH'S LAST DAYS

By SREEMATI RANI CHANDA

25th July 1941, Friday.

To-day at 3-15 p.m. Gurudeva arrived at Jorasanko. The news was kept secret from the public, and there was no crowd either at the station or the house, so that his coming was fairly quiet. He suffered much from the heat during the whole day in the train and was, therefore, very tired. He continued to lie just as he was in the stretcher in which he had been brought. He could not then be lifted on to the bed. He said "Don't move me any more just now, let me stay as I am."

Arrangements had been made for him to stay in the "*patharer ghar*"[1] on the first floor of the old Jorasanko house; during his last illness also he had stayed there. This room used to be reckoned as a sitting room. This time, seeing that there was to be an operation, the various furnishings had been taken out—not even two large pictures of Maharshideva[2] and Dwarakanath[3] which had been on the walls were allowed to remain. When Gurudeva was ill last time he used to lie in bed in the middle of the room and it seemed as though Maharshideva and Dwarakanath were watching him on each side. This time all the pictures had been taken down and the walls cleaned; the furniture had been scrubbed with lysol to a shining cleanliness.

In the afternoon one or two people came to see Gurudeva, but he was hardly able to carry on a conversation. Towards evening he had quite a good sleep still lying on the same stretcher.

At about half past seven he suddenly said, "I don't know, somehow I don't feel well." I was the only person in the room at the time. I was a little alarmed, but controlled my anxiety in Gurudeva's presence, as I knew that he did not like it. I sat near him for a minute or two gently massaging him; then, at the first opportunity, I went to the door and called Rathi-da[4] from the next room, saying, "Gurudeva says that he does not feel well—please come to this room for a moment." Fortunately, Gurudeva cannot hear well nowadays, and he did not hear what I said. Rathi-da came into the room, as if he had simply come to see him. For we all knew that Gurudeva did not at all like any one to make a fuss about his health. A doctor also followed Rathi-da. The doctor took his pulse, gave him a little medicine and said, "There is no cause for alarm—but he is indeed very weak." After a time they all left the room. Mira-di[5] came and sat down by Gurudeva, and asked "How do you feel now, father?" Mira-di, of course, did not know what had just happened; she was referring to the fatigue of the journey. By this time Gurudeva had realised that Rathi-da and the doctor and every one had come and also given him medicine, because of what he had said. So when Mira-di asked "How do you feel now, father?", Gurudeva opened his eyes widely and said with great emphasis, "I feel very well—just ask her, there she is"—pointing, as he spoke, to me. I laughed and continued to massage his feet.

At night Gurudeva was laid on his bed, and he slept well the whole night.

26th—

This morning Gurudeva was very cheerful. He was not so tired either, as he had had good sleep and rested well. He chatted with a number of us during the morning. Samarendranath,[6] Abanindranath,[7] Charu Babu,[8] Amiya Babu,[9] and several others came. Gurudeva talked a lot with Abanindranath. Referring to Abanindranath's "*Gharoa Galpa*"[10] he said, "Aban, no one else in these days could have drawn such a picture of me. They have all split me into fragments, and in trying to praise me have missed the real me. Through your mouth people will know your Rabi-kaka[11] at last as a man of action. What a reckless, undaunted life your Rabi-kaka once led!"

They went on talking like this about old reminiscences. Abanindranath would say, "You remember that time, Rabi-kaka, when the rain

1. A room with marble floor.
2. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore (the poet's father).
3. Prince Dwarkanath Tagore (the poet's grandfather).

4. Rathindranath Tagore (the poet's son)
5. Mira Devi (the poet's daughter).
6 and 7. Samarendranath Tagore, Dr. Abanindranath Tagore (the poet's nephews).
8. Sj. Charu Chandra Bhattacharyya.
9 Dr. Amiya Chakravarty.
10. Literally, "Homely stories"—a book of reminiscences to be shortly published
11. Uncle Rabi.

was pelting down all round us, and we were holding a meeting of railway coolies sitting under a goods train, when suddenly the engine began to move ...." Or Gurudeva would say, "Do you remember, Aban, when we went to collect funds in that gentleman's house? The stairs were all dark—climbing up with great difficulty we found a gentleman sitting in a small room in front of a small wooden box. Seeing our party he immediately gave us five hundred rupees and seemed tremendously relieved to have got rid of us. He never troubled to enquire why he was giving the money or to whom!" And Gurudeva began to laugh. They told many such funny stories. Who would have said from their voices and appearance, as they conversed, that it was an eighty-year-old uncle and a seventy-year old nephew who were talking!

Abanindranath objected strongly to his birthday being celebrated. Gurudeva scolded him roundly, as a mother might an unruly child. He said, "What do you mean by objecting, Aban? If people want do something, it is not for you to interfere."

What could Abanindranath do? he looked like a scolded child. He said, "Since you say that I must, I will put on garlands and sandal wood paste, and all the rest of it; but I certainly will not stir out of the house." No sooner were these words out of his mouth than Abanindranath hastily took leave of Gurudeva and fled from the room. Gurudeva laughed aloud. "Our mad-man has scented danger and bolted," he said.

Then Gurudeva said to Charu Babu, Amiya Babu and the others in the room, "Aban wants nothing, he never has wanted anything in his life: but you know, this one man has brought in a new age in the world of art, completely revolutionised the taste of the country. The whole country was in opposition, but Aban has changed the atmosphere. So I say, everything will be meaningless if you don't take account of him."

Then, speaking of Abanindranath's stories, he went on, "When I listen to Aban's stories I think how fresh and simple life was to me in those days. I was aboslutely carefree. That time has been fulfilled, there is no more excitement now. Then, every day was new. What a wonderful time it was—you will all be lost in admiration when you read Aban's story. At that time men were realising many things afresh, there was no sense of fear. And yet after all, Aban and the others were very young, and it must be said that they had no great courage either—but what could they do? They couldn't give up their love or respect—whichever you may call it—for me. They never knew what might come, or whether the police might not turn up; they lived in continual fear. That was an initiation into a new kind of life. When the book comes out you will be able to understand the history of one period—how much of it I shouldered and how I guided it all. Aban's word-pictures will be quite sufficient. And now we are taking our leave as messengers of defeat. What a glow of youth there was then—I used to feel a great force within myself. And now so much of it all is artificiality. I see that clearly. Men's words are not genuine—I don't like it."

In the middle of the day Gurudeva was fairly well. At half past four in the evening he was given an intravenous injection of 50 c.c. of glucose in his right arm. This evidently was rather painful. Rani-di[12] applied a salt poultice to his arm, and I was with him too. For about a year and a half Gurudeva has been calling me "Dwitiya." He said to me, "Dwitiya, galo sab jaliya"[13] As he was laughing and joking in this way, his whole body was seized with a violent shivering. We covered him with blankets and pressed them close. For over half an hour this shivering fit continued. And then he fell asleep. This shivering seems to have been due to the injection. Gurudeva suffered a great deal and his temperature rose to 102·4°. But he slept very well the whole night.

27th—

This morning he dictated a poem and I took it down. Gurudeva said, "They come to me—these few lines—like the early morning light; write them down or I shall lose them Every time this happens: I think that my wallet is emptied, and that from now on I shall sit quiet, but I cannot do it. What else is it but madness?"

Gurudeva has not been able to write much with his own hand for about a year. Whatever stories, articles or letters he had to write he would dictate and I would take them down. But he had scarcely ever previously dictated poetry. He tried once or twice in Santiniketan, and would say "No—it can't be done Writing poetry is like pouring water from a pitcher. The pitcher has to be slightly tilted. It is the same in writing poetry—if I don't bend over my pen it doesn't come right."

During the morning Gurudeva was in quite good spirits. He talked a good deal to Rani-di,

12. Nirmalkumari Mahalanobis.

13. Literally, "Dwitiya, everything is on fire," the language implies that the poet was ruefully joking about his pain.

Bebu-di,[14] and Deben Babu.[15] He said, "The doctors are in a great fix. They are taking so many different blood-tests, but they can find nothing wrong. What a difficult situation for them! There is a patient but no disease—the doctors must surely be very disappointed."

During this year of illness Gurudeva has been accustomed to sleep in a half-sitting position on his bed. Pillows were heaped on the bed from the waist to the shoulders and there was always one large pillow under his knees. After the operation it will be necessary for him to lie flat for a few days, so the doctors had said that from now on the number of the pillows should be gradually reduced to accustom him to it. This evening when I was about to arrange the pillow under his feet, Gurudeva said, "Why do this any more?—it won't do for me to keep my feet raised, and I shan't be able to hold my head high either. That head I have never yet bowed; and now the doctors say—Bend your head, straighten your feet. What a downfall!"

29th—

These last two days Gurudeva has been rather depressed. He is worried about the operation. He is saying, "As an operation must be performed, the sooner it is done the better." Glucose injections are given daily. He asks the doctors, "How long must all these small pricks continue in preparation for the big prick?"

We all know that the operation will be tomorrow but Gurudeva has not been informed. Gurudeva sends for Jyoti-da[16] and questions him in all kinds of ways. Jyoti-da evades the questions, talks about other things, and does not mention the exact date of the operation, lest Gurudeva should be upset. Gurudeva says, "Well, Jyoti, just tell me; how much is this business going to hurt me? I want to know it beforehand"

Jyoti-da said, "You will not even perceive it: these daily glucose injections that you are having, it will perhaps hurt a little for a moment like a prick of that sort. Please don't worry; perhaps on one side the operation will be going on, and on the other you will be continuing to dictate poems!" Gurudeva laughed and said, "So you tell me that it won't hurt me at all!"

Jyoti-da said, "No, not at all, please set your mind at rest."

Gurudeva said to us, "See that you make specially good preparations here for Jyoti's food."

Whenever Gurudeva is depressed Jyoti-da's light talk seems to cheer him a great deal.

14. Nalini Bose.
15. Dr. D. M. Bose.
16. Dr. Jyoti Prakash Sarkar.

This evening he dictated a poem and I took it down:—

"দুঃখের আঁধার রাত্রি বারে বারে
এসেছে আমার দ্বারে···"[17]

I read it to him; Gurudeva repeated it many times and so corrected it. And in some places he also scolded me, "What have you written—where has the metre gone?" I took up my pen and sat down laughing, and said, "Have I ever written a poem, that I should understand metre!"

Gurudeva said, "In that case I shall not let you alone until you do—if I get you to write my poems like this, you too will start writing them some day. Now I am making *you* work, then it will be my turn to work for you!"

30th—

The operation will take place to-day. Preparations have been going on since morning. A table has been made ready on the verandah to the east of the "*Patharer-ghar*"—the other things needed for the operation are in their place. The room and verandah are being carefully washed. Gurudeva is lying with his head to the east—he does not know what is going on. We are ill at ease—who knows what will happen? Yet everyone is saying, "There is nothing to fear."

Gurudeva called for Jyoti-da and asked him, "Come, tell me, when are you people going to do it?"

Jyoti-da said, "Oh, tomorrow or the next day. We are still not decided; whatever day Lalit Babu[18] considers best, it will be done then."

Gurudeva did not seem so cheerful to-day, somehow. He remained silent for a long time—thinking about something. I realised that some words were coming to him and took pen and paper and sat by his side. He saw me and beckoned to me—I began to write as Gurudeva slowly and quietly dictated the words:—

"তোমার সৃষ্টির পথ রেখেছ আকীর্ণ করি
বিচিত্র ছলনাজালে
হে ছলনাময়ী"[19]

The poem was a fairly long one, and he grew tired in dictating. He says himself that nowadays he is very quickly tired by any effort of thought. For a short time he lay quiet with his eyes closed and his hands on his breast. At about half past nine he again dictated three lines:—

17. "Sorrow's dark night . . . ." (English translation published in *The Modern Review*, September, 1941).
18. Dr. L. M. Banerji.
19. "You have covered the path of creation" (see *The Modern Review*, September, 1941).

"অনায়াসে যে পেরেছে ছলনা সহিতে
সে পায় তোমার হাতে
শান্তির অক্ষয় অধিকার।"[20]

He then said, "Add it to this morning's poem."

Bothan[21] is ill in Santiniketan, and has not been able to come here. She must be feeling it badly. She has written a letter to Gurudeva. After a time I said to Gurudeva, "Will you write to Bothan? She is very anxious about you."

At about ten o'clock Gurudeva had a letter written to Bothan—he dictated it and I wrote it and gave it to him. Gurudeva signed himself "Babamashai"[22] at the end of the letter. He still did not know that his operation would be to-day.

At half past ten Lalit Babu, having made all the arrangements for the operation, went and informed Gurudeva. He said, "This is a good day, so I shall finish it off to-day—what do you think?"

Gurudeva was a little startled at first. He said, "What, to-day?" Then he looked towards us and said, "That's good. It is good to do it without warning like this." After that he scarcely spoke to us again.

A little while after he said to me, "Just read to me once what I wrote to-day." I read to-day's poem to him with my lips close to his ear. He said, "There is something not quite right, but let it be. My head will be clearer after the operation, so the doctors say. I will make it right when I am well."

At eleven o'clock Gurudeva was brought on the stretcher to the operation table on the verandah outside. At twenty minutes past eleven the operation was performed; it took about half an hour to finish the dressings. Everything passed off well. Gurudeva slept a good-deal during the day and he even spoke a few words now and again; but as the doctors had forbidden this, he was requested not to speak. Towards the evening he said, "There is some burning sensation and pain." His temperature was lower than on other days. Lalit Babu came again at seven in the evening. He asked Gurudeva if it had hurt very much or not. Gurudeva replied "Why should you make me tell a lie for nothing!" It seems that Gurudeva must have felt a good deal of pain during the operation. He said "I just want to ask Jyoti; he gave me to understand that it would not hurt at all. What did he mean?" Even in the few words of this kind that he spoke there was a note of laughter and joking. Laughter while in the midst of intense suffering—this is Gurudeva's distinctive trait.

Lalit Babu said, "So everything has passed off well except that Jyoti's disappointment remains. You haven't dictated any poem!" Gurudeva laughed. After the doctors had left the room, Gurudeva said to me, "Dwitiya, so Jyoti has been disappointed not to get a poem." I said "Then will you dictate one? Shall I take it down?"

Gurudeva said, "Are you mad? How can I dictate now?" I said, "Then to-day's poem....". "No," he said, "there is something not quite right in that. Just read to me what I wrote yesterday." I read to him the poem of the previous evening in a loud voice close to his ear. Gurudeva said, "It is all right; this one will do very well. Write it out and give it to Jyoti." I copied the poem,

"দুঃখের আঁধার রাত্রি"[23]

from the note book on to a piece of paper and gave it to Jyoti-da in the next room. The other doctors were also sitting there, and they all took a copy of the poem. The doctors perhaps thought that the poem had just been written, but I am not sure. That night Gurudeva slept quite well.

31st—

This morning Gurudeva said one or two words, "It hurts me," "It is burning," and such like. But from mid-day onwards he has been lying quite inert. His temperature also has risen. He slept a good deal during the day but he did not get good sleep at night.

1st August—

Since this morning Gurudeva has said nothing. He is quite silent and inert. From time to time he groans as if in pain. When people ask him anything he merely shakes his head. When now and again he opens his eyes, I go up to him, for it seems to me as though he wants to speak, but he says nothing, and continues to gaze. Sometimes this vacant state alarms me, sometime it brings tears to my eyes. I do not know what he is is thinking, I cannot understand. I can also see in his eyes the helpless look of a child. He has spoken not a word the whole of to-day. It seems as though he has no strength to speak. He is being fed with small quantities of water and fruit juice. The doctors are a little anxious. They cannot find out if there are any other complications. The

20. "He who easefully would bear your wile,
Receives from your hands
The right to everlasting Peace."
21. Pratima Tagore (the poet's daughter-in-law).
22. Father.
23. "Sorrow's dark night . . . ."

whole day doctors have been coming and going, consulting and discussing in low voices. As I move about a word here and there reaches me. We also are alarmed and anxious.

2nd—

Last night was spent in fear and anxiety of all sorts. Gurudeva seemed to be in a comatose condition. From time to time he groaned. This morning also it is the same, but his head is a little clearer, and the few words he has spoken have been clear. When we tried to give him food he showed annoyance, and said, "Don't worry me any more, please." It was good to hear him speak to-day, even in a worried manner. The last two days we have all held our breath in suspense. In the morning Gurudeva cried out once or twice. I massaged his chest and asked him, "What is it? what pain is it?" He said "What? is there anything that *you* can do? Just keep quiet." One of the doctors asked him, "What kind of pain are you in?" Gurudeva smiled very gently and said, "Is it possible to describe it?"

After mid-day he again fell into a kind of coma and the whole night passed without any change. Bidhan Babu[24] came. Gurudeva had an attack of hiccoughing and from time to time a cough also.

3rd—

In the morning a telephone message was sent to Santiniketan for Bothan to come. The whole of last night Gurudeva's condition was critical. This morning he has been a little better, that is to say, he has spoken a few words; but he shows annoyance when one tries to give him medicine or food. From mid-day he has again become comatose as on other days.

On the evening train our Santiniketan Doctor and Krishna[25] arrived, bringing Bothan. Bothan was very ill. Gurudeva did not have a good night.

4th—

Bothan came and called him close to his ear. It seemed as though he understood. He turned his eyes with an effort and looked towards her and shook his head.

The doctors have been coming and going all day. In fact two or three doctors are staying in the house day and night. Once during the night we were greatly alarmed. At half past ten we summoned Indu Babu[26] by phone. All the medicines are being regularly given but the disease shows no abatement. Every day there is some new symptom or other. The fever has also increased daily and he is gradually growing weaker and his strength ebbing. At eleven o'clock in the night he just raised his right hand, and moving his finger said in an indistinct voice, "What will happen I cannot understand at all—what will happen?" That was all. After that he did not speak again for the whole night.

5th—

To-day also Gurudeva has been in the same comatose condition the whole time, and in the evening Bidhan Babu brought Sir Nilratan.[27] Gurudeva gave no response even when he was called. Sir Nilratan sat by his side, saw and heard everything. The whole time he was there, he stroked Gurudeva's hand with his. Before he went he sat near Gurudeva's head, then he stood up, turned and looked at Gurudeva again for a short time, and went away. Who knows what was in his mind? But the meaning of his attitude as he stood and turned to look at Gurudeva was very clear to us.

* * *

At night a saline was given and oxygen also was brought. The nose seemed to be drawn to the left, the cheeks were swollen and the left eye was shrunk and inflamed. The fingers and toes felt moist. Lalit Babu took out one of the operation stitches.

6th—

Since this morning, the house has been a forest of humanity. For some days, of course, there has been a crowd of people; but to-day it no longer seems possible to keep any one back. It is full moon day too; if this day can be safely passed perhaps there may be a little hope. But we have almost given up hope. Once or twice he has coughed loudly and he has had continual hiccough. Yesterday he had several fits of hiccough each lasting about half an hour. To-day Gurudeva no longer gives any sound or sign of response. Once in the morning when Bothan called "Babamasay, Babamasay," close to his ear he looked at her and muttered "eh?". It seemed as though he understood, but could not express anything. There was a clouded look in his eyes. Since last night he has often lain gazing, but at what nobody knows. It makes one feel afraid. Now and again he wrinkles his forehead, but whether in pain or for any other reason, who can say? Now mid-day has struck and his condition still remains the same. He can swallow the doses of water or fruit juice that is given him, but we hesitate to give much lest hiccoughs should start and he be

24. Dr. B. C. Roy.
25. Sj. Krishna Kripalani.
26. Dr. Indubhushan Bose.
27. Sir Nilratan Sarkar.

choked. He suffers greatly from the cough also. It is difficult to say if there is anything that does not pain him.

The afternoon also passed in the same way. In the evening many people began to come to Gurudeva's room to see him. His elder sister Barnakumari Devi came to see her brother, and spent the night here. Every now and then she comes trembling to the room to see her brother, but cannot bear to come close—she has to go back as she reaches his head. It was heart-breaking to see it. There is silence everywhere. The full moon in the eastern sky is in full view from Gurudeva's room.

At twelve o'clock in the night his condition became very critical but after a short time the doctors once more reassured us. At every breath now, there was a rattling sound.

7th—

From four o'clock in the morning motors were coming and going—one by one all his near relations and friends arrived.

The eastern sky began to pale. Amiya-di[28] brought an offering of flowers from the new *Champa* tree. I scattered the flowers over Gurudeva's feet which were covered with a white shawl. The pale gold of the *Champa* flowers seemed one with that of his face. At seven o'clock Ramananda Babu stood by Gurudeva's side and recited prayers. Shastri-Masay[29] sat near his feet and chanted the *mantra*.

Om pita nohsi pita no bodhi namastchstu ma ma himsih[30]

28. Amiya Tagore.
29. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Vidushekar Bhattacharyya.
30. "Thou art our Father; let us wake up in the light of the truth that thou art our Father. We salute thee; do not smite us with death."
NOTE.—These words were translated by the Poet himself from original Sanskrit —EDITOR.

How often have we heard this mantra from Gurudeva's lips.

Some one began to sing very softly on the verandah outside. With all one's efforts it was not possible to control oneself. At nine o'clock they began to give oxygen. The breathing continued as before, except that there was no rattle now—only a slight sound. This sound grew fainter and fainter and at ten minutes past twelve mid-day our Gurudeva drew his last breath.

* * *

There is great turmoil among the crowds outside—they are impatient to see Gurudeva.

Amita-di,[31] Buri,[32] and all of us together dressed Gurudeva carefully in white Benares silk—pleated *dhoti*, panjabi of *garad* silk, a folded *chaddar* stretching from the shoulders to the feet, sandal-wood paste on the forehead, flower garland round the neck, and heaps of white flowers on each side; I placed a lotus bud in the hand which lay on his breast. He looked like a king, sleeping in kingly fashion, in his royal robes. I was so entranced by the loveliness of it as for a while to forget my grief. People began to come and offer *pranam* at his feet. A song was being sung on one side.

Sometime after three, unexpectedly early, they carried him downstairs.

As I looked from above, it seemed as though a boat of flowers was carried from our sight in an instant on a flood of humanity.

It is eight o'clock at night, the sky is bathed in the light of the waning moon. The house is still and silent. Inside and out is blank emptiness. I sit stunned; I raise my two hands again and again to my forehead, for these hands have been hallowed in his service, and I am blessed.

31. Amita Tagore.
32. Nandita Kripalani (the poet's grand-daughter).

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Sir C. Y. Chintamani's admission to the Servants of India Society

You have observed in the Editorial Notes of the August issue that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani refrained from joining the Servants of India Society for reason of his own, though G. K. Gokhale favoured his admission and agreed to accept him as a member. As one who had the privilege of reading the letters of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to G. K. Gokhale, I desire to state that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani requested G. K. Gokhale to relax the conditions laid down for admission to the Society as a special favour. As he had a large family to maintain, he desired to be permitted to earn up to Rs. 200/- per month by writing articles to journals or to terminate his membership of the Society after five years. Gokhale did not agree to the terms requested by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani thereupon wrote to Gokhale regretting his misfortune in not being able to join the Servants of India Society.

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The Problem of Rashtrabhasha

I have been carefully reading the Editorial Notes in the recent issues of *The Modern Review* regarding the problem of our Rashtrabhasha or the National Language. Although the question has been discussed threadbare during the last several years, it will not be

out of place to consider a few points raised by the editor of *The Modern Review*.

Let me make it clear, at the very outset, that the term *Hindustani* does not signify an artificial mixture of Hindi and Urdu. A national language can never be foisted in this manner. The Congress passed the resolution about Hindustani at the Cawnpore session in 1925, and Babu Purushottamdas Tandon was the sponsor of the resolution. Shri Tandonji has made it abundantly clear that by Hindustani he meant Hindi *plus* Urdu as against English. He wanted the nation to rehabilitate the Indian languages in their proper positions and realise the futility and impropriety of using English as the National language of India. Hindi and Urdu should replace English as the medium of inter-provincial intercourse, and a handy and convenient word for both Hindi and Urdu was Hindustani. This was I think, the Congress view. The Congress has always stood for the desirability of eschewing the difficult Persian or Sanskrit words in Urdu and Hindi. If the flamboyant words are carefully avoided the difference between Hindi and Urdu shades into insignificance. Thus Hindi and Urdu are not two different languages; they are only the two styles of our National language, and Hindustani connotes both these styles.

As regards the script, both the Devanagri and Persian scripts have to be recognised; there is no other alternative so long as the present communal tension prevails. Unfortunately, the script problem is being confused with Hindu and Muslim cultures. There is no doubt that from the scientific point of view Devanagri script is much better than the Persian script; but it is futile to take that stand under the present circumstances The adoption of the Roman script has also been frequently advocated. Whatever might be its merits, one has to admit that the adoption of the Roman script for the present is a psychological impossibility.

Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani have been generally accepted as the Lingua Indica for several reasons. Firstly, Hindustani is spoken and understood by the largest number of people in this country, although it is difficult to quote any exact figures. Secondly, the language is very simple, and flexible. And thirdly, its knowledge is spread over a wide area. This last point is the most important. Other provincial languages like Bengali, Marathi and Telugu are also spoken by a large number of people; but their knowledge is confined to a particular linguistic area. While Hindi or Hindustani is easily understood and brokenly spoken almost throughout the country Therefore, it is wrong to think that Hindi has become the Lingua Indica because the Hindi Nagri Prachar Sabha and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan were first in the field and the votaries of other languages were caught napping. The saints and religious teachers had accepted Hindi as the medium of national culture as early as the fifteenth century.

It is also futile to compare the literatures of various Indian languages with a view to establish their claim for being acknowledged as Rashtrabhasha. Who would deny that Bengali literature is the best! Is the name of Gurudeva not enough to vindicate the claim? We love and admire Bengali literature; but that does not mean that the Bengali language is suitable for being the Lingua Franca of India.

The Rashtrabhasha is bound to draw upon all the Indian languages for enriching its treasury of words; it will be wholly unwise to boycott the words of any language whether of Sanskrit, Persian or even English origin. But the evolution and enrichment of the Rashtrabhasha has to be natural; to impose any arithmetical democracy on it will be both tragic and absurd. As the national language spreads amongst the masses, it will naturalise many words of other languages and become all the more strong and expressive.

Let me, at the end, answer a few questions asked in the Editorial Notes of *The Modern Review* in the August issue. *The Modern Review* has translated Rashtrabhasha as State language, which is not correct. State language means Rajbhasha. Rashtrabhasha is national language which is used for All-India purposes.

Within the various linguistic areas, the language of the region should be supreme. All Provincial activities (and this implies that the Provinces should be linguistically constituted) should be conducted in the provincial language and not in the Rashtrabhasha. This applies to District Courts, High Courts, Government offices, Colleges, Provincial Assemblies, etc. Difficulties will arise in a few Provinces like Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces. So long as the provinces are not constituted linguistically, it is better to conduct the provincial activities in more than one language rather than to use English or even Hindustani. This has been nicely done in Switzerland where people speak three languages with the same ease. Why should that not be possible in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies? Of course, the Government of India should be pressed to undertake the re-distribution of the provinces linguistically as early as possible.

The originals of the Laws passed in the provincial legislatures should be in the provincial language or, if necessary, languages. The work of the All-India institutions like the Central Legislatures, or the Federal Court should be conducted in the National language. The medium of instruction in All-India educational institutions should also be Rashtrabhasha. But the media of primary and secondary schools must be the provincial language. In Provinces where people from other provinces have also settled down in sufficient numbers, it is the duty of the provincial Government to provide for some schools having the other provincial languages as media of instruction. If the number of the children speaking other provincial languages is not sufficient (at least twenty in each primary or secondary class), it is the duty of the parents of those children to arrange for their education. If the provincial language is made compulsory in such private schools, the Government should also assist them financially.

A word about the English language. We are aware that English is a rich and powerful language possessing valuable literature. We have no reason to harbour any ill-will against it as a language. But we cannot tolerate the smothering of the Indian languages on account of the undue prominence given to the English language in this country. Propped up by British imperialism, English continues to be the medium of instruction in the Secondary Schools and Colleges in India. Nothing could be more ludicrous; but nothing seems strange in a slave country. Rashtrabhasha is never supposed to occupy the same position as English does at present. It will be used only for All-India purposes; within the respective Provinces, the provincial language must occupy the first place.

"What will be the language of international correspondence and intercourse?" Perhaps English! But we may have to wait till the end of the present War to answer the question with more confidence.

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TAGORE

By Professor P. A. WADIA

Tagore and Gandhi, the two outstanding personalities in the India of this century, will have a place in world history, as teachers and seers. Both have embodied in their writings the best and noblest of the fruits of Indian thought and life. The lives of both are the expression of their convictions. In both we have living evidence of the truth that what is theoretically sound is eminently practicable. But whilst Gandhiji has spent a life time in translating his ideals of love and non-violence into the field of politics, Tagore has preferred to live away from political turmoil* and spent his all in revitalising the ancient traditions and message of India, in giving fresh forms of beauty to the soul of this suffering people through his writings and above all through his institution of the Visva-Bharati. Both gave to India and to the world at large the message of love—the love that transcends human limitations, a love that is far removed from the spirit of aggressiveness that marks the relations between nation and nation today over the entire world.

Tagore has now been removed from us. But he will live with us in his works: his spirit will watch with ever increasing love the destinies of the country which he loved so intensely; and we who inherit his message have the responsibility of striving to keep it alive in our own lives individually and corporately.

Let us recall some of his utterances on the problems that face us today, so that we may imbibe into our lives some of the spirit of sacrifice and service that animated him. Speaking of nationalism at a time when the war of 1914-18 was still being fought he observed that it is the spirit of conflict and conquest which is at the origin of Western nationalism, that its basis is not social co-operation, that it has evolved a perfect organisation of power. He compared the nations to a pack of predatory creatures that must have their victims. A civilisation that thrives upon others carries its own death sentence. The slavery that it gives rise to unconsciously drains its own love of freedom dry.

The soul of Tagore rebelled against this aggressive nationalism, claiming absolute sovereignty, a huge mechanism of power that converted men into soulless machines. He felt that India could not borrow other people's history, that nationalism never belonged to the life of India, and that the acceptance of the nationalist creed would crush the life of the people.

> "When this organisation of politics and commerce," he observes, "whose other name is the Nation, becomes all powerful at the cost of the harmony of higher social life, then it is an evil day for humanity. When a father becomes a gambler, and his obligations to his family take the secondary place in his mind, then he is no longer a man, but an automaton led by the power of greed. It is the same thing with society. When it allows itself to be turned into a perfect organisation of power, then there are few crimes which it is unable to perpetrate. Because success is the object and justification of a machine, while goodness only is the end and purpose of man. The personal man is eliminated into a phantom."

Tagore saw this abstract thing, the Nation ruling over India. The governing of India is as little touched by the human hand as the well advertised tinned foods.

> "The Governors need not know our language, need not come into personal touch with us except as officials; they can aid or hinder our aspirations from a disdainful distance."

The bursting of the Nation upon India under British Rule was an alien product conflicting with the old traditions and life of India. Those in India who advocate nationalism and political freedom for their country are, to Tagore, mistaken idealists who mistake wine for the food that builds up our body. Wine can only stimulate. Those who enjoy political freedom are not necessarily free: they are only powerful. The passions which are unbridled are creating huge organisations of slavery in the disguise of freedom. Those who are enamoured of political power and gloat over the extension of their dominion over foreign races gradually surrender their own freedom and humanity to the organisations necessary for holding other peoples in slavery.

Tagore fears that the nationalists of India are urged by the desire of building up an aggressive nationalism rooted in power. He sees in the past history of India, not the self-idolatry of nation-worship nor the colourless vagueness

* He was for a time, during the Anti-Partition and Swadeshi Agitation in Bengal, in the thick of the struggle for freedom.—Ed., *M. R.*

of cosmopolitanism, but a providentially appointed task of working out a race problem, through social regulation of differences and the spiritual recognition of unity. He compares the historic mission of India to that of a hostess who has to provide proper accommodation for numerous guests, whose habits and requirements are different from one another. Such a task requires not only tactfulness but sympathy and true realisation of the unity of man. A series of great spiritual teachers have worked from the age of the Upanishads to the present day towards this realisation of unity. He sees in the political life of society only one narrow purpose that of self preservation. The power and organisation necessary for such a purpose grow vaster and vaster till they become the ruling force of society.

The India of the past, of the last 50 centuries, was an India who tried to live peacefully and think deeply, it was an India devoid of all politics, the India of no nations, whose one ambition has been to know this world as of soul, to live every moment of her life in the meek spirit of adoration, in the glad consciousness of an eternal and personal relationship with it. She has made grave errors in this task of solving the race problem setting up the boundary walls too rigidly between races, perpetuating in her classifications the results of inferiority; she has often crippled her children's minds and narrowed their lives in order to fit them into her social forms. She may not have achieved a full measure of success. But whilst Europe has simplified her race problem by exterminating the original population, whilst this spirit of extermination is making itself manifest even today in the inhospitable shutting out of aliens by those who themselves were aliens in the lands they now occupy, India tolerated differences of races from the first, and that spirit of toleration has acted all through her history.

He had hopes that in the war of 1914-18 the death throes of the nation had commenced—he saw in it the fifth act of the tragedy of the unreal. He lived long enough to see the outbreak and the blood-stained career of another and a fiercer war. But his faith in the world task of his country never wavered :

"We, of no nations of the world, whose heads have been bowed to the dust, will know that this dust is more sacred than the bricks which build the pride of power. For this dust is fertile of life, and of beauty and worship. We shall thank God that we were made to wait in silence through the night of despair, had to bear the insult of the proud and the strong man's burden, yet all through it, though our hearts quaked with doubt and fear, never could we blindly believe in the salvation which machinery offered to man, but we held fast to our trust in God, and the truth of the human soul. And we can still cherish the hope that, when power becomes ashamed to occupy its throne, and is ready to make way for love, when the morning comes for cleansing the blood-stained steps of the nation along the high road of humanity, *we* shall be called upon to bring our own vessel of sacred water—the water of worship—to sweeten the history of man into purity, and with its sprinkling make the trampled dust of the centuries blessed with fruitfulness."

There is often a tendency for the ardent nationalists of our days to brush away with contempt this interpretation of the historic task of India; the younger generation born and bred in an atmosphere of secular education in the home and in the schools think only in terms of economic and political power; they forget that Tagore was at one with them in the condemnation of a foreign rule imposed on this country by an accident of history. They need to remind themselves more than ever in these critical days, in the chaos that we face in the entire span of our corporate life, that true freedom is the freedom for man to realise his nature and his personality. Man is not a drop in the stream of terrestrial history as the totalitarian philosophy of our times proclaims, he is a person by virtue of his roots in God—or if that word is offensive to the so-called progressive Indian he has his roots in something that transcends history. Society, state, race, nation are only social and economic arrangements which minister to his personality as part of this eternal order. When he turns these means into an end, he is sinning against the nature of reality, and he needs to be redeemed by being taught to turn round; and the East calls unto us through the ever ringing message of Tagore—the East meek and silent,—

"Let your crown be of humility,
your freedom the freedom of the Soul,
Build God's throne daily upon the
ample bareness of your poverty
And know that what is huge is not great
and pride is not everlasting."

[Read at a devotional meeting of the Bombay International Fellowship. August, 1941.]

A WESTERN ESTIMATE OF EASTERN POLITY

By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.,
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In his learned Introduction to the last volume of the *Cambridge History of India*, Mr. H. Dodwell, Professor of the History and Culture of the British Dominions in Asia in the University of London, delivers himself on the Polities of Asia in general, and of Ancient India in particular, in the following weighty words :[1]

"The peoples of Asia had created great civilizations and formed themselves into strong, well-knit and durable social groups, but their political organisation had seldom risen above the primitive community of the village. In this respect the history of the Aryan invaders of India is most instructive. They seem to have carried with them the same political gifts as their brethren displayed in classical Greece and Rome. They belonged to the stock which created the science and art of politics. At the dawn of history they dimly appear in India organised in modes which might well have developed into an active political life. But their tribal institutions and self-governing townships withered and decayed under the Indian sun. The kings and emperors who arose after them were ever limited in their actions by social and religious influences, but never shared their power with political institutions."

Our first objection to the above pronouncement is that the author's case is and will remain wholly unproved till it is established that the "most instructive" example of the Indo-Aryans is typical of the political development of the vast congeries of peoples and cultures lumped together under the convenient label of Asia. Indeed the only value of the above observation about "the peoples of Asia," notwithstanding the weight of its high authority, is the warning which it conveys of the danger to which even highly trained Western scholars, with their vivid sense of the enormous diversities of Asiatic civilizations, are liable to succumb when criticising the political institutions of Eastern peoples.

Turning to the concrete example of the Ancient Indian Polity which the author has in view, we cannot but ask this question : Is the damning verdict of the author envisaged with such surprising simplicity justified by facts ? Does the record of Ancient Indian Polity bear out the judgment that its history is written in the decay of old tribal institutions and self-governing townships and the rise of autocratic kingships claiming the monopoly of political power ?

Let us begin by testing the above in the light of the ideas of Hindu political thinkers of ancient times. It is well known that Hindu-political speculation, beginning in the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas almost as an adjunct of dogmatic interpretation of the sacrificial ritual, entered upon a career of vigorous growth in the Brahmanical Smritis, the Buddhist canonical and non-canonical works and the technical Arthasāstra Among the categories of early Arthasāstra thought which afterwards became commonplaces of our ancient political ideas, was the doctrine of seven limbs of sovereignty. This negatived the conception of a self-centred king and involved the inseparable association of kingship with the minister and foreign ally as well as the material equipments of the State. The Brahmanical Smritis, while enunciating the doctrine of joint authority of the ruling and priestly powers, conceive their relations to be those of interdependence or else to consist in one primary power (the Brāhmana) of which the other (the Ksatriya) is a derivative. The Purohita (private chaplain), in particular, is held in some texts to be a sort of active Providence ruling the kingdom as well as the king. The fundamental scheme of social order in the Brahmanical view implies a quasi-organic conception of society, this being regarded as a unit consisting of differentiated classes or even individuals each fulfilling its particular function for a common purpose. In this scheme the function of the king (Rājadharma) consists above all in promoting the complete life (Dharma, Artha and Kāma) of the people by enforcement of the prescribed duties of castes and orders. From this it follows as a corollary that the king is primarily the executive charged with carrying out the law prescribed in the sacred books. Finally, the Hindu theories of the origin of kingship in all levels of thought almost invariably involve the ideas of Social or Governmental Contract. These contract theories offer a sort of historical justification for one of the root-ideas of Hindu thinkers anticipating the fee-theory of taxation fashionable in 17th and 18th century Europe, namely, that taxes are the king's

1. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. VI, Introduction. p. vii.

dues for the service of protection. What is more, the Hindu thinkers while balancing the principle of royal authority with its limitations, throw out principles and maxims tending towards popular sovereignty. Such are the pleas justifying the people's right to tyrannicide and the maxims declaring the king to be a servant of the people.[2]

From the realm of ideas let us descend to that of facts. Even a cursory survey of the broad development of the old Hindu Polity which is all that can be attempted in the present place is enough to prove that this did not amount simply to assumption of complete political power by the king. The transition from the Rig Vedic period to that of the later Samhitās and Brāhmanas is doubtless attended by increase of the king's authority owing to the circumstances of Indo-Aryan expansion. But there is sufficient evidence to show that general assemblies of the people as well as smaller gatherings of the higher officials continued to function down at least to the early Buddhist times. This is proved by references in the Upanisads to the Parisads or Samitis of the Pañchālas and others, as also by the Jātaka stories of gatherings of ministers, councillors, village headmen and others summoned by the kings. Probably such assemblies anticipated the great annual assemblies of the Marchfield and the Mayfield as well as the smaller assemblies of nobles, of the Carolingian period of mediaeval European history. A number of references in the Brāhmanas and still more in the Jātakas seems to suggest that the people were still not unfamiliar with the expulsion or even slaying of unworthy rulers. Even the growing complexity of the administrative machine was attended with association of some of the higher officials with kingship. This is proved by the significant titles 'kingmakers' (*rājakartāras*) and 'holders of jewels' (*ratnins*) given to some of the high functionaries, and still more by the part assigned to them in the ceremony of royal consecration (Rājasūya).[3]

Of much greater significance than the above from the point of view of constitutional history is the rise to power, from the early Buddhist period onwards, of a number of Republican States—the *ganas* and *sanghas* of the Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina literatures and the 'kingless States' of Greek writers—to the complete effacement of 'kings and emperors' formerly occupying those lands. The causes of this tremendous popular upheaval, which may be traced at least from North Bihar in the east to the Punjab and Kathiawar in the west are at present shrouded in mystery. But it undoubtedly resulted in a remarkable development of popular institutions the like of which at that time (5th—4th century B.C.) could not be found anywhere else in the civilised world outside Greece and Italy. From our records we do not get anything but fitful light on the constitution and working of these Indian Republics. We may, however, safely affirm that among them the sovereign power of enacting laws and deciding questions of peace and war was exercised by fairly large public assemblies, that the deliberative procedure of these bodies (to judge by the standard of the Buddhist *sangha*) knew such highly modern processes as the rule of the quorum, the decision by majority of votes, ballot voting and reference to committees, that the executive head or heads and sometimes even the generals were elected by the people for a limited term. Equally evident is the fact that the republics were not simple village communities, but were territorial States comprising numbers of villages and cities. The excellence of their internal administration is attested to not only by general references in the Buddhist works and testimonies of Greek authors, but also by circumstantial evidence. When an old Buddhist text tells us how among the Licchavis no one could be punished until he was proved guilty by seven successive specified tribunals, we can find in it such an effective guarantee of individual liberty as was undreamt of in classical antiquity and was unattained even by that famous clause in King John's Great Charter declaring that no freeman was to be imprisoned or outlawed save according to the judgment of his peers and the law of the land. But the great glory of the old Indian Republics does not lie merely in the structure of their constitutions or in the excellence of their institutions. What constitutes their imperishable fame is that according to all evidences they led to a general elevation of manners and character, not to speak of a general improvement of physical types. The public spirit of the Republican Vajjis, as also their respect for sex, age and the established religion is pointedly praised in an old Buddhist text put into the mouth of the Buddha. Of another Republican people, the Licchavis, a similar Buddhist text tells us that their assembly was comparable with that of the gods. Speaking of the Punjab Republican States in Alexander's time, the Greek writers bear the strongest testimony

2. For references, see the writer's *History of Hindu Political Theories* (Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1927), esp. Chapters I, II and IV.

3. Some of the references are conveniently summarized in H. C. Ray Chaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, pp. 145-8.

to their uncommon courage and skill in the art of warfare, their predilection for good looks, their great military strength and their passionate love of freedom "which for so many ages they had preserved inviolate." Indeed no one who goes through the pages even of the onesided Greek accounts can fail to be struck with the extraordinary heroism which led most of these peoples to defy, though without avail, the mighty Macedonian. If an Indian Herodotus had lived to tell the full story of the defence of the north-west Indian Republics against the hordes of the aggressive despot of the West, he could have unfolded a tale not less stirring and infinitely more pathetic than that recorded by the Greek Father of History in describing the struggle of the Greek city-states against Darius and Xerxes.

The fall of the Indian Republics, which in the Gangetic Valley was due to the ambition of the dynasts and in the Indus Valley was the result of the destructive raid of the Macedonian invader,[4] prepared the way for the rise of the great Maurya Empire. But even the all-consuming imperialism of the Mauryas, like that of the Persian Darius under similar circumstances, held it to be politic to tolerate the Republics. For a number of autonomous tribes or peoples mostly belonging to North-western and Western India are mentioned by name in the Asokan edicts. Like the decline of the Macedonian supremacy heralding the "after-growth of Hellenic freedom," the downfall of the Maurya empire paved the way for a Republican revival. In the Upper Ganges Valley, the Punjab and Rajputana there arose in the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. a number of Republican peoples—Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Arjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Kunindas, Vrishnis and Sibis—who issued coins in the name of their *gana* and in one case of their *janapada*. But once more the Republics fell victims to their twin enemies, ambition of the dynasts and conquest by the barbarian. While in the first and second centuries of Christ the Sakas Nahapāna and Rudradāman defeated the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas, Samudragupta in the fourth century brought under submission these peoples along with the Arjunāyanas. After Samudragupta's time the republics disappeared from the Indian scene.[5]

We have now traced, necessarily in broad outline, the development of North Indian Polity for a space of more than fifteen hundred years —from the coming of the Indo-Aryans to the times of the Indo-Scythians and the Guptas. If now we judge the course of this Polity by the scale of world-history, its achievements do not seem so insignificant as Prof. Dodwell's rash verdict would have us believe. In European history, to quote an eminent authority, "the main political tradition" from the fall of the Roman Republic far down into the modern period has been a monarchical one. Even the old popular institutions of the Germanic races withered and decayed under the European sun.

> "As these Teutonic tribes found their way into the Roman Empire and established themselves in the Roman shell, their polities, partly from the needs of the situation, but partly from conscious reflection of the Roman model, assumed more and more the monarchical form and divested themselves more and more of their democratic character."

The political thinkers who could not rise above their environment followed the general tendency towards exaltation of kingship.

> "The political theory of the early Middle Ages, forged in the stress of conflict between the Empire and the Papacy, bears witness to the general belief in the necessity and divinity of Kingship."

The rise of mediaeval Italian cities showed signs of high promise which were however cut short by their succumbing to the rule of despots whose crimes and caprices

> "form one of the darkest and least credible pages in human history."

> "The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was the great dissolvent of European conservatism. Yet even the leaders of this great and comprehensive revolt were careful to mark their respect for the secular authority."

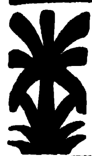
Only in the late eighteenth century a new phenomenon appeared in European history.

> "The Republics hitherto known to Europe had either been civic, or federal, or essentially aristocratic, or a combination of all three. . . . . But the French Republic was very different from all these. It was a great unitary democratic State.."[6]

4. A Western writer justly remarks that "the same Macedonian imperialism was responsible for the enslavement of the cities of Attica and the Peloponnese and for the destruction of the republics of the Punjab." (Quoted in Paul Masson-Oursel, Helena de Willman-Grabokska and Philippe Stern, *Ancient India and Indian Civilisation*, p. 89).

5. For connected accounts of the Ancient Indian Republics see R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, Chapter IV; K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part I, etc.

6. H. A. L. Fisher, *The Republican Tradition in Europe*, pp. 3, 5, 7, 16, 34 and 88.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Rabindranath Tagore

Patriot, poet, philosopher, he was neither an ascetic nor a hedonist, but one who recognized that his sensorium was his temple, that his mind was his priest, and that himself, the spiritual Soul, shedding his grace and light on the priest, would radiate beneficence through the temple for the world of humankind.

Through the form of his message, through the colour of his mission, through the power of his words, all mortals can sense, if they will, the Great Presence.

—*The Aryan Path.*

He came to us from the blessed realm of the Immortals bringing with him Joy and Light and Love. During his sojourn here, he distributed his gifts generously to all. Now at the journey's end, when he meets his Master, great will be his own joy.

—*Prabuddha Bharata*

He has created new values which will nourish the human mind for ages to come. The mightiest figure of the Indian Renaissance, he has stirred his countrymen into consciousness of a richer and fuller life. And he has forged a medium of expression for the deepest and subtlest realisations of the human soul.

—*The Calcutta Review.*

Love and joy are the keynotes of his conception of the universe. He keenly felt the distress through which humanity has very often to pass. Nobody felt it more. And his voice always rang out in clear notes of protest against what man has made of man. Whenever society oppressed individuals it was he who, in his artistic creations, in his reflective essays and his soul-stirring addresses, pointed out with an unerring finger the pernicious effects of such oppression on the inner consciousness of both the oppressor and the oppressed. Whenever aggressive nationalism created upheavals in the world and inflicted untold sufferings on Humanity his heart seemed to be overwhelmed with anguish. But in the midst of anguish and disillusionment, he always remained true to his ideals of love and sympathy.

—*The Indian Messenger.*

Progress Through Catastrophe

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Leslie J. Belton brings out the necessity of man's deliberate action if he wishes to progress. Nature will not, like a fond mother, lead him inevitably to the gates of Paradise. Man's progress depends upon his individual and collective efforts :

Can we still believe in progress in spite of the catastrophies which, intermittently overwhelm the empire of man ? Can belief in progress be sustained in a catastrophic world-order ? The spiritual monist has his own answer to this quetsion, an answer that is neatly summarised in these words of the *Bhagavad Gita* : "I am the source of all, from Me everything arises—whoso has insight knows this" (Otto's translation). But the Westerner usually finds this question more disturbing. His outlook on life is less noumenal than that of the Eastern philosopher, more humanistic, more wedded to earth.

History in itself, *i.e.*, movement for movement's sake, is meaningless; movement must be purposive, directed to an end, if it is to have meaning.

Broadly conceived, the idea of progress is an attempt to trace purpose in the flux of life from amœba to man.

Progress, it is said, is the delusive dream of the nineteenth century born of the purblind habit of some of its representative thinkers of confounding the perfection of machinery with the perfection of man. Yet if progress is wholly an illusion history loses its meaning and man becomes (as the materialist regards him) a momentary flash in an æonion darkness serving no supreme or distant end. This is the dilemma.

Progress in nineteenth-century Europe was not a theory but a gospel, a surrogate-religion for the evangelical Protestantism whose tenets the more radical thinkers felt bound to reject. Its arch-apostle was Herbert Spencer. Progress was for Spencer a beneficent necessity, a universal law which must continue until perfection is achieved. "Progress," he said, "is not an accident but a necessity—it is a part of nature." No reputable thinker would maintain this view today. If the idea of progress is to be retained it must be freshly interpreted.

Progress then is not inevitable ? Is it an illusion, a superstition, a myth ? The answer we give to this question largely depends upon how we face the fact of catastrophe.

The weakness of the nineteenth-century view of progress was its utopianism, its superficiality, its materialism.

Failing to account for the darker side of life, it glossed over the tragedy of life for the sake of a happy ending in man's earthly home. Any view of progress that is likely to commend itself to the twentieth century must take account unflinchingly and frankly of the catastrophic element in life.

The star of inevitable progress was already waning at the end of the nineteenth century but it took a world war to awaken us to the full falsity of Victorian optimism.

Every war is catastrophic from somebody's point of view whether it be nature's war or man's.

"A duel," says Dr. C. J. Wright in *The Hibbert Journal* (October, 1940), "which resulted in the death of one man would not be generally thought to be a 'catastrophe'; but the term is universally acknowledged as appropriate to the present stupendous conflict. . . . The evil must be notable by its magnitude to warrant the use of the word. The imagination is thus impressed

by an event unusual in size or, sometimes yet not necessarily, rare in time."

Our human judgment in this matter is relative to our own standpoint, and is crudely subjective.

Millions of Chinese may be perishing of famine but what is that to a popular English newspaper when it can carry a graphic story of the Nazis maltreating a hundred thousand Jews. China is remote from Fleet Street : Germany is oppressively near. Thus not only the magnitude and rarity but proximity also is a factor in our judgment of catastrophe. The spiritual criterion that we commonly neglect is nobly stated in some words ascribed to Jesus : "And whosoever shall offend *one* of these little ones . . . . it were better that he were cast into the sea."

But Nature takes no account of this spiritual ethic; Nature knows no ethic; she is blind, non-moral, imperturbably catastrophic. Hers is a predatory regime regardless of values, regardless of man. The inevitabilists seem to have forgotten this in spite of T. H. Huxley's celebrated arraignment of Nature's "immorality."

Nature sacrifices the superior life to the inferior.

"Catastrophe," so regarded, is writ in large characters and in small across the face of Nature. It is one of Nature's means of producing self-conscious life. It follows then that man—who alone on earth apprehends values—is less than his true self, and fails of his highest promise, if he blindly reproduces in the human scene the conflicts of nature. What in Nature is non-moral is immoral in man. It follows, too, that man is in very truth working out his own salvation. In other words, man is taking increasing charge of his own evolution.

Progress truly conceived is spiritual growth. Man, achieving self-awareness, becomes aware of the Self of selves and therein discovers the source of his significance. Egoism becomes altruism, transforming the world of experience in the light of the spiritual values which his insight perceives.

Is India Prosperous ?

In the course of an article in *The Hindustan Review* Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah observes :

The Secretary of State when he talks of India's prosperity is probably carried away by conditions in Britain. Recently, it was announced in the press that during the year 1939-40 there were in Britain with a population of 45 millions 539 individual assessees with an income of £40,000 and over per annum. In British India with a population of 300 millions the number of individual assesses with an income of Rs. 5 lakhs and over is the huge figure of 9. It will be admitted that these statistics supplied by official records provide full and ample justification to Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, to declare that India is *prosperous*.

It may be recalled that India during the pre-British period was regarded as one of the richest countries in the world and in consequence she drew adventurers from all parts of the world.

In those days sea travel was not regarded as safe and neither steamships nor the Suez Canal existed. People had to travel from Europe in sailing ships *via* the Cape of Good Hope and accepted all the risks involved in such travel. In spite of all these drawbacks people from Europe and othre parts of the world came to this country no doubt attracted by its reputation of the wealthiest countries in the world.

All that seems to have changed and there is a growing feeling of discontent in this country.

The insisent demand of all political parties for Swaraj may be explained as the necessary development of modern times but it is also due to the extreme dissatisfaction which prevails among the people of this country in regard to the economic and financial policy pursued by Britain during the recent years which has brought down the once one of the richest countries in the world to a state of extreme poverty. Simultaneously with the economic policy pursued by Britain the population of the country steadily increased. During the last decade it is reported that the population has risen from 350 to 400 millions, an increase of 50 millions or 5 millions more than the total population of Britain. The problem, which the governing authority will have seriously to face, is how to provide means for decent maintenance of this huge population with a national income of only Rs. 45 per annum per unit of population.

It is an admitted fact that Britain cannot live without her export trade. For the successful working of her export trade she must have markets. India has been one of her best markets in the past. It is for consideration what will be the effect on the purchasing power of this country of this policy which the Central Government is now pursuing of heavy direct and indirect taxation ?

The question is whether Britain has even now any far-sighted statesmanship ?

Henri Bergson

Bergson has been perhaps the greatest, the most widely read and the most widely translated philosopher of the age. In an article in *Prabuddha Bharata* R. M. Loomba gives an account of the life and thought of the great philosopher :

Bergson was born in Paris, in 1839. Some years of his childhood were spent in England, after which his family settled down in France. He was thus a naturalized citizezn of the French Republic. Towards the end of his life, however, political upheavals in Europe drove him back to England. For he had Jewish blood in him, as much as he had of the Irish.

He showed signs of extraordinary brilliance even in early life. During the middle teens, while still at school, he had won a prize for his scientific work. At the age of eighteen, again, he won a prize for a solution of a mathematical problem which obtained the distinction of being published in the *Annales de Mathematiques*.

For a time, indeed, Bergson had hesitated in the choice of his carreer, between the *sciences* and the *humanities*.

But then he decided in favour of the latter, and entered the famous *Ecole Normale Superieure* (Higher Normal School) in his own town, Paris. Here, at nineteen, he took the degree of *Agrege de Philosophie*. Eight years later, he was admitted to the degree of *Docteur-es-Lettres* (Doctor of Letters) by the University of Paris, on a work on time and free will and a short Latin thesis on Aristotle.

Immediately on taking the *Agrege de Philosophie*, he had received a teaching appointment at the *Lycee* in Angers. Two years later he was at the *Lycee Blaise-Pascal in* Clermont-Ferrand. After the *Docteur-es-Lettres*, however, he again settled down in Paris, teaching for some months at the municipal *College Rollin* and for eight years at the *Lycee Henri-Quatre*. When he was thirty-nine, his Alma Mater, *L'Ecle Normale Superieure*, received him as *Maitre de Conferences* and later promoted him to a professorhip. At the close of the century, when forty-one, he was installed in the Chair of Greek Philosophy at the famous *College de France*, an institution independent of the University of Paris and directly controlled by the French Ministry of Public Instruction. Bergson was given the largest lecture room in the College, and even this room, it is reported, became inadequate to accommodate all who gathered to hear him. In 1904, he succeeded the eminent sociologist Tarde in the Chair of Modern Philosophy at the College. In 1918, he succeeded Emile Ollivier at the *Academic Francaise*. From that time he gave up teaching and devoted himself to writing, politics, and international affairs. He led a mission from France to America and after the last Great War was President of the International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation appointed by the League of Nations.

Bergson's career as an original thinker began with the publication of the solution to a mathematical problem in the *Annales des Mathematiques*. The five major works, however, in which he developed his epoch-making philosophy appeared when he was thirty, thirty-seven, forty-four, forty-eight, and seventy-three.

They have all been translated into the English language, and bear respectively the titles, *Time and Free Will, Matter and Memory, Introduction to Metaphysics, Creative Evolution* and *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*. Among his other important writings, two occupy an outstanding place, those on *Laughter* and on *Philosophica' Intuition*.

Bergson played an active part at the first few International Congresses of Philosophy. At the first, in 1900 at Paris, he read a short but important paper on *The Psychological Origin of Our Belief in the Law of Causality*. At the second, in 1904, at Geneva, he lectured on *Psycho-physiological Parallelism*. The third at Heidelberg he could not attend due to illness. But he was back again at the fourth, in 1911 at Bologna, and delivered his address on *Philosophical Intuition*.

His work brought Bergson many honours beside the Chairs at the *College de France* and the Presidentship of the International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation.

At forty-two, in 1901, he was elected to the *Academic des Sciences morales et politiques* (Academy of Moral and Political Sciences). The great exponent of pragmatist philosophy, William James of America, seventeen years Bergson's senior, called to his work the attention of the Anglo-American public and paid the most noteworthy tribute to him in his Hibbert Lectures delivered in 1908 at Oxford on *A Pluralistic Universe*. The University of Oxford honoured Bergson in 1911 with its degree of Doctor of Science and the Cambridge University in 1920 with its degree of Doctor of Letters. He was invited to deliver the Huxley Lecture of 1911 at the Birmingham University. In 1913, he responded, by going over to the United States of America, to an invitation of the Columbia University in New York, and lectured on *Spirituality and Liberty* and on *The Method of Intuition*. The same year, he accepted the Presidentship of the British Society for Psychical Research. In 1914, he was elected a member of the *Academie Francaise* and President of the *Academie des Sciences morales et politiques*. He was also made *Officier de la Legion d' Honneur* and *Officier de L'Instruction publique*. The Scottish Universities invited him to deliver two courses of the famous Gifford Lectures in 1914, of which, however, one on *The Problem of Personality* was delivered at Edinburgh University in spring of the year while the other, scheduled for autumn, had to be abandoned on the outbreak of the War. The Minister for Public Instruction in France invited him to write a book on French philosophy. In 1918, he was officially received by the *Academie Francaise*, was given a place among their *Select Forty* and a session was held in his honour. In 1928, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature for the year 1927.

Bergson's personal life was a quiet and uneventful one of a scholarly professor, a life of a unitary, continuous *interiority*.

He loved peaceful seclusion and silence so favourable to meditation, and was little seen in public, in society or in the cafes. His time was spent in the world of books.

He was extremely daring and original in his thought. He sought the truth and insisted on clearness and precision. To this end, he saw things in detail rather than in a broad vague manner, subjecting the questions before him patiently to a thorough reflective analysis with a view to hit upon the best means of solution.

It was particularly his mission to crusade against set cut and dried linguistic forms which, obstructing the way of free and spontaneous thought, instil into us and make us slaves to ready-made, fixed, and static ideas. It was his opinion that philosophy must speak a language which would be profound and yet be understood by all.

Analytic knowledge, he said, always moves round its object, is based necessarily upon points of view which must all be relative, and expresses itself through symbols. Intuition, on the other hand, would, by an effort of sympathetic imagination, enter into and identify itself with the absolute nature of the object. Bergson, therefore, calls upon philosophy to break with scientific habits, to dispense with all symbols, and to rid itself of all but the Reality we may be able to seize from within by intuition.

Viewed through an intuitive act of the mind, Bergson held, the whole universe of reality is a unity in multiplicity, an identity in difference.

Is India a Nation ?

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji observes in the *Current Thought* :

The question which doubts whether India is a nation or a unity is inspired by the philosophy of imperialism with its wicked doctrine, *Divide and Rule*, or by a philosophy which believes and revels in separatism for its own sake, and is now instigating what is known as the Pakistan movement. To divide and rule is the eternal policy of aggressive imperialism based on power-politics. Such a policy will always be applied by the strong against a weak nation. It is the policy which recently culminated in the annihilation of entire States like Czechoslovakia. The advocates of Pakistan movement have convinced themselves of the new political philosophy that a Minority under no circumstances

can reconcile itself to the Majority in the country as the citizens and nationals of the same State, but must behave like the Sudeten Germans. These separatists, however, forget that it is socially impossible to construct a State as a completely homogeneous composition.

Political frontiers can never coincide with social, racial or religious frontiers.

In these days of easy and free communications and intercourse between different nations and peoples, it is impossible to find a State which is made up of only one community. It is bound to have different communities in its population. It is bound to have a community which forms the majority, along with other communities that may choose to call themselves minorities if they find that they have fundamental grounds of difference with the major part of the State's population. But these grounds of difference they must feel and prove to be fundamental. Jurists have defined what these are. These are grounded on differences in Language, Race, and Religion. These are vital differences which the majority must respect and recognise in their treatment of the minority communities. Some of these differences are to be preserved and promoted in the very interests of culture and civilization instead of being obliterated. A community is entitled to the cultivation of its own language and mother-tongue. It is entitled to claim that its children should be taught through the medium of their mother-tongue in the primary schools. It may also calim that the script in which its language is written may be kept up. It is again a just claim that the State must establish minority educational schools where it is economically feasible on the basis of the number seeking such education.

The following pronouncements of international politicians who were concerned in the framing of the general instruments of Minority protection will fully explain the position .

"It was certainly not the intention of those who had devised this system of Minorities Protection to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life. The object of the Minority Treaties was to secure for the Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belong." (Sir Austen Chamberlain)

"It seems to me obvious that those who conceived this system of protection (of Minorities) did not dream of creating within certain States a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign to the general organisation of the country." (M. de Mello Franco)

"We must avoid creating a State within a State. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of being fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities to the last extreme, these Minorities will become a disruptive element in the State and a source of national disorganisation." (M. Blociszewski)

"A perusal of the Treaties showed that the Minorities concerned were racial, linguistic, and religious minorities. The authors of the Treaties had not intended to create groups of citizens who would collectively enjoy special rights and privileges: they had intended to establish equality of treatment between all the nationals of a State. If privileges were granted to the Minority in any country, inequality would be created between this Minority and the Majority; this latter would be oppressed by the minority and it would then be the Majorities Question which would have to engage the attention of the League of Nations." (M. Dendramis)

To affirm that India is not a Nation is to affirm that India is not a State. The fundamental basis of nationalism in international law is the citizenship of a common country and State. To be a nation a people must first possess itself of a fatherland which it can build up as its national home. This primary foundation of nationhood the Jews neglected to acquire in the whole course of their history with tragic consequences to their political status and destiny. They have distributed themselves as parasites among the nations of the world who cannot continue to offer them an indefinite hospitality. They are thus now compelled to seek international co-operation to find and found for them a national home under difficult circumstances, because it is so late in the day.

Study of Manuscripts

Writing on the need and importance of and the difficulties and drawbacks connected with the study of manuscripts of Sanskritic works, Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti in the course of an article published in *A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof. P. V. Kane M.A., LL.M.* (Poona Oriental Series) makes the following suggestion for the encouragement of systematic and scientific study of this comparatively fragile form of Indian antiquity :

Much valuable results may be expected if the Government might be induced to start a MSS Department like the Epigraphic Department to be attached to the Archæological Department of the Government of India. This Department may be engaged in the work of acquisition and preservation of MSS and in giving encouragement to, and lay down the principles to be followed in, the preparation of careful scholarly descriptions of them. A *Manuscriptia Indica* of the type of the *Epigraphia Indica,* publishing thorough analysis of important MSS pointing to their importance and usefulness, may be inaugurated for rescuing and properly displaying the valuable gems contained in them. This will serve to furnish ideals for workers in different parts of the country to follow, and ultimately lead to discourage the haphazard and mechanical descriptions as usually found in many a catalogue of MSS.

Diletoriness in the matter will be disastrous.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that if learned bodies of the country interested in the investigation of the cultural heritage of the country do not take an immediate ahd concerted move in the matter valuable treasures of MSS still existing, will not take long to be lost irretrievably like those that have been lost or destroyed in the past through natural or human agencies.

India's Milk Production

The following excerpt from the "Report on the Marketing of Milk in India and Burma" is reproduced from *The Indian Readers' Digest* :

The present annual gross production of milk in India amounts to 743,600,000 maunds, valued at Rs. 175,00,00,000

Of this total approximately 123,800,000 maunds are consumed by the calves and kinds, leaving 619,800,000 maunds for human consumption. Buffalo milk amount to 50 per cent, cow milk to 47 per cent, and goat milk to 3 per cent.

According to the cattle census of 1935 and estimates for the uncovered areas, India possesses approximately 230,000,000 cattle and buffalos, or about a third of the world's recorded number. Of these about 45,500,000 three-year-old cows and 20,300,000 she-buffaloes are kept for breeding or the production of milk. Goats number 57,200,000 of which some 8,800,000 are hand-milked.

Although India has as many milch cattle as Europe, including Russia, the production of milk is only one-fifth that of Europe. Compared with India, Canada produces 25 per cent milk, but with only about 6 per cent of the number of cattle.

Of the cows and she-buffaloes, 3·5 and 5 per cent respectively are maintained in urban areas for the production of milk on the spot. This is sufficient to meet nearly half the urban fluid milk requirements.

In general buffaloes yield more and richer milk than cows. Taking into account the total number of three-year-old animals, it is estimated that the average annual yield of hand-drawn milk per cow is 525 lb. and per buffalo 1·20 lb.

India's import and export trade in dairy products is unimportant. Imports during 1938-30 amounted to Rs. 80.00,000 and exports to Rs. 42.00,000.

Politics and Age

We quote the following from *The Twentieth Century* Miscellany:

Looking round the House of Commons, one feels that more young men ought to be there. This impression is strengthened by perusal of a tabulated statement which shows the ages of nearly all the members—not all, because some do not give their ages in the reference books. The return includes 542 of the 615 members.

Here, to begin with, is an analysis of the return, showing the number of members at different ages with approximate percentages :

80 years and over	2	10%
70 to 80	51	10%
60 to 70	140	26%
50 to 60	153	28%
40 to 50	132	24%
30 to 40	61	12%
20 to 30	3	12%

It will be seen that 64 per cent. of the members are over fifty and 88 per cent. over forty. Those below forty are thus only 12 per cent. And, worst of all, there are only three members between twenty-one and thirty.

Here is a list of the Prime Ministers of the past hundred years and the age at which they entered Parliament :

Sir Robert Peel	21	Mr. Balfour	26
Lord John Russel	21	Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman	32
Lord Derby	21	Mr. Asquith	34
Lord Aberdeen	21	Mr. Lloyd George	27
Lord Palmerston	23	Mr. Bonar Law	42
Mr. Disraeli	33	Mr. Baldwin	41
Mr. Gladstone	26	Mr. MacDonald	40
Lord Salisbury	23	Mr. Chamberlain	49
Lord Rosebery	21	Mr. Churchill	26

The contrast between those two columns is very striking. During the sixty-four years from Peel to Balfour only one of ten Prime Ministers entered Parliament later than the twenties, and it was misfortune rather than fault that made Disraeli an exception. After Balfour there was a succession of business men and lawyers, essentially middle-class. Except Mr. Lloyd George, who broke all the rules, they came to Westminster later in life than their predecessors.

The twenty-seventh report of the directors of the Western India Life Insurance Co. Ltd., of Satara is before us. This progressive company has recorded another successful year in spite of the growing acute conditions of business due to the war. A large volume of new business amounting to Rs. 66,50,825 and a substantial addition to the Life Insurance Fund which was increased by Rs. 16,46,128-8-0 to an impressive total of Rs. 1,27,93,698-4-4 are facts which the directors may regard with satisfaction.

Very commendable is the further lowering of the expense ratio which has been lowered from 24·72 to 22·51. Thus the company has been able to raise substantially its status amongst the first rank of the Indian Life offices, and it has also been able to demonstrate thus the active watch of its directors and staff over the interests of the assured.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The March of a Nation

"No Man Can Set A Limit
To The March Of A Nation"
—PARNELL.

No power can stop the onward march of a nation,
Or turn its tide, unless it chooses to be faithless.
Not thus will Erin debase her hard won freedom,
And not thus will she stain her soul, refined by fire.
Every inch of the soil of this age old isle is sacred.
Its earth is the dust of the dead; it is even an altar,
But never again shall the hand of an alien people
Ravage its stones, and make sacrifice of its children.
We have flung our fetters away and stand delivered;
We are out in the air of freedom for ever and ever.

We shall not falter along our way nor stumble,
There are wheels to our feet to carry us swifter and swifter,
We shall mount with wings as eagles, that we may soar
And disdain the traps set subtly for our ruin,
We shall fight the fight that brings success from endeavor,
We shall defeat the foe who would dare to detain us.
Out of the dark to greater and greater achievement,
Out of the sleep of centuries, vibrant and strong,
Hear the tramp of a people marching to power,
The voice of a nation surging toward the dawn.

GIRALDA FORBES in *The Catholic World*.

Newspapers in Turkey

In a graphic survey of newspapers in Turkey, Shah-Mir Effendi writes in *The Living Age*:

Contrary to a belief general in the United States, the Turkish press is not government-muzzled, in the sense that newspapers are controlled by Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union. Usually as a matter of conviction, it upholds the general course of the policy of Ankara which wants peace with the outside world, and a strong defensive force at home. Otherwise it is free to express its individual views and criticism.

There exists a Turkish Press Bureau under supervision of Faik Oztrak, the Minister of the Interior, who serves as link between the press and Government. The Bureau publishes a monthly magazine called *Ayin Tarihi*, meaning "Monthly Date." To this bureau editors apply when they wish to ascertain the Government's point of view on some issue, or get a line on its foreign policy. But such application is by no means compulsory.

The Turkish daily paper looks very different from American newspapers. It consists of only four or six pages, about the size of standard-sized papers here, but divided into seven instead of eight colums. The title of the paper is usually printed in red, the rest a uniform black. There are some half-tone illustrations from photographs of people or places figuring in the news. A few papers like *Aksam* ("Evening") publish a strip of political cartoons.

Turkish papers devote their space almost exclusively to political news and opinion.

Turkey has a few editorial writers of eminence. In most cases they are the publishers of their papers. They are often men of considerable intelligence who enjoy a far-reaching influence.

It is the role of these editorial writers to suggest to the masses where to expend their ready emotions, and to keep their vast, blind power from becoming a menace to the nation.

Journalism is not a remunerative career in Turkey, for the newspapers, lacking advertisements, are all poor. To choose this career the aspirants feels an irrepressible passion for it. This may account for the relative excellence of the Turkish press, as compared to the press of certain other continental nations. In 1937, Turkey had only 123 daily papers, most of them published in Istanbul, Ankara or Izmir. There were 140 periodicals, some of them published by foreign interests, as the Italian Beyoglue, the German *Tuerkische Post*, the French *Istanbul*, and the Jewish *Journal d'Orient*.

What Jesus Means to Gandhiji

In a recent issue of the *Inner Culture* Mahatma Gandhi writes in part.

Although I have devoted a large part of my life to the study of religion and to discussion with religious leaders of all faiths, I know very well that I cannot but seem presumptuous in writing about Jesus Christ and trying to explain what He means to me. I do so only because my Christian friends have told me on more than a few occasions that for the very reason that I am not a Christian and that (I shall quote their words exactly) "I do not accept Christ in the bottom of my heart as the only Son of God," it is impossible for me to understand the profound significance of His teachings, or to know and interpret the greatest source of spiritual strength that man has ever know.

Although this may or may not be true in my case, I have reasons to believe that it is an erroneous point of view. I believe that such an estimate is incompatible with the message that Jesus Christ gave to the world. For He was, certainly, the highest example of One who wished to give everything, asking nothing in return, and not caring what creed might happen to be professed by the recipient. I am sure that if He were living here now among men, He would bless the lives of many who perhaps have never even heard His name, if only their lives embodied the virtues of which He was a living example on earth; the virtues of loving one's neighbor as oneself and of doing good and charitable works among one's fellow men.

What, then, does Jesus mean to me? To me, He was one of the greatest teachers humanity has ever had. To His believers, He was God's only begotten Son. Could the fact that I do or do not accept this belief make Jesus have any more or less influence in my life? Is all the grandeur of His teaching and of His doctrine to be forbidden to me? I cannot believe so.

The word "begotten" has for Gandhiji a significance that is more profound and possibly nobler than its simple literal meaning.

ONE OF THE GREATEST

To me it implies a spiritual birth. My interpretation, in other words, is that in Jesus' own life is the

key of His nearness to God; that He expressed, as no other could, the spirit and will of God. It is in this sense that I see Him and recognize Him as the son of God.

But I do believe that something of this spirit that Jesus exemplified in the highest measure, in its most profound human sense, does exist. I must believe this; if I did not believe it I should be a sceptic; and to be a sceptic is to live a life that is empty and lacks moral content. Or, what is the same thing, to condemn the entire human race to a negative end.

It is true that there certainly is reason for scepticism when one observes the bloody butchery that European aggressors have unloosed, and when one thinks about the misery and suffering prevalent in every corner of the world, as well as the pestilence and famine that always follow, terribly and inevitably, upon war.

In the face of this, how can one speak seriously of the divine spirit incarnate in man? Because these acts of terror and murder offend the conscience of man; because man knows that they represent evil; because in the inner depths of his heart and of his mind, he deplores them. And because, moreover, when he does not go astray, misled by false teachings or corrupted by false leaders, man has within his breast an impulse for good and a compassion that is the spark of divinity, and which some day, I believe, will burst forth into the full flower that is the hope of all mankind.

All Humanity Benefits from Jesus' Example

An example of this flowering may be found in the figure and in the life of Jesus. I refuse to believe that there now exists or has ever existed a person that has not made use of His example to lessen his sins, even though he may have done so without realizing it. The lives of all have, in some greater or lesser degree, been changed by His presence, His actions, and the words spoken by His divine voice.

I believe that it is impossible to estimate the merits of the various religions of the world, and moreover I believe that it is unnecessary and harmful even to attempt it. But each one of them, in my judgment, embodies a common motivating force: the desire to uplift man's life and give it purpose.

And because the life of Jesus has the significance and the transcendency to which I have alluded, I believe that He belongs not solely to Christianity, but to the entire world; to all races and people, it matters little under what flag, name or doctrine they may work, profess a faith, or worship a God inherited from their ancestors.

The Continued Tragedy of Italy

The Month writes editorially:

"Tragedy" is the only word. Italian broadcasts, though often honest enough to admit the parlous situation in Africa, strive to put a pretty mask upon a most unpleasant face. In their more flamboyant moments they assure us that they have been at war with the "pluto-democracies" or "demo-plutocracies"—whatever these may be—since 1922. It is curious that we never noticed it, when we thought of Locarno and Stresa. And then comes at times the counter-plea that Italy has been so heavily engaged in the Abyssinian and Spanish wars, that she has exhausted all possibilities of further conflict. The list of indemnities recently claimed from General Franco has been a severe blow to those who understood that Italy's intentions during the civil war were of the pure crusading kind. Poor unprepared Italy! Unfortunately, the realist must reply that her declaration of war was a veritable "stab in the back" of a broken France, delivered in the wishful

belief that the war was very nearly at an end. But the war still goes on, and we who have had to endure the full weight of Nazi attack, have a right to condemn this shoddy and cowardly "stab in the back." The invasion of Greece was another piece of arrant villainy. Mussolini naturally imagined that little or no resistance would be offered to his attack. Alas, for his prestige, the Greeks have not only resisted; they have inflicted defeat after defeat upon his armies, they have blown sky-high the legend of Axis invincibility. Mussolini, with his overweening ambition—clouded and, it may be inspired, by personal failings—has reduced his country to the level of a second-rate Power. He has bargained away for some problematical gain all the achievement of Italy since the days of the *Risorgimento*. In order to survive, he has now to rely upon German assistance, whereas the whole history of modern Italy has been that of an attempt to be rid of German dominion. "Tragedy" is the only word. The Italian people, so sane and decent in their normal outlook, know full well who is the author of their present difficulties. It is a part of the tragedy that they will be associated, in British public opinion, with the crazy policy of their self-inflicted Duce and his rabid party. And yet, when the time comes to review the problems of the peace settlement, it is clear that the Italians should play an important part in any North African settlement. When the mists of prejudice and indignation and resentment have been finally dispersed, is it not obvious that the future of Northern Africa should be administered by Britain and the three major Mediterranean Powers, France, Spain and Italy.

National Crisis in Indo-China

The meagre information forthcoming from Indo-China has shrouded the real state of things prevalent there, since the collapse of France. The following excerpts reproduced from a correspondence published in *The China Weekly Review* throws some light on the subject :

The capitulation of the Petain regime to the Third Reich, and the concessions made to Germany's Axis partner in the Far East, have both served to intensify the national crisis in French Indo-China. As a result of the Hanoi agreement which was concluded last September, and which gave the Japanese the right to station troops in the French Colony, Indo-China has fallen further into the depths of enslavement—from a Colony under French control to a Colony under joint Franco-Japanese control.

In order to curb the resistance of the people of Indo-China, the French authorities have promulgated a series of decree laws. Any person can be jailed, even executed, on charges of betraying defense secrets, while even "suspicious" characters can be arrested. The term "suspicious" can be given any meaning the authorities desire. Many innocent people have been railroaded to prison and large concentration camps have been built to accommodate them, because existing prisons are overcrowded. Not long ago scores of Indo-Chinese patriots, including two girls, were executed by shooting at Saigon. The controlled press was not allowed to print a word of this, but the executions were known to have taken place and caused a great sensation.

Then came the Japanese. First they tried to ingratiate themselves with the people by such gestures as free distribution of Japanese cigarettes and other articles, but soon the mask was discarded. Under the protection of the Japanese military, pro-Nippon elements set up organizations such as the "Pan-Indo-China Revolutionary Party for National Regeneration," the "New Indo-China Nationalist Party" and the "League for National Restoration,' to engage in propaganda for the "New Order" in East Asia.

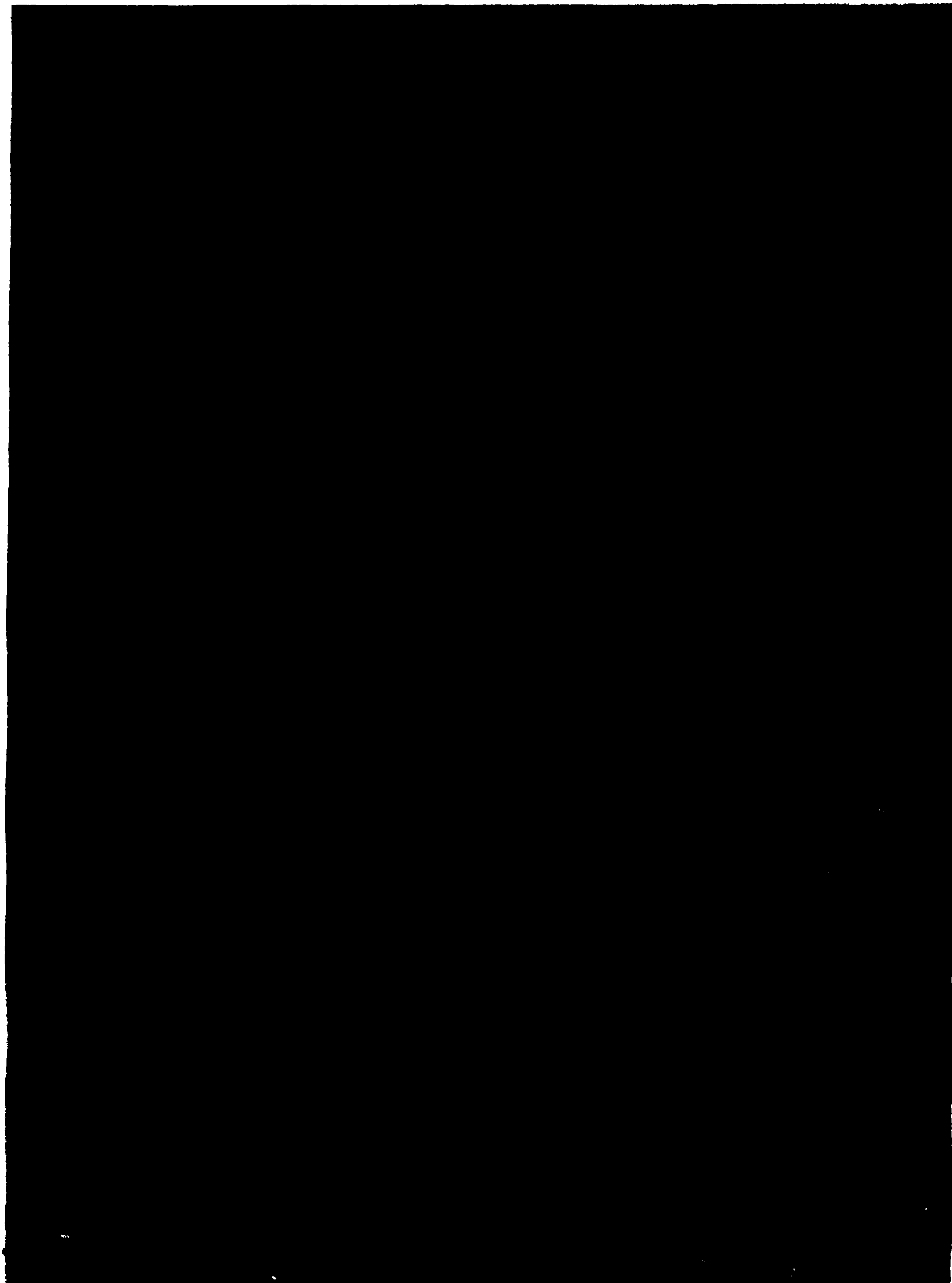
They followed this up by buying the support of native big business men, corrupt officials and depraved intellectuals in order to swell the ranks of their fifth column.

Neither France's mailed fist nor the honeyed words of the Japanese have succeeded in wiping out the people's independence movement. Instead, the movement has been fanned by the combined oppression of the French and the Japanese. Toward the end of 1940, there were local armed uprisings. In some parts of the country, notably at Tuliang and in the vicinity of Saigon, the armed people set up their own administrations and held out against the authorities for several months. These happenings speak for themselves.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

We are indebted to Sjt. Upendranath Maitra of the Photo Atelier for the three photographs—two of Uttarayana, Santiniketan, and the one representing the full figure of the Poet—published in this issue of *The Modern Review*. The photographs were taken in March, 1941. The excellence of the technique is apparent from the photographs.

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A DARK BEAUTY
By Sudhir Khastgir

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NOTES

Mr. Amery's Misleading Answers to Pre-arranged (?) and Convenient American Questions

On the 1st October last Reuter sent a cable stating that

> India in its relationship to Great Britain was "featured" by the British Broadcasting Company in a broadcast in which Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, answered questions put by residents in North America.

The questions were so framed that it was very easy for Mr. Amery to answer them. In fact they rouse the suspicion that they were framed in consultation with some British imperialist to suit the answerer.

Mr. Amery has not answered all the various questions which are at present being asked in America relating to British rule in India, as we know from Srimati Kamalā Devi Chattopadhyāya's lectures and interviews, and other sources; he simply selected a few which he found very convenient to answer. Moreover, a radio broadcast has the advantage of allowing a speaker to go on talking without being subjected to supplementary questions and cross-examination.

We could wish Dr. J. T. Sunderland, the saintly author of *India in Bondage* and the greatest American friend that India has ever had, were living at this hour to put searching questions to British imperialists and confound them.

> The first questioner, Judge Austin Griffiths, of Seattle, Washington, asked: "What taxes, direct or indirect, does India pay towards the British Government?"
>
> Mr. Amery: "I am glad, Judge Griffiths, you have given me an opportunity to deal with so extraordinary a misconception as is implied in your question. Neither India nor any other part of the British Empire pays any taxes direct or indirect to the British Government. All her revenues are used for the benefit of the people of India. In fact, the British Government makes a contribution of many millions of dollars a year to the military defence of India.

The reader will note the fawning tone of the prafatory words addressed to Judge Griffiths and contrast it with the frequently insolent tone of British bureaucratic replies to questions put by Indians.

The question really is whether Great Britain has enriched herself at the expense of India and thus impoverished her, and that in unscrupulous ways. But Judge Griffiths has not put his question that way, and Mr. Amery has taken advantage of the form and wording of the question to evade the real issue.

Every school boy, as Macaulay would have said, knows that present-day democracies—Britain being one of them, do not exact tribute from their dependencies. The King of Great Britain is nominally also the King and Emperor of India. But he is not a despot, but the crowned head of a democracy. So India has nominally one king, but really fifty million kings and queens, namely, the male and female citizens of Great Britain. Hence the people of India do not pay any tribute to His Majesty King George VI; they have been paying and still pay tribute in various forms and ways to Their Imperial

Majesties the Nationals of Great Britain. Let us recount some of these tributes.

Brook Adams writes in *The Law of Civilization and Decay*, pp. 263-264 :

> Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous : for all the authorities agree that the "industrial revolution," the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760. Prior to 1760, according to Baines, the machinery used for spinning cotton in Lancashire was almost as simple as in India; while about 1750 the English iron industry was in full decline because of the destruction of the forests for fuel. . . . .
>
> Plassey was fought in 1757 and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed. In 1760, the flying shuttle appeared, and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764, Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, in 1776 Crompton contrived the mule, in 1785 Cartwright patented the powerloom, and, chief of all, in 1768 Watt matured the steam-engine, the most perfect of all vents of centralizing energy. But, though these machines served as outlets for the accelerating movement of the time, they did not cause that acceleration. In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money, and money not hoarded, but in motion. Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together. **Possibly since the world began, no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from Indian plunder,** because for nearly fifty years Great Britain stood without a competitor. From 1694 to Plassey (1757) the growth had been relatively slow. Between 1760 and 1815 the growth was very rapid and prodigious. Credit is the chosen vehicle of energy in centralized societies, and no sooner had treasure enough accumulated in London to offer a foundation, than it shot up with marvellous rapidity. The arrival of the Bengal silver and gold enabled the Bank of England, 'which had been unable to issue a smaller note than for £20, to easily issue £10 and £15 notes and private firms to pour forth a flood of paper.'

The "Bengal plunder" or the "Indian plunder" which produced the "industrial revolution" in Great Britain was the first big tribute which King Demos Britannicus exacted from Indians in the earliest period of British rule in India. In modern times, in the present century, another big tribute, though smaller than the one mentioned above, was the "free gift" of Rs. 150 crores made by India to Britain during the last world war in addition to vast quantities of materials and lakhs of fighters and labourers.

But these are mere driblets compared with the vast sums which year after year have been carried to Britain from India from the beginning of British rule uptill now in various ways.

Almost all the very highest salaries in British India are enjoyed by Britishers and they draw their fat pensions, too, after retirement in their island home from the Indian treasury. The biggest dividends are drawn by Britishers from British industrial and commercial firms, banks, etc., in India, which have the largest total capital. British shipping has almost a monopoly of oceanic traffic, enabling Britishers to earn enormous profits. Privates and officers in the white army in India are paid much higher salaries than Indian soldiers, and than even Japanese privates and officers.

In these and other different ways, **twenty-five per cent. of the British national income is derived from India**—fifty million pounds being derived annually from India in the shape of Home Charges alone. The reason why Britishers are able to make such huge profits from their business concerns in India, is that India has been kept under British subjection not only in the political but in the economic sphere, too, Indian industrial development having been neglected and even retarded in British industrial interests. For example, India has thousands of miles of railways and can make locomotive engines, but still the latter are chiefly imported from Great Britain.

In his reply to Judge Griffith's question Mr. Amery also said : "All her (India's) revenues are used for the benefit of the people of India. In fact, the British Government makes a contribution of many millions of dollars a year for the defence of India."

It is not a fact that *all* India's revenues are used for the benefit of India. All the Britishers in Government employ in India, except perhaps a few technical experts, could be immediately replaced by equally competent Indians on much lower salaries, and even for technical work foreigners of other than British race could be had for lower pay. And such foreigners would be needed only for a short period. A substantial portion of the Indian revenues is spent in England and that for no valid reason whatever. The white army, both privates and officers, which costs a huge amount, is maintained to keep India in subjection. The military subjection of a country, if called its military defence, can only be called a travesty of truth. Britishers consider India their property. If they pay a small part of the cost of keeping that property in their possession, it cannot be called charity. The army in India, both Indian and British, is used largely for Imperial purposes in distant coutries as at the present time. For years India was forced to shoulder burdens and liabilities which were not justly hers; it is only recently that Britain has been making a contribution towards the maintenance of troops, which is not considered adequate and fair by the people of India or even by the *British* Government of

India; and these troops are maintained for Imperial purposes.

Mr. Amery has said how very just, philanthropic and generous the British Government has been in India, but he did not tell his American audience that all Indian economists and many British economists hold British rule largely responsible for the impoverishment and poverty of India.

Some other American questions and Mr. Amery's replies thereto are briefly commented upon elsewhere in this issue.

All-India Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Committee's Appeal

On behalf of the All-India Rabindranath Tagore Memorial Committee Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, its President, and Dr. P. N. Banerjea, its Honorary Secretary, have issued the following appeal:

> At a very largely-attended public meeting convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta and held under the Presidentship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the Town Hall on the 30th August, 1941, it was decided to start an All-India Tagore Memorial Fund and to form an All-India Memorial Committee for stabilising and developing the Visva-Bharati and for such other purposes as might be determined by the Committee.
>
> Some of the Ruling Princes have already signified their consent to become Patrons of this Committee, while replies from others are being awaited. Besides, distinguished persons like Sir P. C. Ray, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, Mr. Madhava Rau, Dewan of Mysore, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Foreign Minister, Gwalior, Col. Dinanath, Prime Minister of Indore, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, the Rt. Hon. M. R. Jayakar, Sir Shri Ram, Maharaj-Kumar Sir Vijoy of Vizianagram, Hon. Mr. Justice Tek Chand, Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Mr. B. M. Birla, Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Hon. Mr. Manohar Lal, Mr. P. R. Das, Raja Saheb of Panchkote, Sir N. N. Sircar, Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerji, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Jogendra Singh and Dr. Rajendra Prasad have joined the Committee as members.
>
> We need hardly say that, if the memorial is to be worthy of our respect for the great poet, teacher, philosopher, nationalist and internationalist, a large sum of money will have to be collected. This can be done only with the active support and co-operation of all persons in India belonging to different ranks in life. We, therefore, hope that every person, rich or *poor,* will contribute towards the Memorial Fund *to the best of his ability and persuade his friends and acquaintances to contribute in like manner.*
>
> Mr. Biren Mookerjee, M.A. (Cantab.), of Messrs. Martin & Co., and of Messrs. Burn & Co., is the Hony. Treasurer. All donations are to be sent direct to the Imperial Bank of India which has agreed to act as the banker to the Fund and has undertaken the task of collection through all its branches in India.

We support this Appeal with all our heart. We call particular attention to the words which we have italicized.

It occurs to us that Provincial and District Memorial Committees may be formed to actively co-operate with the All-India Memorial Committee.

What Visva-Bharati Rural Reconstruction Institute Does

On pages 433-436 of this issue of *The Modern Review* we print an article by Rabindranath Tagore on the history and ideals of Sriniketan, which is a translation of one of his addresses delivered two years ago. The Rural Reconstruction Institute of Visva-bharati is located at Sriniketan. Below is given a synopsis of the kinds of work done by the Institute.

I. Village Welfare Department.

(*a*) Agricultural improvement, with the help of the Central farm at Sriniketan: Improvement of irrigation

(*b*) Introduction of suitable home industries, as subsidiary occupation, *e.g.*, making of palm-leaf fans and mats, spinning of *sunn*hemp and other fibres, weaving, dairy

(*c*) Adult education, through the circulating Library, publication of bulletins in simple Bengalee, magic lantern lectures and talks: Exhibitions

(*d*) Improvement of the village primary schools

(*e*) Establishment of night schools for the boys and adults of working classes

(*f*) organisation of Brati Balak troops (village boy-scouts)

(*g*) Re-creational use of leisure time, by organising seasonal festivals, *e.g.*, *Vriksharopan* (tree-planting), Saradotsava (Autumn festival), Navanna (New Harvest festival); *jatra* and *kavi*.

(*h*) Improvement of health, by organising Co-operative Health Societies (where possible), by health education and propaganda, and by organising sanitary measures by voluntary effort.

(*i*) Organisation of co-operative societies of different types through the Visva-bharati

Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.
(j) Flood and famine relief work.

II. Department of Education :
(a) the Sikshā Satra (the Poet's school for village boys)
(b) the Sikshā Charchā Bhabana (*Guru*-Training School, under the Government Scheme with slight modifications)
(c) Supervision of village schools, boy scouts and village education generally

III. Department of Health :
(a) Central Dispensary and Clinical Laboratory at Sriniketan
(b) Hospital with 6 beds
(c) Proposed Andrews Memorial Hospital
(d) Maternity and Child Welfare Centre in charge of a Lady Health Visitor : *Dai*-training centre
(e) Co-operative Health Society for the villages

IV. Women's Welfare :
(a) Sriniketan Girl's School with 2 lady teachers
(b) Three schools for adult women in the villages managed by lady workers

V. *Farm*, including
(a) Farm proper, for experiment and demonstration
(b) Nursery
(c) Orchard
(d) Experiment in anti-soil-erosion
(e) Experiment in afforestation
(f) Dairy with a herd of red Sindhi cattle
(g) Fodder farm
(h) Bee keeping
(i) Pisciculture

VI. Silpa Bhabana
or the Department of organised village and cottage industries
(a) Carpentry
(b) Weaving
(c) *Durry* making
(d) Leather Crafts and Shoe-making
(e) Book binding
(f) Lacquer work
(g) Pottery
(h) Fruit Preserves
(i) *Batik* (artistic dyeing of silk introduced from Jává-Báli)

VII. Department of Socio-Economic Survey Research
Several bulletins have been published and some are under preparation under the guidance of Dr. Sudhir Sen, Ph.D. (Bonn)

VIII. The Visva-Bharati Central Co-operative Bank Ltd.

Tagore's Plays, Songs and Dances at Fellowship Schools, Bombay

Sjt. P. O. Upādhyāya, Principal, Fellowship School, Bombay, writes to us :

"It is with a feeling of profound sorrow that we treasure the memory of Gurudev, who has passed away from our midst. Ours is a co-educational institution that cherishes and follows Gurudev's ideals of education and helps children to develop an all-round personality through creative expression. It will not perhaps be too much to claim that this institution has been the first to introduce Gurudev's plays and songs to the Bombay public as far back as 1928. Some of his plays, *viz.*, *Autumn Festival*, *Post-Office*, and *Natir Pujā* in Gujarati version with Bengali songs, were staged by our boys and girls in a setting and atmosphere that was indeed a revelation to the audience, and these plays created such a fascination for the public that we had to repeat them several times.

"The original Bengali songs of Gurudev are taught to our pupils. These songs with their subtle charm of tunes have a special appeal even to those who fail to catch the words. Dances are composed to express the ideas of the songs.

"It is again the first institution in Bombay that introduced dancing along with the curriculum of studies that already includes fine arts and music as prominent subjects. We are fortunate in having on our staff the well-known Artist, Sjt. Pulinbihari Dutt, to whose enthusiasm and zeal all the above performances owe their origin. We are lucky also in having Pandit Bhimrao Shastri, formerly of Santiniketan, as the head of our Music Department, and also Sjt. Nabkumar Singh of Manipur as the teacher of dancing. These three artists are responsible for creating interest in Gurudev's plays and songs among the public of Bombay. We are organising a special public performance consisting of the recital and dance interpretation of Gurudev's songs and other items from his works. The proceeds of this concert will be sent as our humble mite to the Memorial Fund of Dr. Tagore whose memory we will ever cherish.

"Our sole object in writing to you is to request you to make an appeal to all educational institutions in our country through your esteemed journal, both English and Bengali, to help Visva-bharati, which is the embodiment of

Gurudev's ideals of education and for fulfilment of which he exerted all his life."

A Bengali song from "Sārodatsava" ("Autumn Festival") and another from "Natīr Pujā" ("The Dancing Girl's Worship") are appended below. Even those whose mother tougue is not Bengali may find the words of the songs melodious.

नव कुन्द-धवल-दल सुशीतला,
अति सुनिर्म्मला, सुख समुज्ज्वला,
शुभ सुवर्ण आसने अचंचला।
स्मित-उदयारुण-किरण-विलासिनी,
पूर्ण सितांशु-विभास-विकाशिनी,
नन्दनलक्ष्मी सुमंगला।

—From "Sāradotsava."

आमाय क्षमो हे क्षमो, नमो हे नमः,
तोमाय स्मरि, हे निरुपम,
नृत्यरसे चित्त मम
उछल हये बाजे॥
आमार सकल देहेर आकुल रवे
मन्त्रहरा तोमार स्तवे
डाहिने बामे छन्द नामे
नव जनमेर माझे।
तोमार बन्दना मोर भंगीते आज
संगीते बिराजे॥
ए कि परम व्यथाय पराण कांपाय
कांपन बक्षे लागे।
शान्ति सागरे ढेउ खेले याय
सुन्दर ताय जागे।
आमार सब चेतना सब बेदना
बहिल ए ये कि अराधना,
तोमार पाय मोर साधना
मरे ना येन लाजे।
तोमार बन्दना मोर भंगीते आज
संगीते बिराजे॥
आमि कानन ह'ते तुलिनि फुल,
मेलेनि मोर फल।
कलस मम शून्य सम
भरिनि तीर्थजल।
आमार तनु तनुते बाँधनहारा
हृदय ढाले अधरा धारा,
तोमार चरणे होक् ता सारा
पूजार पुण्य काजे।
तोमार बन्दना मोर भंगीते आज
संगीते बिराजे॥

—From "Natir Pujā."

Principal Upādhyāya has requested us to appeal to all educational institutions in our country to help Visva-bharati. We do so very gladly. If necessary and convenient, the students of these institutions may in addition to making pecuniary contributions individually, stage some play of Tagore for the public and send the proceeds from the sale of tickets to Visva-bharati.

Tagore's Books Translated into Gujarati

Our esteemed friend and contributor, Diwan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, has kindly sent us the following approximate list of Rabindranath Tagore's books translated into Gujarati. Only the Gujarati titles of the books are given.

गोरा	कुमुदिनी
डाकघर	चित्रांगदा
मधुराणी	डुब तु वहाणे
नौका डुबी	बालचन्द्र
कुसुम वाडीनो माली	आनन्दी
विभावरी	बहुराणी विभा
माधवी	चोखेर बाली
अने आँखनी कणी	साहित्य
घरे बाहिरे	चित्रा अने गाल्पिनी
चार अध्याय अने मालंच	लावण्य
भी, स्वदेश	मुक्तधारा
राजा राणी	अचलायतना

रथयात्रा

We have already published a list, not exhaustive, o. Rabindranath Tagore's books translated into Hindi. Through the kindness of some readers or other, we hope to receive lists of Tagore's books translated into Assamese, Kannada, Marathi, Oriya, Tamil, Telegu, etc.

Rabindranath Tagore on Marriage

Rabindranath Tagore's views on marriage cannot be set forth in a brief note. We refer to the subject because he is reported to have

told an interviewer six years ago, "marriage as an institution has failed, especially in the West." Assuming that the poet has been correctly reported, one may ask in what sense in the poet's opinion has marriage as an institution failed. Briefly the answer is that in his opinion marriage had failed because in countless or numerous cases marriages did not come up to his ideal of marriage. This ideal is briefly indicated in the following words of Chitrāngadā, addressed to Arjuna, in his play of that name.

"आमि चित्राङ्गदा ।
देवी नहि, नहि आमि सामान्या रमणी ।
पूजा करि राखिबे माथाय, से-उ आमि
नइ ; अबहेला करि पुषिया राखिबे
पिछे, से-उ आमि नहि । यदि पार्श्वे राख
मोरे संकटेर पथे, दूरूह चिन्तार
यदि अंश दाउ, यदि अनुमति कर
कठिन ब्रतेर तब सहाय हइते,
यदि सुखे दुःखे मोरे कर सहचरी,
आमार पाइबे तबे परिचय ।"

The following is the corresponding passage in *Chitrā*, which is the English version of the Bengali *Chitrāngadā* :

"I am Chitra. No goddess to be worshipped, nor yet the object of common pity to be brushed aside like a moth with indifference. If you deign to keep me by your side in the path of danger and daring, if you allow me to share the great duties of your life, then you will know my true self."

The English passage is not a close translation of the one in Bengali, but substantially the same ideal is indicated in both. In the Bengali passage the Poet speaks more fully and uses language which would come home to Indians. In the English passage he uses language which occidentals would understand more easily.

In his view, as we understand it, marriage should not stand in the way of the development of the personality of the wife, as it ordinarily does not in the case of the husband. Lucky and happy are the husband and wife who have common intellectual, ethical, spiritual and cultural tastes and interests. But the ideal marriage should in no case involve the sacrifice of the non-material interests of the wife, as it does not that of the wife. Conjugal loyalty does not necessarily imply that the wife should be the shadow and the echo of the husband. If a man is excessively fond of or devoted to his wife, or if he is too submissive to the will of his wife, we call him uxorious. There is no corresponding word of blame for the wife who is excessively devoted to or too submissive to the will of her husband.

All these observations do not, of course, follow from what Chitrāngadā said to Arjuna. But they are in consonance with what the Poet has written in "Sabalā" ("The Strong-souled Woman") and other poems in *Mahuā*, and in many other works of his.

The Poet was not for the abolition of marriage and its substitution by something else. He wanted that it should conform to a high ideal.

In a marriage celebrated in 1939 in the last week of December, in the Poet's own family, in which he himself was the *āchārya* or minister, he pronounced his benediction on the bride and bridegroom in the following poem :

तोमरा दुजने एकमना
करिबे रचना
तोमादेर नूतन संसार ।
सेथा नित्य मुक्त रबे द्वार
बिश्वेर आतिथ्य निबेदने
तोमादेर अकृपण मने ।
पुण्य दीप रबे ज्वाला ;
देवतार नैबेद्येर डाला
पूजार कुसुमे पूर्ण हबे ;
चतुर्दिके बाजिबे नीरबे
गम्भीर मधुर
परिपूर्ण आनन्देर सुर,
बाजिबे कल्याण शंखध्वनि
दिबस रजनी ॥

We have not ventured to translate this fine benedictory poem. Its purport will be understood by all who know a little Sanskrit.

"*The Myriad-minded Poet & Writer,....*"

The eulogy pronounced by the Oxford University on Rabindranath Tagore when that university conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Literature *honoris causa*, contains the epithet "myriad-minded." It is literally true. For this reason we wrote in our last September number, "There is no single word which can adequately describe the myriad-minded Rabindranath Tagore of seemingly multiple but really one and undivided peerless personality."

When he was young it was the fashion in Bengal to call him the Bengali Shelley. It cannot be said that there is no resemblance between

some of the ideas of Shelley and some of those of Tagore. But the latter also had ideas, ideals, thoughts and feelings different from and in addition to those of Shelley.

Recently a Panjabi writer has called him "our great Russel" and "a Russel and a Yeats in one." Rabindranath Tagore was undoubtedly rational in all his views and had a scientific turn of mind. But his personality was morally and spiritually so great and so difficult to know and fathom, that to many of us it seems like blasphemy to call him a Russel.

The many partial and superficial views of Rabindranath Tagore which are entertained by persons who have inadequate knowledge of his works have reminded us of the Sanskrit *andha-gaja-nyāya*, which is a maxim derived from the analogy of some blind men's description of the elephant. They could not see the elephant. One of them who passed his hands over a leg of the elephant, said that the animal resembled a pillar. Another who had felt its tail said it was like a cow's tail. The third man of the group who had touched the animal's ears, said it was like a winnowing fan. The fourth who had caught hold of the elephant's trunk was firmly convinced that the animal was undoubtedly like a big serpent! And so on and so forth.

The Evils of Communalism

In these days of disgraceful communal conflicts, thoughtful men of all religions communities, may with profit reflect on the following summary of some of the considered views of William S. Hocking, Professor of Philosophy at Harvard University, expressed in his *Living Religions and a World Faith* (Macmillan):

> Contention among religions, Professor Hocking believes, is a bar to the religious consciousness itself, as well as to community life. It has been the cause of anti-religious campaigns organized by the statesmen of certain countries. It will prevent that understinding among men which alone can bring about lasting peace. He says: "And precisely because we do not want a world state" (even, one might add, if we do) "we do require a world morale; we can endure the absence of a world administration just in so far as men of the most diverse racial and cultural stripe can retain confidence in one another, and so in the possibility of raising conflict out of the region of strife into the region of thought and justice. . . . If free adjustments of reason are ever to replace the adjustments of force and fraud, two conditions are necessary. First, that this very heterogeneous mankind shall be able to discuss their issues, *i.e.*, shall be able to think together, because they have in common science, logic, and the standard of right—they must have the same God. Second, that they shall come to *feel* together in regard to what is good and what constitutes human welfare—they must *worship* the same God. Of these two, the emotional unity is the more important and far more difficult to realize."—*World Order*, August, 1941.

Ineffectiveness of "Black-outs"

How ineffective "black-outs" are as air-raid precautions will appear from the following extract from Mr. A. F. Dickerson's article on the subject in the *New Republic* of September 1 last:

> The black-out cannot hide the breaking surf on the coastline of the British Isles for example, and this surf can easily guide enemy airmen. Rivers and mountains are accentuated by the black-out particularly on moonlight nights. Enemy pilots can easily pierce the black-out and reveal important targets merely by dropping parachute flares. Cities stand out in the black-out because they have a different reflection from the surrounding countryside, while moonlight and starlight reflection from slate-roofs and rivers help to guide the enemy pilot. The black-out aids espionage signalling and cannot prevent radio beams from guiding enemy pilots to important cities and known military objectives.

In his opinion "a glaring canopy of light over principal cities to blind enemy pilots, to obscure and hide important targets, and to aid protecting aircraft pilots in shooting down the enemy" would be a more effective protection.

Tagore Memorial Number of "Calcutta Municipal Gazette"

Sjt. Amal Home, editor of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, deservedly possesses a high reputation for producing special numbers of his weekly. In his Tagore Memorial Special Number he has surpassed himself in many respects. "The Chronicle of Eighty Years—1861-1941" and "the Chronology of Tagore's Works 1878-1941" would be specially useful to students of the Poet's biography as well as to future writers of his life.

This special number is remarkable for its wealth of information, the number and excellence of its illustrations—some from photographs obtained with difficulty, and for the high quality of some of the articles.

The Working of Prohibition in Madras

In the opinion of the Board of Revenue of Madras, as expressed in its report on the working of prohibition in that province, villagers can do without drink, but towns-people need a stimulant and coffee, tea and games are not substitutes! It is something that the bureaucracy in Madras admit that the Congress policy of prohibition has been right so far at least as the rural areas are concerned. As regards the urban areas, we do not quite follow the Board's sapient observations. Village life is more humdrum and duller than town life. Town life is more exciting and interesting. Therefore, one would naturally think, assuming excitement to be beneficial and necessary, that

it was the villagers who required stimulants and the townsfolk who required sedatives.

The Sino-Japanese War

The future course of the history of the world would depend to a great extent on the result of the Sino Japanese war and of the Russo-German war.

Our sympathy has been all along with China. During the first stages and years of the Sino-Japanese war, Japan appeared to be victorious along all fronts. But China had and has great staying power. As China is a great country, so are the Chinese a great people. During the more than four years of the war, not only are the Chinese armies becoming increasingly better trained and better equipped with arms and ammunition and not only has China's newly created air force been giving a good account of itself, but in all departments of Chinese national life great developments have taken place. There is better education and more widespread. Not only is there an increasing output of literature but literature itself has become not only more dynamic but also marked by greater depth of thought and feeling. There has been agricultural improvement and expansion. The co-operative movement has spread over great parts of China and taken new turns. Geology has been put to practical use. Mineralogy and metallurgy have come to the assistance of industrial expansion. China's immemorial silk industry has been revitalized. Owing to the destruction by the Japanese of large scale industries in many cities where they were concentrated, many industries have been decentralized and are now carried on in hundreds of villages.

China is not only on the way to victory but to a new life for her people.

The Russo-German War

As in the case of the Sino-Japanese war our sympathy has been all along on the side of China, so in the case of the Russo-German war our sympathy has been from the first with Russia. We wish the Soviet armies all success.

Will the Russo-German war have a course similar to that of the Sino-Japanese war?

Though the Russians have been fighting with desperate valour, though their strategy, so far as it is clear to us, has been praiseworthy, the Germans seem on the whole to be making headway. This has been causing great anxiety to all well-wishers of Russia. The forward march of the Germans, though at the sacrifice of the lives of hundreds of thousands of German soldiers and at the loss of immense quantities of war materials and armaments, is due to the greater and better mechanical equipment of their armies. Britain and America have promised all aid to Russia. But such assistance has not yet been received by her. One can only hope that British and American help will not reach Russia too late.

The Nazis may now on the whole, like the Japanese in the first stages of the Sino-Japanese war, be carrying everything before them. But it is a very difficult, if not an impractible job, to occupy and garrison a vast country like Soviet Russia. The further the Nazis advance into the interior of Russia the greater would their distance be from their base of operations in Germany, making it a very difficult task to protect and defend the long lines of communications against guerilla attacks.

Our forecast is that, as in the Sino-Japanese war there has been a turn in the tide, so in the Ruso-German war there will be a turn in the tide even if Leningrad and Moscow fall, and that turn will come earlier the sooner British and American help reaches Russia.

Honest American Opinion on the "Atlantic Charter"

Mr. John Haynes Holmes, editor of *Unity* of Chicago, the great American scholar, humanitarian and journalist who hailed Gandhiji as the world's greatest man, writes thus on the "Atlantic Charter" in the September number of his journal:

> How history does repeat itself! The meeting of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill was as dramatic as the meeting of Napoleon and Tsar Alexander on the raft at Tilsit, and as romantic as the meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I on the famous Field of the Cloth of Gold. As for the outcome of the meeting, the Joint Declaration, it was of course instantly reminiscent of Woodrow Wilson's ill-fated Fourteen Points. Are these Eight Points, as put forth by the American President and the English Premier, destined to any better fate? Of course, in one regard and this is the most important, the Eight Points have an enormous advantage over the Fourteen, in that they are the official pronouncement of the official heads of the two great nations represented, whereas the latter were the mere unofficial and personal statement of Wilson's aspirations. *Just where Roosevelt and Churchill got the power thus to commit their Governments without any authorization of or even consultation with Congress and Parliament, is an interesting but wholly academic question.* We are getting used, these days, to one-man rule! But the fact remains that, thanks to the exercise of this power, the Joint Declaration has a standing altogether superior to that ever held by the Wilson statement. As to the content of the Declaration, it contains promises, or rather hopes, as noble as any contained in the Fourteen Points. The economic planks are especially admirable. But *what does "the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live"—what does this mean as applied, for example, to Russia and India? And "Sovereign rights and Self-Government restored to those who have*

been forcibly deprived of them"—does this mean the British Colonies as well as the German conquests? And if not, why not? The reference to "freedom from fear and want" is something of a shock. What has become of the other two of the famous four Rooseveltian freedoms—worship and expression? Were these waived in deference to Russia? But what is more important than all such criticisms is the fact that this whole Declaration is in effect a new declaration of war against Germany. So far as the present crisis is concerned, it means war and not peace. Nothing is to be done until "after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny." This means a long, long war, fought through at awful cost to victory. At the end, Germany is to be disarmed, and the Allies, themselves still armed to the teeth, are to take charge of Europe. This is precisely Versailles all over again. Not "a peace without victory," not a negotiated peace, but a dictated peace. History does indeed repeat itself! (Italics ours.—Ed., *M. R.*).

In the course of his observations on the "Atlantic Charter" Mr. John Haynes Holmes has said: "Just where Roosevelt and Churchill got the power thus to commit their governments without any authorization of or even consultation with Congress and Parliament, is an interesting but wholly academic question."

So far as Great Britain and India are concerned it is not an academic question. For, in the British Empire, Parliament being the final authority, no promise made or pledge given even by the highest personage is binding on that body. In support of our statement we quote the following passage from *Labour's Way With the Commonwealth*, by George Lansbury, M.P., edited by C. R. Attlee, M.P., now the Deputy Premier:

Lord Rankeillour, who was for many years Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker in the House of Commons, and so may be assumed to speak with some authority, said that we were bound by the preamble to the Government of India Act of 1919, but by nothing else. And speaking of these pledges he added these words: *No statement by a Viceroy, no statement by any representative of the Sovereign, no statement by the Prime Minister, indeed, no statement by the Sovereign himself, can bind Parliament against its judgement.* (*Hansard*, House of Lords, December 13th, 1934, Vol. 95, No. 8, Col. 3317).—Pp. 76-77.

So even if Mr. Churchill had declared that the "Atlantic Charter" was fully applicable to the case of India, his declaration would not by itself have been binding on Parliament, in the absence of the latter's authorization.

Roosevelt and Churchill Turn Pacifist?!

Mr. John Haynes Holmes continues:

But there is one statement in this Declaration which needs to be rescued from all criticism whatsoever. It is the Eight Point, which reads in its opening sentence:

They [the signatories] believe that all the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force.

One rubs his eyes as he reads this statement, especially as coming from the two leading world statesmen of our day. "The abandonment of the use of force!" Why, that is pacifism—the very principle that pacifists have been urging from the time of Jeremiah and Jesus to the present time of Tolstoi and Gandhi. You can't get rid of war, we pacifists have said, until you get rid of force and "the use of force." And here are President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill agreeing with us! It is true that, in the habit of statesmen, this categorical statement is immediately hedged about by reservations to the effect that only "nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers" are to be disarmed. For other nations, as for the world at large, there is going to be an attempt not to abolish but only to "lighten . . . . the crushing burden of armaments." But, for the moment at least, this is not important. What thrills me, and convinces me that this Atlantic conference was as important as it was romantic, is this flat fact tnat the pacifist doctrine—the whole sum and substance of what has been, and is today still being, denounced as silly utopianism when it is not actually treason—is here laid down by the official spokesmen of the two greatest Governments of the world as the end and aim of all their endeavors.

Critics of Mahatma Gandhi say that politicians must not speak of spirituality. But here are two of the greatest statesmen of the world referring to "spiritual reasons." Gandhiji is now a "crank"; but these two statesmen virtually assert that ultimately all the nations of the world must become cranks like him!

Hertzog Turns Pro-Nazi

Johannesburg, Oct. 24.

General Hertzog issued a statement on Thursday supporting a National Socialist system for South Africa.

The statement reveals that he succumbed to the influence of Oswald Pirow, former Defence Minister and Dr. Van Rensburg, leader of the pro-Nazi movement Ossewabrandwag. Dr. Rensburg for some time has been struggling with Dr. Malan, and his Nationalists to secure Hertzog's support.

The statement ends the General's lifelong association with Mr. N. C. Havenga, ex-Minister of Finance, who was his staunchest friend and adviser. Havenga, who is a noted moderate tried earnestly to dissuade General Hertzog from aligning himself with the pro-Nazi. It is understood Havenga and the bulk of the Afrikaner Party will decline to follow Hertzog. The party is shortly expected to announce its adherence to the principle of democracy and equality of both European section on which it was formed last year to perpetuate "Hertzogism." The Afrikaner Party has ten members in the House of Assembly and five in the Senate.—*Reuter*.

It is not at all desirable for any one in India to become pro-Nazi. But supposing some Indian—prominent like Hertzog or obscure—had turned pro-Nazi, what would have been his fate? Far from being allowed to form a party in the Legislature, he would have been interned at Deoli or Hijli.

Concerted Action Needed to Meet Locust Menace

The seriousness of the situation likely to develop next spring, if concerted action is not

taken in the meantime to deal with the locust menace in North-West India, was the subject of a Conference called by the Government of India and attended by representatives from three provinces and twenty-seven States at New Delhi on the 21st October last.

Opening the conference the Hon'ble Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Member-in-charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, who presided, stressed the gravity as well as the imminence of the danger, pointed out its long-term nature in view of the indications that India and Middle East are facing a new locust cycle and emphasized the urgent need for co-ordinated action by the authorities of all the areas concerned.

Mr. Sarker made it clear that a satisfactory solution of the problem was impossible except on the basis of co-operative efforts of all the provinces and states concerned, irrespective of the direct or immediate benefit derived by them individually. He particularly invited the views of the conference on the problem created by the existence in North-Western India of vast stretches of desert or semi-desert land where, through shortage of labour and of the means of human subsistence, the organisation and maintenance of a campaign of destruction of locusts at their most vulnerable stage presented special difficulties of information, executive action and finance.

A full discussion followed.

The conference took the view that, generally, the driving of locusts into trenches in the "hopper" (wingless) stage was the most practicable and effective method of destruction: This did not, however, preclude the possibility and even the desirability of experimenting with scientific methods found successfully in other countries, particularly for areas difficult of access.—*A. P.*

Ban on Lucknow Hindu Sabha Presidential Procession

LUCKNOW, Oct. 23.

The Provincial Hindu Sabha Conference which was to be held here on 26th instant under the presidency of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee has been abandoned, in view of the Government's ban on the presidential procession arranged in this connection. A decision to this effect was taken at an emergent meeting of the Provincial Hindu Sabha Executive which met under the presidency of Dr. Sir J. P. Srivastava today. A protest meeting, it has further been decided will be held instead, on that date.—*A. P.*

The Leader observes on this Government ban:

Why was the presidential procession which was to be taken out in connection with the Provincial Hindu Conference on October 26 and 27 at Lucknow banned by the District Magistrate of Lucknow? The function of District Magistrates is to administer the law impartially and not to stifle the activities of one organization or the other. Did the District Magistrate take the step himself or did he consult superior authorities before banning the procession? The impression that the Government is creating in this country is that it has ceased to be impartial, that while for one reason or another it cannot act against the Muslim League, it is not prepared to give to the Hindu Sabha equal opportunities for carrying on its propaganda.

On the 27th October last at a meeting presided over by Sir J. P. Srivastava U. P. Hindus protested against the Government ban and resolved to convene a session of the Oudh Hindu Provincial Conference as early as practicable.

Riots and Communal Riots—An Enormous Increase

One test of good administration is the prevention of causes which lead to rioting and serious crimes. The number of *true* rioting cases have been continuously decreasing since 1930 to 1936—*true* even according to the police report. It was 2,150 in 1930; it came down to £34 in 1936. But unfortunately with the advent of the Fazl-ul-Huq Ministry in 1937, the number has steadily gone up. The figures are as follows:

Year	No. of Rioting Cases
1937	.. 1,028
1938	.. 979
1939	.. 1,156
1940	.. 1,354

These are ordinary rioting cases. The number of serious communal riots has also increased. The table below indicates the number of occasions on which the Special Armed Forces were called out to deal with them during the last 6 years.

Year	Communal Disturbances
1935	.. 5
1936	.. 2
1937	.. 6
1938	.. 24
1939	.. 16
1940	.. 21

The enormous increase in the last three years is both very disturbing, and significant of the efficiency of the Ministry. The number of *true* theft cases has increased from 19,764 in 1937 to 25,797 in 1940. The number of murder cases has increased from 455 in 1937 to 561 in 1940. In short the province is becoming more lawless. The statistics are taken from the Police Administration Report for the mofussil of Bengal for the year 1940.

J. M. DATTA

Religious Education of Hindus Neglected

From the Time Tables of Primary Schools not teaching English as well as of those teaching English, appended to the Government Resolution No. 1037 Edn., dated the 9th March, 1937 (Minister—M. Azizul Haque C.I.E.), it appears that in Class I, 2 hours or 4 periods of Religious instruction per week are provided; and 2 hours, or 4 periods in each of the classes II, III and IV. No syllabus for the Hindu boys

and girls of classes I and II has been prepared; but in the case of the Muhammadans, Christians of both the Roman Catholic and Protestant persuasions, Syllabus of religious instruction has been prepared at great length. Why this discrimination against the Hindus alone? The enormity of this discrimination will be realised, when one remembers that of the students reading in the first four classes more than 75 per cent read in the first two classes. Why the Hindu boys of classes I and II forego religious instruction passes our comprehension; especially as the Hindus pay more than 80 per cent of the provincial revenues.

J. M. DATTA

If any agreed syllabus had been placed before the Education Department on behalf of the Hindu Community and the Department did not accept it, then the Hindus have a grievance; otherwise not.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

Bengal Census of 1941

The final results of enumeration of the Census in Bengal was published in the papers on the 10th October, 1941. The total population of British Bengal has increased from 501 lakhs to 603 lakhs—an increase of 20·3 per cent. Unlike the previous censuses, at this census the Bengalee-Hindus have increased at a greater rate than the Bengalee-Muhammadans. The Hindu growth is 23·1 per cent.; while that of the Muhammadans is 20·0 per cent. This greater growth is due mainly to the fact that the Burdwan Division, where about one-third of the Hindus live, has been free from malaria. At the last census in 1931, many of the Hindus boycotted the census operation at the behest of the Indian National Congress—and this led to their strength being shown of that census as less than what it should have been. This time in 1941, the efforts of the All-Bengal Census Board formed under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Chatterjea have met with success in making the Hindus census-minded; and avoiding the mistake they made in 1931. The percentage of the Muhammadans in the population has naturally come down. There has been great delay in the publication of census results. As soon as the Bengal figures were published, the Census Commissioner for India published India's total of 388,800,000 on October 14. The population of India has increased by 15 per cent.

J. M. DATTA

Greater Growth of the Bengalee Hindus—Neither Unnatural Nor Due to Inflation

The Muhammadans have been increasing their proportion in the population at every census since 1881; this time their proportion has gone down—though by a very small amount, *viz.*, 0·16 per cent. This has upset some Muhammadans; and they say this is due to the inflation of the number of the Hindus. That the percentage of the Muhammadans would come down at the census of March, 1941, was predicted by Sj. Jatindra Mohan Datta in the August, 1940, number of *The Modern Review* for the reasons stated therein—and it has come down. He estimated that the Hindu growth would be 5 per cent. greater than that of the Muhammadans; and it is 3·1 per cent. greater. His estimate in February, 1941, that the total population of British Bengal would be 59 millions has come nearer the truth, for the actual population is 60·3 million. [See *The Modern Review* for March, 1941]. He is thus not wrong by more than 2·2 per cent. We think, that the greater growth of the Hindus is not, under the circumstances, unnatural. In its propaganda to make the Hindus census-minded, the All-Bengal Census Board always appealed to them "neither to exaggerate, nor to inflate"—an attitude commended by the Census Commissioner for India in his final radio broadcast. No Hindu leader ever appealed to any Hindu to exaggerate. We think the greater growth is **not due to inflation**.

Bengal Hindu Mahasabha Demands Fresh Census or Test Census—Many Still Uncounted

We read in the papers that the following resolution has been passed by the Hindu Mahasabha leaders:

> "That the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha repudiate the correctness of the Census figures recently published and demand a fresh Census under the exclusive control of the Central Government free from all interference by the Ministers; and in order to substantiate the charge that the Census figures do not correctly represent the real Hindu strength demands Test Census at an early date to determine the ratio of communal proportions.
>
> "The Working Committee congratulates all Hindus who have recorded themselves simply as Hindus, thus frustrating the sinister attempt of the Bengal Ministry to disintegrate and weaken the Hindus of Bengal."

We endorse the demand for a fresh census or at least a test census. After the Census of 1931, the Government of India imported two world-famous statisticians, Drs. Bowley and Richardson, and had test censuses conducted by them in Madras and the Punjab. It was found that the proportion of the Hindus in both the provinces had gone up at the test census; while that of the Muhammadans had gone down. In the Punjab, the proportion of every community had gone up, excepting the Muhammadans. In the present Census (1941) of

Bengal, many Hindus, especially primitive tribesmen, remain uncounted. We shall try to prove this from the information already published. The number of primitive tribesmen, belonging to *all* religions, was 17,82,000 in 1931. The population of Bengal has increased by 20 per cent since then; and these tribesmen would now number 21,38,000; but we find only 18,90,000 enumerated. So about 2,48,000 primitive tribesmen of *all* religions remain unenumerated. Even if we assume that they have increased at *half* the provincial rate, *viz.*, by 10 per cent., they would now number 19,60,000, and not 18,90,000 ! Even on this reduced basis, it means that 4 per cent. tribesmen remain uncounted. On the 20 per cent. increase basis, it means that some 14 per cent. remain unenumerated.

If we take the proportion of uncounted Hindus to be some 10 per cent., it is sufficient to negative the Muhammadan majority in Bengal. It is essential, therefore, to hold a fresh census or at least a test census in Bengal to find out the **real** communal ratio.

All-Bengal Census Board

Speaking of the uncounted Hindus and tribesmen, it seems that the generality of the Hindus do not sufficiently realise the importance of census for demographical purposes; and are not census-minded. The Hindus of Calcutta, which boasts of several first-class Colleges and where there are hundreds of unemployed young men, did not furnish its proper quota of enumerators. We are told that in the mofussil of Bengal, there was the same reluctance to act as enumerators. It was a happy idea on the part of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders to form an All-Bengal Census Board on non-party lines to make the people census-minded. And the services of the All-Bengal Census Board in making the Hindus census-minded, and persuading them to act as enumerators, and trying to protect them from persecution and harassment at the hands of the Fazl-ul-Huq Ministry cannot be too highly praised. Its aim was a cent. per cent. correct census; and its attitude towards inflation has been praised by the Census Commissioner himself. Much of the success of the Board is due to the tacts ability and energy of its President and its Secretary, Sjts. N. C. Chatterjea and J. M. Datta.

There have been grave census irregularities in Assam; and its leaders are protesting against the same. Had an All-Assam Census Board been formed on the lines of the All-Bengal Census Board, many of the irregularities could have been prevented. We think every province, should in future, form a Local Census Board to watch over official vagaries at least a year before the census.

The Moral Basis of Wars

One of the paradoxes of all wars, ancient, mediæval or modern, is the constant effort made by the combatants to find a *moral* justification for their conduct. All wars have been fought for a worthy cause, either religious, moral or idealistic. In the past men have engaged in mutual slaughter shouting religious slogans. Later on they have set fire to towns and villages, killed innocent men, women and children, blasted fair landscape and scorched the good earth with the sole object of establishing the power of Good over Evil. In the latest phase wars have been and are being fought to prove the superiority of one set of "isms" over another—to make the world safe for this or that. That is how men have been urged to leave their homes and hearths and to go out to kill or to get killed. Time and again men have assembled for this ancient sport of slaughter and destruction and never have they been denied the satisfaction of killing or dying for a just cause. Yet at each cold-blooded accounting they have been proved to have been the tools of arrogant princes, unworthy imposters or greedy tradesmen. The wonder of it is that throughout man's long history no successful attempt has ever been made to call this eternal bluff. All evidence points to the one outstanding fact that wars are never fought for their declared and much advertised object. If the masses are told that they are fighting to make the world safe for growing cabbage, any intelligent student of history should right away bid good-bye to all hopes of meeting that vegetable for a few generations. Cynical, but true.

The present war is being fought by the Germans to establish a *new* order in Europe. That is to say, Europe may now look forward to long years of the oldest variety of order (or disorder) constituting tyranny, oppression and suffering for the individual. The Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Churchill, has advised us that the World, particularly the British Empire, shall hereafter be more democratic than even Democracy. We cannot quote his exact words offhand; but that is the impression we have gathered. Some say that he has not been able to be consistent under cross-examination and has already blurted out little bits of his future plans *re* the World, the Empire and Democracy which are being misconstrued by crafty

counter-propagandists ! It has been alleged that Britain's No. 1 has secret designs on those backward members of the Empire who fervently adore Democracy but are too gullible to know how and when to get it. Evil tongues will wag.

But, the question is why blame Mr. Churchill or depend upon unauthorised persons to interpret British war aims ? We are not participating in any private feud between Churchill and Hitler. Even if he had the best of intentions, his promises may not be honoured by his successors. What is required, if anything, is a solemn declaration by the British people whose war we are fighting. It is the people alone who can make a promise in a true Democracy. And we should very much like all promises, hopes or bluffs to emanate from that mighty source, and not from this man or that, whether self-appointed or elected. With our limited knowledge of the British people we think they are fond of specialisation. That is how they have turned out such great Doctors, Scientists, Engineers, etc., etc. Their politicians are also specialists. They have mastered the technique of statecraft and can completely dissociate thoughts from words. What we desire therefore is a heart to heart talk with the man in the street in Great Britain. It is for him that we are fighting and it is with him that we wish to have our discussion. Our question, bluntly put, would be "At the end of this War, the world will be safe (comfortable) for you. Will it be the same for us ?"

V

The Future of India

The whole world is trying to go forward. A study of the astounding progress made by only two nations within recent times would fairly take one's breath away. We mean Russia and China. The one rose out of serfdom and starvation and discarded the principle that one man's loss is another man's profit; substituting it by the principle that each man's profit must be all men's profit. This simple change of formula for human conduct rapidly brought about a tremendous change. The empire which less than forty years ago was shaken to its foundations by an almost unknown and third-grade power has become a mighty state capable of facing the most ferocious armies the world has ever seen. This does not mean a mere increase in fighting ability. It means the nation has developed its mental, moral and material equipment to a remarkable degree. What the Tzars had never been able to achieve during centuries the people have achieved in a couple of decades. A similar awakening, although not quite so intensive, is noticed in China. Her line of progress lay more in consolidating her ancient institutions; reforming and remodelling here and there and a great effort at uniting the people under one flag. The long fight China is putting up against militaristic Japan proves beyond doubt that she has succeeded in her efforts to a great extent.

Neither in Russia nor in China do we find the forces of reaction gaining ground anywhere at any time. The best brains, the most desirable and workable plans and the highest concentration of will and action to reach the objective are constantly in the forefront. No attempts at pampering primitive urges, fostering mediaeval superstitions and jealousies and pushing unworthy men in the lime light are noticed anywhere.

Among all the nations that are striving for the realisation of their ideals, India stands out prominently for various reasons. She is under the guardianship of a Foreign Nation which exercises absolute power over her government and controls the greater portion of her organised Industry and Commerce. India has her aspirations and ideals which do not compare unfavourably with those of other nations; but there is great lack of unity, faulty conception of values and great crowds ready to back up ideas which in other lands would find few supporters and would be readily thrown over. Taking advantage of all this, the forces of reaction, self-seekers and professional evil-doers have been able to do great harm to the cause of Indian nationalism. The worst of moth-eaten ideas, evil institutions, disruptive organisations and brazen mischief-mongers can come out into the open in India to the utter confusion of public opinion. So long as a man does not speak against the Rulers of India, he can safely flout science, ethics, history, common sense and all the known principles of social conduct and get away with it. With millions living in half starvation in mud hovels, their joy of life utterly destroyed, their existence steeped in dark ignorance and animal conflict; with millions dying unattended, without medicine and of easily preventible maladies, the forum of Indian public life is not crowded with capable scientists, doctors, engineers and economists but with a medley of short-sighted self-seekers, half-educated charlatans and political acrobats. This is a shameful state of affairs and calls for an immediate organisation of all available national talent in the field of science, engineering, medicine, education and economics. Our problem is to find food, clothing, housing, medicine, education and recreation for our millions and not to

build an elaborate and useless museum of defunct institutions, creeds, castes, dogmas and superstitions.

V.

War Time Measures

War time measures become necessary when a nation has to meet the extraordinary demands of maintaining armies in the field. The peace time rights and privileges of the citizen have to be abolished or restricted in war time with a view to divert national resources and energy into other channels. The most common examples are extraordinary taxes, control of supplies, rationing, restrictions put on labour and technical men, declaring special areas as prohibited zones, control of the press, censorship, price control, commandeering resources and compulsory service. There is a certain type of humanity which specialises in making use of opportunities. The worst are possibly those that rob the dead. There are others who turn to personal account all that is solely made for the public good. These people abuse things so much so that very soon the social purpose of war time measures is totally obscured by their greed and hankering for power. People begin to ask, "Was this done to control supplies or to stimulate illicit trade ?" Or they ask, "Was it done to protect the nation or to put more power in the hands of arrogant officials or industrialists ?" Those who have the power should therefore see that these measures are not abused. All the self-denial and restriction of liberty should go to strengthen and benefit the nation and not this man or that.

India is getting more and more of these measures. It is therefore necessary that we should be vigilant lest abuse creeps in. It is the duty of all men to see that their rights and privileges are not sacrificed to enrich selfish individuals or to strengthen the hands of bullies.

V.

England's Soul Worth Many Indias

Recently a British writer and traveller of of distinction came out with an appeal to his countrymen to do the right by India. We have not got his appeal before us and only remember that it was a genuinely honest appeal. It begged the British people to be just and righteous and subdue their greed and give free play to their sense of justice and truth. For the soul of England was worth many Indias. His appeal did not go in vain; for immediately following it an Englishman of no consequence, as far as our knowledge goes, came out with a reply. In this we had a recapitulation of the standard creed of British diplomacy relating to India. Britain could not dream of landing India into Self-government; for that would surely harm either this Indian or that Indian or some Indian! When *all* Indians are agreed on *all* points, then, surely, India will be fit for Self-government. Are all Britishers agreed on all points ? Have they ever been unanimous on any question ? Even fighting Hitler or keeping India down ? What is the parliamentary system of government ? Why do the British talk about a majority, a minority or the Opposition ? If we are to accept this man's attempt at explaining the situation as typical of British logic and argument, then Lord help the mentally deficient ! Good thing we were talking of the soul of England and not about her brains or we Indians would be in a mess ! For many (X) Indians=1 Soul of England, therefore 1 India=1/X Soul of England. We are not pleased at this valuation.

We have been reading a book of quotations as an escape from modern brains. It reads in one place :

> "A mercantile deputation from Bordeaux, being asked by Louis XIV what should be done to advance their interests, replied, "Sire, let us alone !"

V.

What Is India's Soul Worth ?

Sir Francis Younghusband has said that England's soul is worth many Indias, and he has therefore exhorted his countrymen to do the right by India by allowing her to be independent, if she so desires, and thus save the soul of England. As a truly patriotic Englishman he is right in taking it for granted that England still has a soul to save. We hope she has.

Leaving the task of saving England's soul to Englishmen, we Indians should believe that India has a soul and should try to realise that soul. We should ask ourselves what that soul is worth and be prepared to make all sacrifices to keep it inviolate and undimmed.

Reuters

Reuters have been owned and managed so far by a wide group of newspapers in Britain and in the Empire. Recent developments brought to the forefront the question whether an institution like *Reuters* should be allowed in the Empire's interest, to be managed by a small group of London newspaper-owners. From the reports published in the Press it is clear that public opinion as well as the opinion of the present-owners is against any such transfer of power. But, inspite of this great dislike for the proposed

change of management, things have been engineered in a way that has made the change somewhat inevitable. This has been managed partly by "Threats of Competition" and partly by financial inducements. It is difficult to understand why after surrendering to these "threats" and inducements the erstwhile managers of *Reuters* should start a Press agitation for parliamentary intervention. It is not at all clear what is expected to be gained by discussion in Parliament unless of course there is any suspicion that Mr. Churchill's Government has had something to do with forcing the change. The attitude of the Government however will be no proof that they had sympathies this way or that. We are against controlled news. But the proper control of news is a powerful weapon. Hitler has been able to prove this to the world. The Barons of Fleet Street are no mysterious figures. We all know what they stand for and whose power it will be if they acquire new powers.

The controversy however proves that a number of British public men still openly avow freedom and democracy though "threatened" and "induced."

V.

Reuter And India

"Reuter's" service has never been just and satisfactory to India. Under the control of a few British newspaper magnates, it would be still more unjust and unsatisfactory. If India were free and independent and if it were possible to form a truly International Board, we would have suggested that Reuters should be under the control of such a Board. (27-10-1941.)

The morning dailies of the 29th October last contain a long telegram, announcing the arrangements finally made, which runs partly thus :

> The Press Association who were sole holders of the shares of Reuters Limited have decided in co-operation with the Newspaper Proprietors Association, to enter into common and equal partnership in Reuters and to set up a Reuter Trust. To this end the Newspaper Proprietors' Association has purchased from the Press Association one half of the capital of Reuters. The effect of this is that Reuters is now owned by the British press as a whole. A declaration of trust has been signed by both parties setting forth the principles which will be maintained under the new ownership which is regarded as in the nature of a trust rather than as an investment.

Increasing Industrial Skill in India

Circumstances have forced upon India the work of supplying arms and munitions to the forces of the Empire. The questions whether this is our war or some one else's, whether we believe in war and so on are of little use in the face of accomplished facts. We are at war with Germany and her Allies, whether we wished it or not and without reference to our faith or disbelief in Democracy, Fascism, Imperialism, or anything whatsoever. The fact remains that we are at war in so far as we are acting as soldiers, munition workers, etc., etc. Another fact stands out clearly. It is this that all Indians are helping in the war indirectly by paying extra taxes, suffering a variety of inconveniences and by keeping a philosophical attitude. The war is coming nearer India day by day and we may soon have a more intimate contact with it. It is therefore necessary to revise our outlook so that we may be able to face any situation that may arise hereafter. One thing has been noticed in connection with the war efforts of India. There is no dearth of raw materials in India and there is no lack of man power. But India is very short of industrial skill and technical knowledge. Great efforts are being made to train up skilled workers all over India. It is expected that once India has the required number of technical hands and skilled workers she will be able to produce great stores of arms and munitions. This will enable India to profit financially, reduce unemployment and to build up a stock of technical skill which will be an asset for ever.

We see no harm in taking this matter up nationally and vigorously. Over and above what the Government is doing to train up men, all Schools and Colleges and small private concerns may easily join hands to make India skilled. All boys at School may be given an hour a day to handle a hammer and chisel or a file under the supervision of a skilled man. This cannot be very difficult. All College students may similarly devoted some time to the study of Practical Chemistry, Electricity and Allied Sciences. A little trainng in mechanics, engineering and similar things might help.

On the soldiering side, more drill and physical culture, first aid, scout craft, etc., will take all persons nearer to the real thing. Government, perhaps, may not like to overdo things. But as there is some risk of India getting into the line of fire any time, would not a little private enterprise in these spheres be a very wise move ?

V.

Nazi Vendetta

VICHY, Oct. 23.

> Fifty Frenchmen have been ordered to be shot as a reprisal for the killing of a German officer at Bordeaux, and if the culprits are not seized by midnight on Sunday, the 26th October, 50 other hostages will be

executed, states an order issued by General von Stuelpnagel, commanding the German Army of Occupation in France.

A reward totalling fifteen million franc has been offered to the inhabitants of France who will contribute to the discovery of the culprits.

The town and neighbouring communes of Bordeaux have been ordered to pay a surety of ten million Francs by 6 p.m. today. The Germans demanded this owing to the shooting of a German officer on Tuesday.—*Reuter*.

The Germans will keep the money if the outcome of the present inquiry is unsatisfactory or if further hostile acts are committed.

200 COMMUNISTS EXECUTED

Two hundred more "communist" hostages have been executed in Yugoslavia, according to the Serb official newspaper *Nove Vreme* says a despatch to the Vichy News Agency. The order for the execution was given by the Germans in reprisal for alleged attacks on German soldiers on October 18.

EXECUTION POSTPONED

VICHY, Oct. 24.

The execution of further groups of hostages for the Nantes and Bordeaux shootings has been postponed, says an official statement according to the Vichy News Agency. The postponement was due to appeals broadcast by Marshall Petain and Admiral Darlan on Wednesday.

Zero hour for the further Nantes victims has been extended to midnight, October 27, and for the Bordeaux ones to midnight, October 29.

The statement says, "In agreeing to the postponement the German authorities wish to increase the chances of finding the two culprits and thus sparing French lives."—*Reuter*.

VICHY, Oct. 24.

Three more Frenchmen were shot today for "illegal possession of arms and munitions," according to the Vichy News Agency. The order was signed by von Stuelpnagel, Nazi Commander of the Army of Occupation in France.—*Reuter*.

The Nazi reprisals have been strongly condemned by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, as they should and must be by all truly civilized persons.

LONDON, Oct. 25.

Calculated murder of innocent citizens by hundreds in occupied European territories by orders of Hitler and his fellow gangsters continues.

It is reported this morning that an official announcement from Belgrade states that 200 Serbian hostages have been executed following the killing of a German soldier on October 18.

REVOLTING TO WORLD

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill associated the British Government with the sentiments of the statement issued by President Roosevelt on Saturday in which the American President scathingly condemned the Nazi reprisal executions, declaring that they were revolting to the world and "acts of desperate men who know in their hearts that they cannot win."

Mr. Churchill's statement is more direct. The butcheries in France, he said, are only an example of what Hitler's Nazis are doing in Poland, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Norway and Holland and above all behind the German front in Russia. "They are but a foretaste of what Hitler would inflict upon the British and American peoples if only he could get power," the Prime Minister said. "Retribution for these crimes must henceforward take its place among the major purposes of this war."—*Reuter*.

Though it cannot be said that the French as a people are incapable of mass executions—the history of the French revolution stands in the way of any such assertion, it is plain that they cannot gain their freedom by assassinating some Germans. For at present the Germans are in a position to shed more blood than the French. Hence without discussing the question, whether ahimsā or non-violence is ethically and spiritually superior to the use of physical force and killing and a better means of gaining and safeguarding freedom than the latter, it may be said that General De Gaulle's advice to his people as contained in the message printed below is wise.

LONDON, Oct. 23.

The leader of the Free French General de Gaulle, broadcast tonight (Thursday) an order to his countrymen. It was, "in the present circumstances do not kill the Germans." The reason, he said, was that it was only too easy for the enemy to retaliate against temporarily disarmed men and women. "As soon as it is possible to attack from outside and inside, you will receive appropriate orders. Until then patience, preparation and resolution."

"The war of the French must be conducted by those in charge of it, myself and the National Committee for Free Frenchmen. It is imperative that all those who fight inside the country as well as outside should observe these directions."—*Reuter*.

This note was written on the 27th October, 1941.

After all the horror, indignation and commotion created by the reported executions comes the following reassuring cable :

VICHY, Oct. 28.

General Stuelnagel, Commander-in-Chief of the German military administration in France, yesterday (Monday) advised the Vichy authorities that he had suspended the planned executions of a hundred hostages at Nantes and Bordeaux following the killing of two German officers.

According to an announcement here Stuelpnagel told Vichy that he was taking this action in order to give the population a chance to throw light on the "outrages."

Frenchmen who do not give the authorities information in their knowledge of criminal plans, including attacks on persons, incendiarism, destruction of public buildings by explosion and sabotage of telegraphic and telephonic communications and works of art may get from three months to five years' jail under a law passed by the Vichy Council of Ministers to strenghten repressive measures against "criminal attacks" such as killing German officers at Nantes and Bordeaux. Similar penalties are laid down for those who fail to go to the aid of persons in danger of being attacked and those who having witnessed such attacks fail to notify the authorities.—*Reuter*.

About "Execution of French Hostages"

BERNE, Oct. 30.

Cooling off in Franco-German relations has been noted by Berlin political observers following the executions of 100 hostages at Nantes and Bordeaux and it is possible that the arrival of the newly appointed German Consul-General Krug Von Nidda at Vichy on Saturday will be postponed, writes the Berlin correspondent of the newspaper *Basler Nachrichten*. The announcement of the establishment of a German Consulate-General in Vichy was announced in Berlin about a fortnight ago. The Consulate would be regarded as a branch of the German Embassy in Paris and in principle a French Consul was to be appointed in Berlin. —*Reuter*.

But we were told only a day ago that the executions have been postponed. What is the truth ?

Mr. Amery's Broadcast Reply to Some American Questions

In our first note in this issue we have commented on Mr. Amery's answer to the first American question *chosen by him* for reply. We will briefly comment on some of his other answers.

The second question was framed with such adequate ignorance and foolishness as to make it quite easy for Mr. Amery to dispose of it. The question and the most important part of Mr. Amery's answer thereto are given below.

The second questioner, Mr. E. W. Jeffery, of East Cleveland, Ohio, asked : "Is it true that the Viceroy of India declared war against Germany without reference to the people of India ? Is that democracy ?"

Mr. Amery : "The Viceroy never declared war and could not have declared war."

That is quite true. But what Mr. E. W. Jeffery ought to have asked is : "Has the British Government made India a belligerent with the consent of her people ? Were they consulted *before* or even after their country had been dragged into the war ?" If he had done so, Mr. Amery's truthful reply to both the questions would have been, "No."

Mr. Amery did not plainly tell Mr. Jeffery that the Indian Legislature is not legally competent to discuss any questions relating to foreign policy, though he admitted as much when he said :

"When, ... India becomes in the fullest sense a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth, then she will be in a position, both constitutionally and in fact, to decide these momentous issues for herself."

That is to say, India is still politically a baby and cannot decide for herself questions of war and peace, and so her guardian and keeper Britain has decided that she (India) should be made a party to the war !

According to Mr. Amery, "an overwhelming body of public opinion in India was from the first and is today behind the British Government in its struggle against Nazi tyranny and aggression." That large numbers of the people of a country hate Nazi tyranny and aggression, is not a fact sufficient in itself to warrant the conclusion that that country ought to be dragged into a war with the Nazis without being consulted. The vast majority of the people of the United States of America, we are told, hate Nazi tyranny and aggression and are "behind the British Government" in its struggle "against Germany." But, though the U. S. A. has been behind Britain from the very beginning of the war, yet up till now (31st October, 1941) it has not declared war against Germany. Similarly, it was quite possible that in spite of the overwhelming body of Indian public opinion being really against Nazism, India would not have been at war with Germany if possessed of freedom of choice. In fact, the Indian National Congress, which is India's best organized, largest and most powerful representative body, is not behind the British war against Germany.

The third question had appeared several times in a variety of forms. That selected by the B. B. C. was from Mr. Jerom Boyer of Fairlawn (New Jersey) : "Why does not Britain grant India Dominion Status now ? Does she intend to do so, and when ?"

Mr. Amery : "India was by the Act of 1935 given a Federal Constitution under which the 11 provinces enjoyed complete democratic government over all subjects that most affect the life of the ordinary citizen, subjects in fact which, under the American Constitution, come within the field of the several States Four of these provinces, with a population of nearly a hundred million people, are living under that democratic system today."

And so on and so forth.

Mr. Amery's answer is full of half truths which are more misleading and dangerous than lies. He did not tell Mr. Jerom Boyer that the so-called provincial autonomy was of a very limited character, that the provincial Governors had large powers of intervention; that Indians of all political parties were dissatisfied with both the federal and provincial parts of the Act of 1935; that the Parliamentary Committee which drafted the Act had rejected every single proposal of a progressive nature made by a delegation of moderate Indians, including the Agha Khan, and that all this had given rise to deep resentment and growing distrust of British intentions in India. Neither did Mr. Amery point out that the pledge of Dominion Status was qualified by reservations in regard to Britain's obligations; that Britain was to be the sole judge and arbiter of those obligations; that Indians would be allowed to draw up their cons-

titution only if all parties agreed with one another; and that agreement among Indians had been made much more difficult by not only the Communal Decision and various pro-Muslim resolutions, rules, etc., issued by the Government but also by the utterances of the present Secretary of State and the present Viceroy.

In his reply to the question relating to the imprisonment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Mr. Amery said that

"He (the Pandit) was sentenced to imprisonment for violent and deliberately provocative speeches aimed at hampering the war effort of India—speeches which did so in effect as well as in intention."

We have not got these speeches of the Pandit before us now—perhaps we never had the opportunity to read them. So we are not in a position to examine Mr. Amery's characterization of them. But this is the first time that we hear from official lips that the speeches and other activities of any section of Indian Nationalists had hampered the Indian war effort. Mr. Amery and other members of the British Government in Britain and India, whenever they spoke on the subject, gave the world public and the Indian public to understand that the abovementioned speeches and activities had had no injurious effect on the Indian war effort. In fact, in his reply to the last question chosen by him, broadcasted along with his reply to the question relating to the Pandit's imprisonment, he said, inconsistently and inadvertently enough :

"The more the war has given evidence of the nature of Nazi tyranny and the nearer that zone of danger has moved to India the more wholeheartedly have Indians of all (?) classes and communities wished for the victory of what is their cause as much as ours and the more effective has been their practical support to that cause. *That support has not been seriously affected by the manœuvres of Indian politicians against each other or by their criticism of the present system of Government in India.*"—(Italics ours.—Ed., M. R.).

Regarding the sentence on Pandit Nehru, Mr. Amery further said :

His sentence was not a matter for the executive but for the law. Do you think that it would have been fair to the humbler misdemeanants if the judge had decided that the rigour of the law applied only to them and that a man of Pandit Nehru's social and political standing should be entitled to preach sedition with impunity? Would that have been fair to those democratic Indian Cabinets still responsible for the Government of four great provinces who are loyally helping the war effort and have dealt firmly with similar seditious activities.

The sentence was no doubt a judicial one. But the executive had power to interfere with such sentences. Neither Mr. Amery nor any authority of lower rank having such power has exercised it to reverse or reduce the monstrous sentence pronounced on the Pandit. On account of its monstrous character, it has been condemned not only by men of all political parties in India but also by responsible members of the Liberal and Labour parties in Britain.

Nobody wants that "humbler misdemeanants" should be severely dealt with and men of Pandit Nehru's social and political standing should go scotfree if they offended against the law. But does Mr. Amery mean to say that it was right to pass a monstrous sentence on Pandit Nehru because of his social and political standing whilst for the same "offence" men of lower standing were dealt with more lightly? Is British law a respecter of persons in this perverse sense?

Mr. Amery insinuated that the Premiers and Cabinets of the Panjab, Bengal, Assam and Sindh wanted or approved of such monstrous sentences. Was that fair to those persons?

Dacca Riots and Bengal Ministry's Indifference

Indifference on the part of the present ministry to prevent recrudescences of communal disturbances at Dacca and stop loss of life and property was condemned at a public meeting held at the Calcuta University Institute Hall on the 29th October last. Ex-Minister Maulavi Nausher Ali presided.

Syed Nausher Ali addressing the meeting said :

The incidents at Dacca were nothing but the result of the policy followed by the Ministry in Bengal. He narrated how the poison of communalism grew and spread all over the country through the agents of British imperialism. He showed how Separate Electorate came and how *Pakistan* and *Hindusthan* came into the mouths of the reactionaries. He said that those who committed crimes in the name of religion were abominable creatures and those who excited them to such actions were still more detestable.

He regretted that while tragedies were being enacted at Dacca the ministers should have been away to Delhi and enjoy *fun* there. Incidentally, he pointed out what immense mischiefs the Pakistanwalas were doing to the country. By raising the cry of *Pakistan* Mr. Jinnah, he said, was simply strengthening the hands of British imperialism.

Syed Nausher Ali said that

The *Id* day was a day for the Moslems to forget quarrels and love and embrace each other. It was deplorable that disturbances should have broken out that day. Moreover, he had never heard before of big processions coming out with flags on the *Id* day. He failed to understand the reasons which led them to make such show.

Concluding Syed Nausher Ali said that

They had condemned the ministry for their failure to prevent riots. But this would not mean they themselves had no responsibility in the matter. According

to him, solution of this problem was in their own hands. All of them, Hindus and Muslims, should make it a mission of their life to achieve freedom of their country. They should refuse to think in terms of communalism. That they were Indians should always be uppermost in their thoughts. He was sure it was the freedom of the country that could end all suffering. Then Hindu-Muslim quarrels would be a thing of the past and there would be no trace of mischief-makers.

Mr. P. N. Brahma, Mayor of Calcutta, said that

It was most unfortunate that riots should break out in Dacca again and again. He believed they themselves were not to blame for this. Different agencies were working among them with cross purposes. However, they should not rest content with asking the authorities to stop repetition of such disturbances. They had also a duty. Communal outlook and bias should be hated by them always. A lofty ideal should inspire their thoughts and actions.

Messrs. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Maulavi Asadulla Siraji and Maulavi Abdul Malek also addressed the meeting.

A resolution was adopted by the meeting, placing on record its most emphatic condemnation of the indifference of the present ministry in taking adequate steps to prevent disturbances at Dacca.

So-Called Communal " Riots "

Though the secret murders, and, sometimes, clashes between groups of men belonging to different religious communities are generally called 'communal riots,' they are not generally riots, and there are always men in all communities who detest these wicked deeds and disgraceful incidents. Some communities have more of such reasonable men and some less. But never are whole communities ranged against one another.

It cannot be said that religious fanaticism has nothing to do with these disgraceful occurrences. But such fanaticism has existed for centuries. The reason why for some time past, and just at present, these disgraceful occurrences blacken the contemporary history of India, is not unconnected with the Communal Decision, Separate Electorate, and other features of British policy in India.

No community is in the least a gainer by these wicked and foolish " riots." No community can gain the upper hand by them. It is only the secret leaders and instigators who hope to gain some worldly advantages by using ruffians as their tools. Open war and open fight, however damnable, are better than these 'communal riots.' For even in the unjustest wars there may be heroic incidents and courageous deeds. But there is nothing but cowardice in these 'communal riots.' Reconciliation and peace can be brought about between those engaged in open warfare, because the parties are known. But when there is a lull in 'communal riots,' it cannot be taken for granted that there is true reconciliation and peace. Only show of superior force sends the ruffians to their hiding places.

It is not merely in Muslim majority provinces like Bengal and Sindh that there are 'communal riots.' Bombay and Madras are not such provinces, but there are 'communal riots' in Bombay city and Nellore.

No Peace In The World Without India's Independence

Amrita Bazar Patrika writes :

" Pandit Govind Ballav Pant, ex-Premier of U. P., is making a clarion call to mobilize the non-co-operating forces of the country under the banner of Mahatma Gandhi. Not to speak of any peace in India, he says that there can be no peace and happiness in the whole world so long as India is not independent, and the independence of India can be achieved only if the resources of the country are mobilized under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi."

We are glad Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant believes that there can be no peace in the world so long as India is not independent. We are glad, too, that *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has noticed the truth, as it has been recognized by and come out of the mouth of an ex-Premier.

The Modern Review published in its last July number a long article entitled " India's Freedom A Pre-requisite to World Freedom and World Peace." It was written by Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee. This was followed by another article in the August number, entitled " The Problem of India's Freedom A World Problem." It was written by the late Lala Lajpat Rai.

Amrita Bazar Patrika noticed neither of these articles.

Question of Acceptance of Office By Congressmen

By acccepting office Congressmen were able to do some good to the provinces in which they worked, though the autonomy given to the provinces is of an extremely limited character. But the edge of the desire for complete independence was blunted by the acceptance of a compromise. And many Congress Ministers, *e.g.*, Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, openly declared their dissatisfaction with this sort of provincial autonomy and said in effect that what little good they had been able to do was nothing in comparison with what they desired to do.

The question of the re-acceptance of office by Congressmen has again been raised. If they accept office now they can no doubt do the same sort of good work which they did before as ministers, etc. But conditions are now different. The provincial governors are now carrying on the work of administration in the Congress majority provinces. They are devoting as much attention as possible to the "war effort." If Congressmen become Ministers they must do the same kind of work. How can they do so without throwing overboard their leader Mahatma Gandhi, who is against war? Once indeed most of the Congress leaders did throw Gandhiji overboard. They promised to help the British Government in its war effort provided a National Government of the kind suggested by them were formed in the Centre. But the British Government made no response. The Congress leaders who had rejected Gandhiji's leadership again accepted him as their dictator. The attitude of Government has become stiffer than before. By expanding the Viceroy's Executive Council, by forming the Defence Advisory Committee and by constituting a National Civil Defence Council (which has no powers and no responsibility!), Government perhaps thinks that it can do without the co-operation of the Congress. If Congressmen now want to offer their (unwanted) co-operation by accepting office, they must approach the authorities in sackcloth and ashes and foreswear their allegiance to the Mahatma. It is for them to make their choice—we offer them no advice, as none is required.

No doubt the war is coming nearer India. But when has the Government said that it is not getting all the r cruits, money and materials that it wants and that, therefore, Congress must come to its help? On the contrary, in reply to the fifth American question chosen by Mr. Amery for answer, he said in part:

> "Since the outbreak of the war India's army has grown from some 200,000 to 750,000 and will soon be over a million. Every Indian in the army is a volunteer, not a conscript, and there are long waiting lists. . . India's young navy and air force are also worthily playing their part. India has developed a vast industrial machine for war supplies of every kind. . . ."—*Reuter.*

By the by, Mr. Amery ought to have said, "Every Indian in the army is a mercenary." Months ago *The New Statesman and Nation* said that India is such a miserably poor country that any number of recruits can be had for a pittance. And Prof. Gulshan Rai has shown in *The Tribune* that in the Panjab (the chief recruiting province) the poorest districts have furnished the largest number of recruits.

Future of the Associated Press of India

The Tribune of Lahore writes:

> The London deal seriously affects the Associated Press of India, and it is this question that should receive the serious consideration of newspapers in this country. The Associated Press of India, though living on the patronage of Indian newspapers and enjoying subsidies from the Government of India, is owned by Reuters, a foreign agency. With the control of Reuters passing largely into the hands of the Fleet Street barons, the control of the Associated Press automatically passes into their hands. This is not a very pleasant prospect. Steps should be taken to take over the agency from Reuters. Both the clientele and the operations of the Associated Press of India are confined to India. The entire control of the Agency should be vested in Indian newspapers. Should Reuters refuse to part with the control of the Associated Press of India, India would not be left entirely without relief. It is open to the Government to withdraw all its facilities from the news agency and to newspapers to stop their subscription and start an independent agency. It is, indeed, time India had her own national news agency. Every country has its own news agency. India is the only country in the world without its national news agency.

We endorse our contemporary's observations.

Non-co-operation of Muslim League Brand

A New Delhi message, dated October 28 last, says:

> The Muslim League Party walked out of the Central Assembly this morning after a statement was made by Mr. Jinnah declaring that they were doing so in order to register their protest against the way in which the Muslim offer of co-operation in the war effort had been completely ignored by Government.

The Muslim League, that is, Mr. Jinnah, has been copying the non-co-operating tactics of the Congress, but not consistently. There is also this difference that Congressmen believe that what they have been doing is for the good of the whole country and nation, whereas Mr. Jannah has non-co-operated because Government would not accede to the eggregious and extravagant Pakistani demands of the Muslim League. Even the critics of the Congress, who say that Gandhiji's campaign of Satyagraha has been infructuous, must admit that Congressmen are consistent. Just as the Congress members of the Central Assembly are not taking part in the proceedings of that Assembly, so they have also eschewed the sweets of office;—none of them are ministers, speakers, parliamentary secretaries, etc., none have co-operated with the war effort. This cannot be said of the Muslim Leaguers. The Muslim League party in the Assembly have staged a walk out. How many recruits, how much war

materials, etc., could they have supplied to Government? The Muslim League Premiers and Ministers *have* supplied men and materials to Government and whether they remain members of the League or go out of it, they will continue to help the Government. So this boycott of the Assembly by the Muslim League is a farce.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar on Muslim League Inconsistency

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha in an interview regarding the League decision to boycott the Central Legislative Assembly, says, "If the Muslim League really wants to bring pressure on Government it should also withdraw its ministries from the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. The present protest against the constitution of the Expanded Council and the National Defence Council and allowing its ministry to function in the provinces, which means active co-operation in war efforts, appear to be inconsistent. May I suggest in a friendly spirit that the Moslem League should now, to be consistent with its tenets, withdraw the League Ministries which are functioning in several provinces.—*U. P.*

Dr. S. P. Mukherjee's Appeal to Hindus of Bengal

An appeal to the Hindus of Bengal to come forward and strengthen the Hindu Mahasabha was made by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, presiding over a meeting organised by the Executive Committee of the "Fund for the Relief of Hindu Victims of East Bengal Riots" held on the 25th October last at 23, Ratan Sarker Garden Street.

The Committee presented a purse of Rs. 2,229-11-3 to Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee for the relief of the victims of riots in the district of Dacca.

In reply to an address of welcome presented on behalf of the Committee, Dr. Mookerjee said that the Hindus were passing through difficult times and their civilization and culture and existence were at stake. It was a matter of great regret that they had not yet sufficiently realised the gravity of the situation. If they looked at the world they would find that every nation was fighting for its independence and preparing for the greatest sacrifice. The time had come when the Hindus should shake off their weakness and rise to the occasion.

Dr. Mookerjee added that he wanted sincere workers who would earnestly take up the cause of the Hindus.—*U. P.*

Appreciation of Tagore by Britain, China and Russia

The Secretary of State for India sent the following message on the occasion of the India Society's memorial meeting to Dr. Tagore held in London on the 30th September last:

"I much wish I could have been present to join this representative English tribute to the memory of Dr. Tagore. The lustre of his world-wide fame is one which neither war nor political antagonism can dim. His noble features are finely preserved for us in Epstein's bust. The ardour of his genius and high idealism, which inspired his works, is perhaps very closely revealed in his devoted pupils at Santiniketan. Poet, dramatist, novelist, naturalist, musician and painter too, in his later years, the range of his art and teaching recalls the versatility of Michael Angelo and Leonardo. Supreme master of Bengali, he also, by renderings of some of the finest poems in fastidious English, enabled the West to sample the beauty of the civilisation and culture of India of which he remained to the last so jealous a champion."

The Marquess of Zetland sent the following message:

"In understanding literature and art Dr. Tagore possessed qualities which entitled him to be regarded as a citizen of the world rather than of any particular country. He in some respects was as much at home in Europe and America as in Asia. Yet despite his claims to be regarded as cosmopolitan his whole being was permeated with a passionate attachment to his own land."

Sir John Anderson in a message said:

"The death of Dr. Tagore has deprived Bengal of her most distinguished son. His lofty idealism and passionate devotion to his motherland were shining examples to his countless followers drawn from every part of India and far beyond her shores. In Santiniketan his creative work stands as an enduring memorial to inspire succeeding generations. The whole world of culture joins his kith and kin in mourning the passing away of a great soul."

Doctor Wellington Koo of China writes:

"With the passing of Tagore, China has been bereft of a great sympathiser and friend. His visit to China about 20 years ago is remembered by all Chinese with appreciation and gratitude and constitutes a landmark of cultural contact between two of the world's oldest civilisations."

M. Maisky of Russia wrote:

"The U. S. S. R. loves and respects Tagore as a great creative force which we cannot help but admire. In the U. S. S. R., Tagore is well-known and widely read and popular with our people."—*Reuter.*

But for the war we could have known what tributes have been paid to the memory of the Poet in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Switzerland, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Hungary, U. S. A., South America, Japan, the Netherland Indies, Iraq, Iran, etc.

Mr. Fazlul Huq and the Muslim League

According to a press report Mr. Fazlul Huq will not submit to Mr. Jinnah's Hitlerite methods. He has said: "Let them expel me from the League. I shall give them a fight in Bengal. My position in the Bengal Assembly is unassailable."

What is the next surprise which Mr. Fazlul Huq has in store for the public?

Government Order for 100 Million Sand-bags

That the Government of India have placed an order with the Indian Jute Mills Association for 100 million sand bags, to be delivered between January and October, 1942, means that they are preparing for a long fight.

Australian Officers for the Indian Army

There has been plenty of time for Government to train Indian officers for the Indian army. But Government have never been sincerely in earnest to Indianize the Indian army. Even now they can have plenty of suitable young Indians for training as officers. But finding that at present it has become very difficult to secure the services of Britishers, the Government of India have begun to appoint Australians as officers!

If India remains sufficiently long under British subjection, a day may come when we shall have German, Italian and Japanese officers for the Indian army, for nations which are not now allies of Britishers may by that time become friendly to them.

U. S. Mine Strike Ends

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30.

Mr. John L. Lewis announces that "captive" mines are reopening. The United Mine Workers' Association has accepted President Roosevelt's proposals and the men will return to work as soon as arrangements are made.—*Reuter.*

Good news indeed.

Gandhi Jayanti

We cordially congratulate Gandhiji on his completing the seventy-second year of his life. May he live for decades more to serve India and the world as he has been doing!

International Labour Conference Wants "Four Freedoms"

WASHINGTON, Oct. 28.

The aim of the International Labour Office Conference must be to plan a world in which the four freedoms cited by President Roosevelt are given their full significance, declared Mr. Robert J. Watt, speaking during the Conference's second day.

Mr. Watt, who is international representative of the American Federation of Labour, recalled that the four freedoms were freedom from fear, freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom from want.

He continued, "It is our job here to plan a course, by which the still unconquered economic wilderness can be conquered as soon as the Nazi barbarians have been beaten down in their lust for conquest." The war, he declared, has demonstrated the need for "establishing the structure of a world order, in which all nations agree to yield certain prerogatives in order to form a more perfect union for the general welfare."

Mr. Watt added, "We must embark fearlessly but carefully upon a reasoned voyage of exploration into the economic relationships of the people of the entire world. We must hasten. We must not wait until victory has been won against forces of evil. We must hasten the downfall of those who have sought to justify their programme of mass murder by the mirage of *New Order*."—*Reuter.*

But will they have the sense of justice, the desire, the power and the courage to see that Indians are not prevented from gaining the four freedoms?

Deoli Detenus

Mr. N. M. Joshi's adjournment motion in the Central Assembly relating to the grievances of the Deoli detenus has been rejected without a division. This does not mean that in the opinion of the majority of the representatives of the people of India there the grievances are unreal. For members of the Congress Assembly party and of the Muslim League Assembly party did not take part in the Assembly proceedings.

The detenus made a representation to Government about their grievances six months ago. Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member, does not appear to have even looked at it during all these months, though during the debate on Mr. Joshi's adjournment motion he called the detenus' hungerstrike a "political strike," to which, the hero that he is, he "will not submit." He was not prepared to consider these grievances until the strike was called off. But why did he not consider them during the six months when there was no strike? When there is no hungerstrike, the Home Member pays no heed to the detenus' cry of distress. When in despair they hungerstrike, he says he will not consider their grievances until and unless the strike is called off A regular and deliberately formed vicious circle this.

There is every reason to believe that the detenus have real grievances. In the first place, there is their representation. In the second place, there is Mr. N. M. Joshi's report relating to them, drawn up after careful investigation on the spot. He, a respected Labour leader enjoying the confidence of both the Government and the non-official public, visited Deoli jail after obtaining the permission of the Government, met the detenus there and submitted his report to Government. A summary of it was published in the press in September last.

The least that Government can and should do is to remedy the detenus' grievances at once. But the real remedy is to delete Deoli and set the detenus free. If the bureaucracy will not do that, the detenus should at least be removed from remote and suicide-haunted Deoli

to jails nearer their homes, where their relatives and friends may find it easier to see them.

The Alleged Jai Prakash Narain Letter

The public will perhaps never be allowed to know definitely with what object the alleged Jai Prakash Narain letter, seized at Deoli, where its writer is an untried detenu, has been published. Not certainly as a thriller. For assuming without admitting that its writer advocated "political dacoities" for obtaining funds, he only did so on paper. There have been very many real such dacoities, according to official accounts, of which the stories were real thrillers fit to make penny dreadfuls sell like hot cakes, as Britishers would say. But Government never published these stories with the fuss with which the Jai Prakash letter, its summary with notes within square brackets, and its photographic facsimile have been supplied to the press. The proper course would have been to prosecute Sjt. Jai Prakash Narain, so that he might have his say and the public might know it. To accuse a man and to furnish the public with the alleged proof of his guilt without allowing him any opportunity to defend himself, is to hit him below the belt.

Perhaps the publication of the letter was meant to be a sort of preface to the official announcement to be made later that the Deoli detenus could not be set free—they were such dreadful creatures.

Recently, taking advantage of the Anglo-Russian alliance, numerous Indians, whether Communists or Congress Socialist party men and others, have been openly expressing sympathy with the Soviet and readiness to help Russia with men and money. The British Government cannot possibly like all this. Is the publication of the Jai Prakash letter meant to show how dangerous the Congress Socialist party is? But the letter, if genuine, expresses only the writer's own views, which have been openly repudiated by the secretary of the party. The letter is calculated to set the Congress socialist party and the communists by the ear. Has Sjt. Jai Prakash Narain been made a tool or has he allowed himself to be made a tool for this purpose?

Gandhiji has issued a remarkable statement on the letter and its publication. Of course he has denounced all secret methods and violence advocated in the alleged letter;—they are opposed to Congress principles. But he says in effect that those who, like the British Government, engage in armed warfare and follow all possible secret and violent methods, should be the last persons to complain against and pretend to be horrified at the intention of any Indian Nationalist to copy those methods. For in Gandhiji's opinion all Indian Nationalists are at war with the British Government. Ordinarily and generally this war is non-violent. But, if some Indians advocate the use of armed physical force, why should the British Government, which uses such force, complain?—asks Mahatmaji in effect.

Mr. Aney and "The Atlantic Charter"

In the Central Legislative Assembly on the first two days of its current session, Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House, replied to questions by Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, Dewan Lalchand Navalrai and others regarding the Atlantic Charter and the British Prime Minister's statement thereon.

Mr. Aney said in effect that he had no authority to add to what Mr. Churchill and the Secretary of State for India had said.

Sardar Sant Singh, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra and others asked supplementary questions, but Mr. Aney stuck to his original answer.

Part of the passage at arms between Mr. Aney, Sardar Sant Singh and Sir Henry Gidney was rather entertaining:

> Sardar Sant Singh: May I know whether the Government of India feels comfortable after the Prime Minister's statement?
>
> Mr. Aney: Comfort or discomfort is felt only by individuals and not by bodies or corporations.
>
> Sardar Sant Singh: Is it a fact that the Prime Minister's declaration is that the Atlantic Charter applies only to those countries overrun by Hitler?
>
> Mr. Aney: It is open to the Hon. Member to draw his own inference.
>
> Sardar Sant Singh: Does it mean that if Hitler overruns India, the Atlantic Charter will apply? (Laughter).
>
> Sir Henry Gidney: If the Atlantic Charter applies to India, what part of India would it apply to?
>
> Sardar Sant Singh: Anglo-India. (Loud laughter).

It is unpleasant to find a man of Mr. Aney's undoubted patriotism in the situation in which he has placed himself. But what other answer could he give than the one he gave? The Government of India is a subordinate government—subordinate to the British Government in Britain. If the Prime Minister of the British Government makes a statement, it is not for a member of a subordinate government like the Government of India to repudiate, contradict or comment on it.

So far as India is concerned, we have never attached any importance to the Atlantic Charter. Mr. Churchill signified his adherence to it jointly with President Roosevelt, without consulting

the British Parliament, the final authority in the British Empire. So Parliament can constitutionally refuse to act according to it. Again, supposing Mr. Churchill had declared that the Charter applied to India, that would be *his* declaration, *not* a Parliamentary pledge, and so open to repudiation by Parliament. Even a promise made by a Parliamentary statute may not be carried out; it may be reversed or broken by another Parliamentary statute.

For winning our freedom we must depend on ourselves. Nations by themselves are made.

"Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Themselves must strike the blow who would be free ?'

Dr. Deshmukh's Plain Speaking

On the 28th October last in the Central Assembly a number of motions relating to Bills on Hindu women's rights were dealt with including two by Dr. G. V. Deshmukh (Congress Party) who was specially present for the occasion.

His brother Mr. Govind Deshmukh, Congress Nationalist, first moved reference to a select committee of his bill to remove legal disabilities under Hindu Law in respect of marriage between Hindus.

Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, speaking on the motion, took the opportunity to extend a cordial welcome to Dr. Deshmukh and said

He was speaking not only on behalf of the members of the House but was representing the views of the new Indian members who had come to be members of the Government of India. The ambition of these Indian members, he said, was to serve the country and in that ambition they would have to seek the assistance of not only those who were in the House but those who had kept away from it. "It is such a relief," he said, "to find among us at least one person who has had the courage to come and we hope he will give us help not only today but during the whole session (cheers). We hope he will persuade other members of the party to which he belongs to give the assistance that we really need."

Dr. Deshmukh moving reference to select committee of his Bill to give Hindu married women a right to separate residence and maintenance under certain circumstances, thanked the Law Member for his kind words and said :

"Not only the new Indian members but all Indian members on the Government benches will always have the support of myself and of my party. They will have the support so long as we are convinced that they are really working for the welfare of my country. I don't make this distinction, where my country's welfare is concerned, even between Indians and Europeans."

"Referring to those who argued that no political progress was possible in India unless the communities came together, he asked : "Why don't you wait till we fraternise and come together, before you take our blood and our money for the war ? If for doing something good to my country you must wait till the minorities and majorities come together, why don't you wait till then for draining our blood ?'

Sir Frederick James : Is the Hon. Member making a statement preliminary to a walk-out ? (Laughter).

Dr. Deshmukh : It may be a statement preliminary to a coming in which may be very uncomfortable to you. (More laughter).

He went on to affirm sympathy with the new members of the Executive Council and said : "Let me assure the Leader of the House and the Law Member that when we remain absent it can only be out of the conviction that it is good for the country. If it is for the good of our country to come in, we will come in."

Gandhiji's Statement Relating to Satyagraha and Satyagrahis

Gandhiji has issued a long statement relating to satyagraha and satyagrahis in reply to critics, giving his reasons for not changing his method and programme.

An Appeal to All-India Businessmen

DACCA, Oct. 26.

Mr. Prodosh Sen, Honorary Secretary, Dacca Chamber of Commerce, in course of a letter to the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, has appealed to all businessmen in India to take up the cause of the businessmen of Dacca who have been put to enormous difficulties due to the recrudescence of the riots.—*U. P.*

Mr. Sargent on India's Right to Freedom

Mr. Sargent, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, said in the course of his speech on post-war educational reconstruction at the Educational Conference held at Srinagar :

"If this war was for freedom, for humanity, then India ought to share in the fruits of victory when it came, neither more nor less than any other country."

A commendable observation.

The Need for a National Nutrition Policy in India

In the United States of America the people are far better fed than the people of India. But even in such a country, there is a movement for a national nutrition policy. Miss. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labour, recently delivered an address on the subject before the National Nutrition Conference, Washington.

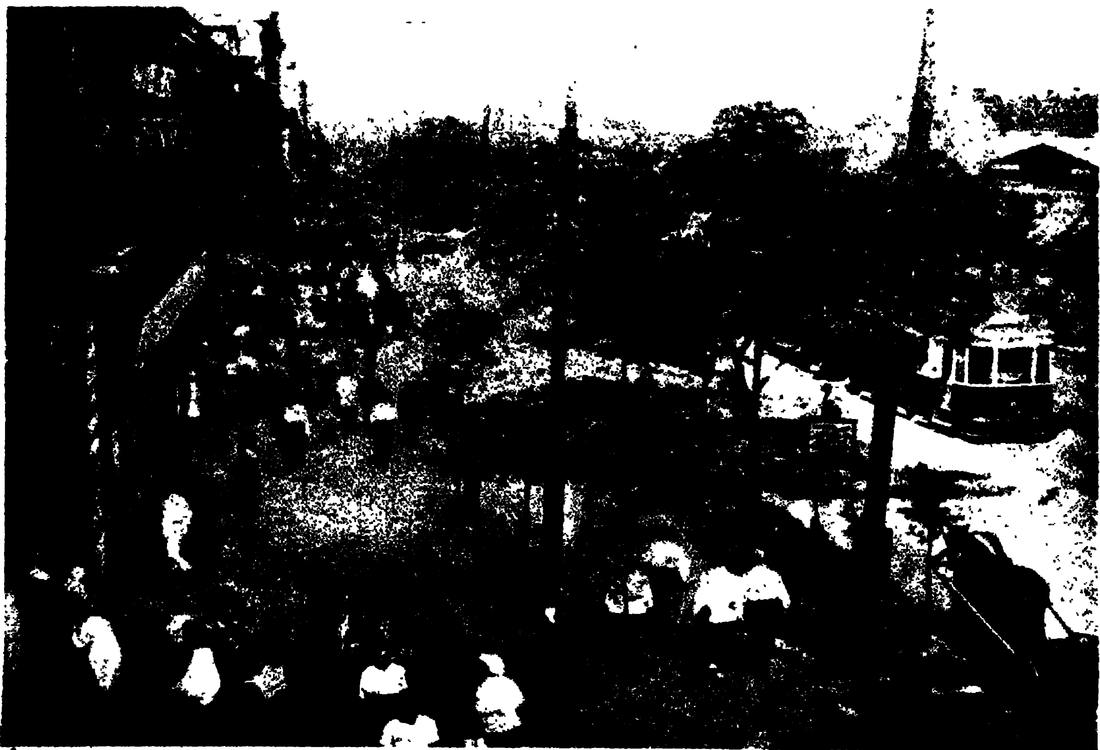
How much more are such a policy and such conferences needed in India !



The Poet at the marriage ceremony of Nandini, his grand-daughter



A riverside view of old Samara, now Kuibyshev, the new capital of the U. S. S. R.



Rostov, a view of the most prominent quarter

THE HISTORY AND IDEALS OF SRINIKETAN

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

I have said what I had to say many times, and have nothing new to add to it. My body was then strong and the current of my thoughts unimpeded But now that sickness and old age have diminished my strength, you must not expect much from me.

It is a long since I last came here. I can give you nothing but my presence and companionship,—meeting with you all from time to time.

When I first bought this house I had no special purpose in my mind. But, even in the midst of my Santiniketan work, another current of thought was flowing through my mind. It was when I lived at Shilaidah and Potisar that I first saw the life of the villages. I was then engaged in the management of our ancestral property. The people used to bring before me their joys and their sorrows, their complaints and their clamorous demands. From all this I was able to form a picture of the villages. On the one hand, its outward form, the rivers and wide plains, rice fields and huts in the shelter of the trees; on the other hand, its inner story. The sufferings of the people became intertwined with all my work.

I am a townsman, city-born; my ancestors were among the earliest settlers of Calcutta. In my early years, I had no touch with the villages, so that when I had to take up the zamindari work for the first time, I was troubled with misgivings lest I should be unable to perform my duties, and lest my duties should be distasteful to me. Of this work, comprising account-keeping, rent-collecting, etc., I had never had any experience, and terror born of ignorance brooded over my mind. I could not then imagine that it was possible that I should remain myself, even when caught in the meshes of figures and calculations.

But when I began my work, I found myself possessed by it. It is my nature that when I accept any responsibility, I become immersed in it, doing my duty with all my might, and never shirking my responsibility. At one time it fell to my lot to be a teacher, and I did that work whole-heartedly, abandoning myself to it and finding great joy in it. And when I was engaged in zamindari work, I set myself to master all its intricacies and unravel its secrets. I acquired fame for the methods evolved by my own thinking, so much so that neighbouring landlords used to send their officers to me to learn my methods.

I have never been one to accept old traditions This was very awkward for the old members of my staff, who used to keep the estate records in a way incomprehensible to me Their idea was that I should understand only what they explained to me. They were afraid that if the methods were changed, the smooth workings of things would be dislocated. They used to tell me that, in case of litigation, the new-fangled records would not be accepted in Court, they would be regarded with suspicion. But my temperament is unwilling tamely to submit to difficulties; it rises in rebellion against obstacles. I revolutionised the system from top to bottom, and the changes bore good fruit.

The people used to come to see me, and my door was always open to them—morning, noon, evening or night, they were never forbidden. Sometimes the whole day would be spent in receiving them and I would never notice that the time for food had passed. This work gave me great joy and interest, for it was the first experience of village life for one who had remained from childhood inside his city residence. The difficulties of my work brought satisfaction to me, gave rise to enthusiasm, and I knew the joy of the pioneer who builds a new road.

I endeavoured all the time I was in the country, to get to know it down to the smallest detail. The needs of my work took me on long distances from village to village, from Shilaidah to Potisar, by rivers, large and small, and across beels and in this way I saw all sides of village life. I was filled with eagerness to understand the villagers' daily routine and the varied pageant of their lives. I, the town-bread, had been received into the lap of rural loveliness and I began joyfully to satisfy my curiosity. Gradually the sorrow and poverty of the villages became clear to me, and I began to grow restless to do something about it. It seemed to me a very shameful thing that I should spend my days as a land-lord, concerned only with money-making and engrossed with my own profit and loss. From that time forward, I continually endeavoured to find out how the villagers' minds could be aroused, so that they could themselves accept the responsibility for their own lives. If

we merely offer them help from outside, it would be harmful to them. How could they themselves be stirred to life ?—that question gave me much food for thought. It was difficult to help them because they despised themselves. They would say, "We are dogs—only whipping and beating will keep us right."

One day while I was staying there a fire broke out in a neighbouring village The villagers lost their heads altogether, and could do nothing. Muslims came from another village and put the fire out. There was no water to be had, and they had to break up the roofs to bring the fire under control.

They did not understand their own interest and my men had to drive them with blows to pull down the houses. We have to help them with blows and violence.

After the fire was over, they came to me and said how fortunate it was that the babus had broken their houses, for it had saved them. Then they were very pleased and they admitted readily that the blows of the babus were for their good; but I myself felt ashamed.

My intelligence bore the impress of my town-breeding. I thought that I would build them a house at the centre of their village; they would meet there when the day's work was over, and there should be readings from the newspapers and from the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata; it would be a kind of club for them. I was sad to think of their joyless evenings, somebody repeating endlessly one single passage from a monotonous *kirtan* song, and nothing more.

The house was built, but it was not used. A teacher was appointed, but for one pretext or another, no pupils came.

Then the Muslims from the next village came to me and said, "As these folk don't accept the school, please give the master to us. We will lodge him, feed him and pay him his wages."

The school which was then established in the Muslim village is probably still in existence. But nothing of what I wished to do in the other village was successful. I saw that the people had lost confidence in themselves.

From ancient times the people of our country have been accustomed to rely upon others. Some wealthy men nurtured and protected the whole village—the burden of its health and education rested on him. There was a time when I had nothing but praise for this arrangement. In this way an indirect tax was levied in Indian society upon the wealthy. They submitted to this levy and it was they who re-excavated the tanks and built the temples. In our country, the individual could not spend the whole of his wealth according to his own whims, whreas, in the individualism of Europe, there is nothing to prevent this Their honour consisted in fulfilling their obligations to the village; the modern custom of conferring titles did not exist, nor did the newspapers sing their praises aloud. The people respected them and called them "babu" and "mashai", and no Badsha or Nawab could have given them any greater title. In this way all responsibility for the well-being of the village was borne by its wealthy householders. I have praised this custom, but it is none the less true that it has enfeebled our self-reliance

My estate was a long way from the river. and there was continual water-shortage. I said to the people, "You dig wells, and I will have the masonry work done". They said, "Well *that's* a mean proposition, frying a fish in its own oil. *We* dig the wells, and *you* go to heaven and gain merit for supplying water—all by our labour." I said, "Then I shall give you nothing." Their idea was, "There's a credit and debit account of these transactions maintained in heaven. This man will acquire no end of merit, and go to Brahma-*lok* or Vishnu-*lok*, and *we* shall get nothing but common water."

Let me give you another illustration. I had a raised road made from our cutchery as far as Kustia I told the folk of the road-side villages, "The responsibility for the upkeep of the road is yours." For wherever they crossed the road, it was broken up by bullock cart wheels, and became impassable in the rains. I said to them. "You are responsible for the ruts in the road. If you all join together, you can easily put them right." They replied, "Very fine ! *We* are to repair the road, and then the babus can go and come from Kustia in comfort." They could not bear that anyone else should get any benefit. Rather than that, they preferred to put up with inconvenience themselves. It is very difficult to help such people.

I have seen for myself the insults borne by the poor, and the oppression practised by the powerful. Then again, these same powerful men have performed all the public works of the village. This oppression and this patronage have combined to destroy the villagers' self-reliance and self-respect. They believed that their hard fate is the result of the *Karma* of a previous birth, that if they are re-born in a good family their lot may be bettered, but that no-one can save them from the sorrow and poverty of their present life—and this turn of mind renders them extremely helpless.

At one time, the wealthy looked on the

provision of water or education as a work of merit. By the benevolence of the rich the village was kept in good condition. But as soon as they began to leave the villages and live in the city, the water dried up, cholera and malaria became rampant, and, in village after village, the springs of happiness were choked. No life can be imagined more joyless than that of the present-day village. And those in whose life there is no health or joy fall easy victims to sudden calamity or disease. The villagers have long suffered much oppression from outside. The land-lords' deputies, the bailiffs and the police have all persecuted them.

When I thought about all this I could see no remedy. It is very difficult indeed to help those who have been trained for generations to this sort of weakness, those who have become completely unaccustomed to any kind of self-realiance. Nevertheless, I made a beginning. In those days my one helper in this work was Kalimohan.* He used to get fever twice a day, and I opened my medicine chest and treated him myself. I thought I should never be able to cure him.

I have never treated village people with disrespect. People who consider themselves learned and gentle-folk because they have passed examinations, do treat them with discourtesy. They do not know how to be courteous. But our *Sastras* say "When you give, then give with respect."

In this way I began work. I used to sit in my house and watch the farmers come to plough their small fragmented and scattered fields—with their bullocks and ploughs. Each man ploughed his own land only. I thought how needlessly they were wasting their strength. I called them and said, "Plough all the land together; pool your capital and resources, and you will be able to get a tractor and get your ploughing done easily. If you all work together, the insignificant differences in the land can be neglected, and you can portion out whatever profit there is among you. You can store all your harvest in one place in the village, and the merchants can buy from there for the right price." They listened and said, "A very good idea, but who will carry it out?" If I had had the necessary knowledge I would have undertaken it, for they knew and trusted me. But we cannot help merely by our willingness to help. There is nothing so dangerous as inexpert service. In our country now-a-days the young students of the towns have taken up village service. The villagers laugh at them. How can they help them? They don't know their language and have no acquaintance with their minds.

From that time I made up my mind that I must do some village work. I sent my son and Santosh* abroad to learn agriculture and animal husbandry, and began to turn over all kinds of plans in my mind.

Just at that time, I bought this house. I thought that here I would continue the work which I had begun in Shilaidah. The house was in disrepair and every one said it was haunted. I had to spend a good deal of money for its repair. After that I did nothing about it for a time. Andrews advised me to sell it. But I felt that when I had bought it I had done so for some reason, perhaps one of the two great purposes of my life would come to fruition here. I did not then know how or when. If seed is sown even in an unproductive field, a shoot may spring up suddenly at some auspicious moment. But there was no sign of it then, and everything seemed to be lacking. Afterwards little by little, the seed began to sprout.

In all this my friend Elmhirst helped me greatly. It was he who developed this place into a separate field of work. It would not have been proper to have it linked up with Santiniketan. In Elmhirst's hands, the work made great progress.

There are two sides to our village work. We have to work out from here, and along with that we have to carry on our own study. If we want to serve, we must learn.

Before I close, I have only one more word to say. We must so endeavour that a power from within the villagers themselves may be working alongside us, albeit undiscernible by us. When I wrote "The Swadeshi Samaj," this idea formulated itself in my mind. What I had to say was that there is no need for us to think in terms of the whole country. I cannot take responsibility for the whole of India. I wish to win only one or two small villages. We have to enter into their minds, to acquire strength to work in collaboration with them. That is not easy, it is very difficult and will require austere self-discipline. If I can free only one or two villages from the bonds of ignorance and weakness, there will be built, on a tiny scale, an ideal for the whole of India. This is what came to me then, and what I still hold.

* The late Kalimohan Ghosh, a most enthusiastic worker of the Rural Reconstruction Department of Visva-Bharati.

* The late Santosh Chandra Majumdar, in charge of the school, guest-house, the dairy, or the Siksha-Satra, etc., at different periods. A most devoted worker.

Our aim must be to give these few villages complete freedom—education for all, the winds of joy blowing across the village, music and recitations going on, as in the old days. Fulfil this ideal in a few villages only, and I will say that these few villages are my India. And only if that is done, will India be truly ours.

[Translation of Rabindranath Tagore's address at the Anniversary of Sriniketan (Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Visva-Bharati) at Surul, near Santiniketan, two years ago.]

FUTURE OF THE HANDLOOM INDUSTRY[1]

By Dr. SUDHIR SEN

1. " Will the handloom industry survive, if the present conditions continue ? "—Yes, though in course of time the number of people employed in this industry will go down considerably. Khaddar will continue to give employment to some. Others will stick to handloom simply because they are not always likely to find a more remunerative alternative. The margin of their profit which is already narrow, will in all probability become smaller still. Handloom weaving will then come to resemble agriculture in this country which has rightly been called a mode of living rather than a business in the strict sense of the term. The relevant question will be and this is very largely the case even now —not whether the weaver gets a fair return on his labour but whether he succeeds in getting enough to eke out a living.

2. " Should the handloom industry survive? If so, on what grounds ? "—Most decidedly, yes. If Japan, the leading country in the manufacture of cotton textil s, has not found it necessary to sacrifice the handloom industry, there is no reason why a place cannot be found for the handloom weaver in our economy. The ultimate justification for keeping our handloom weavers alive lies in the fact that the social sacrifice that would be involved in keeping them alive as weavers would be far less than the sacrifice which would be necessary to keep them alive when the majority of them are thrown out of their present employment. It would, in our opinion, be very difficult to find an alternative occupation for a large number of displaced weavers and in that case the society will have to carry a heavier load of unemployment with correspondingly greater sacrifices unless, of course, it decides to ignore the problem and leave them to their fate. Some of the displaced weavers may be absorbed in other industries, but an objective examination of the existing possibilities would lead one irressistibly to the conclusion that most of them will have to be absorbed either in agriculture which is already overburdened or in other rural industries which are perhaps still more depressed than the handloom industry. Both agriculture and these other cottage industries would then more badly stand in need of a state aid which, if granted, is not likely to involve less social sacrifice than if such aid is directly granted to the handloom weavers. State aid to the handloom industry may be an evil. Nevertheless, it may be and, in our opinion, is the best course under the existing circumstances.

3. " If the handloom industry must eventually go to the wall, what measures would you propose to deal with transitional effects and also to provide employment to the 5 or 7 million weavers who depend upon the industry ? "—The handloom industry must not be allowed to go to the wall precisely because it would be impossible to provide productive employment to the 5 or 7 million weavers who depend upon this industry.

4. " If your opinion is that the handloom should survive, is it as a producer of speciality fabrics of the kind that mills cannot produce economically ? Or would you like the handlooms to supply staple fabrics also, as now ? "—The speciality field will from its very nature remain pre-eminently a friend of the handloom industry. True, mills have been competing here too. But this competition can and should be stopped. We recommend that the use of Jacquards and dobbies by mills should be put an end to. Further, we ought to introduce patent rights for the designs invented and introduced by the handloom weavers. There ought to be industrial arts schools along the lines of Kunstgewerbeschule in Germany with branches in suitable places, which should, among other things, study and produce designs for the hand-

1. Reply to a special questionnaire addressed to Indian economists by the Fact-finding Committee (Handloom and Mills). Section 2 which is a brief criticism of the policy of A. I. S. A., was not a part of the reply.

loom industry. The copying of such designs by mills should be prevented by legislation. The market for speciality fabrics is even now by no means negligible and, in our view, it is capable of considerable expansion. But we see no reason why the industry should as a matter of principle keep aloof from the production of staple fabrics as well. In fact, it is not a question of one's "liking" the handloom industry to supply such fabrics. The point is whether they can successfully do so in the face of competition from mills. We think they will be able to do this to a considerable extent provided some of the remediable difficulties as mentioned below, are removed.

5. "If you prefer the first alternative in Question 4, (speciality producer), what will be the possible extent of the market for such goods?"—Though, in our opinion, the handloom industry should produce both speciality (mainly artistic) and staple fabrics, we believe its position is particularly strong with regard to the former and a deliberate attempt should be made to expand this market. The organisation whose creation has been recommended below, will be able to undertake the marketing of both speciality and ordinary products. It could also advance loans on suitable terms to worthy candidates for the acquisition of the necessary loom equipment.

6. "To what extent is the handloom industry complementary to the mills today? If the present relationship is not quite complementary, can it be made so, or nearly so? If so, how?"—The mill and the handloom industry are today more competitive than complementary, though the production of fabrics of high aesthetic value is still a sphere of the handloom industry which enjoys some special advantage also with regard to the production of a limited number of articles, *e.g.*, mosquito curtains, gamchhas (country towels), etc. The best relationship between the two—it is immaterial whether or not it is called "complementary"—will be reached when the disabilities from which the industry now suffers particularly with regard to the supply of yarn (and dye-stuffs) and marketing of the finished products, are removed. If the recommendations made below, are carried out, the question of *making* the mill and the handloom industry complementary will no longer arise. They will *become* so more or less automatically.

7. "Should the reconstructed handloom industry be a cottage industry, or should it be pursued in karkhanas (small weaving establishments)? What part can co-operation play in this reconstruction? What is to be the place of the Mahajan?"—Similarly, if action is taken on the lines suggested, the hadloom industry will in most cases be able to survive as a cottage industry. Other things remaining equal, the latter is definitely to be preferred to karkhanas. It may be possible to make out a case for karkhanas in some places, but on the whole the tendency is to exaggerate both their economic possibilities and the resulting benefit to the weavers. Though karkhanas may be better placed than individual weavers as regards the purchase of raw materials and the marketing of finished products, their size would, nevertheless, be so small that no large economy would be possible in buying and selling. The difficulties which confront the individual weavers would at best be partially solved. Besides, the conditions under which the employees will work and the terms of their remuneration are not likely to be satisfactory. From the point of view of the workers, there is a real danger that the karkhana system will be attended with all the disadvantages of a factory system without the safeguards provided by factory legislation as karkhanas, in general, will not come under the purview of such legislation.

It is difficult to be optimistic about the prospects of co-operation. Until and unless the moral and material equipment of the co-operating individual improves to a much higher level, it would be futile to expect much from co-operation. Nor are the prospects of successfully introducing true co-operation from above any brighter here than has been the case in the field of rural credit where co-operation has had a fairly long trial. In the present circumstances to leave the problems to be tackled on a co-operative basis would be to ignore them.

8. "The weaver is seriously handicapped in respect of the adequate supply of yarn at reasonable prices. In particular, the yarn prices have risen enormously in recent months causing great distress among the weavers. Please suggest measures to remedy this state of things."—To ensure a regular supply of yarn to the handloom weavers, cotton spinning mills should be started at suitable centres. Such mills if they conform to certain prescribed terms, should be aided by Government which can subscribe a part of the necessary capital. The main task of the mills would be to feed the handloom weavers with yarn which should be supplied at a price as near its cost of production as possible. This would necessarily be a long-term programme. Mills cannot be started until the war is over. What should be done to meet the present difficulties with regard to yarn supply?

9. War has brought in its wake new problems for the handloom industry. Import of

dye-stuffs has stopped, the present stock is limited and their prices have shot up. Much more serious is the increasing difficulty which the handloom weaver faces in procuring an adequate supply of yarn at reasonable prices. Indian mills are now busy meeting the orders placed by the Supply Department. As a result, they have a much narrower margin of their yarn production to spare for the handloom industry. The supply of Japanese yarn has been practically cut off. A grave situation has thus developed for the handloom industry.

10. The only way in which the problem of yarn supply can be tackled is to requisition from the mills enough yarn for handloom weavers. We strongly suggest that the Supply Department should, as part of its war-time orders, purchase an adequate quantity of yarn from Indian Mills at prices which would leave a reasonable margin of profit to the mills, and make it available to the weavers at fixed prices through the appropriate agencies such as the Industries Department of provincial governments. Unless some such step is taken expeditiously, the majority of the weavers will be left with no other choice than to suspend their work.

11. It will necessarily be some time before the Fact-finding Committee can publish its report and offer its recommendations. A further delay will be inevitable before action can be taken on the basis of its recommendations. This delay is bound to inflict great hardship on the handloom weavers. The Committee has been appointed primarily to ascertain facts. Nevertheless, it is possible that on the basis of the information already collected, it has arrived at the tentative conclusion that the handloom weavers can and should be saved. If this conjecture is right, the Committee should not allow the present state of affairs to continue further, as it is bound to prove fatal to those for whose benefit it has been labouring. May we therefore suggest that the Committee should at once impress upon the authorities concerned the great urgency of immediately taking the necessary action for the relief of the handloom weavers.

II

12. It is, in our view, a great pity that neither the All-India Spinners' Association nor the All-India Village Industries Association should have considered it proper to include within the ambit of its activities the task of safeguarding the interests of the handloom industry. The A. I. S. A. in particular could render great service to the handloom weavers, but it has been unwilling on principle to extend its protection to a cottage industry which uses mill-spun yarn as its raw material. Yet it cannot be denied that owing to its insistence on the use of guaranteed hand-spun yarn and its anxiety to give to the spinners what it considers to be a living wage, the price of khaddar has remained at a level much too high for the general public. Consequently, in spite of all the energies spent for its propagation, the market for pure khaddar still remains small and it meets only a negligible per cent of the total demand for cloth in the country.

13. According to the Report of the A. I. S. A., in 1939 there were 2,81,880 registered spinners and 18,632 registered weavers in the whole of India. Thus the number of people who, as a result of Congress propaganda, have been provided employment in this cottage industry, is just over 3 lakhs. Again, of the total number thus employed no less than 94 per cent are spinners who usually work only part-time and in spite of Congress efforts to give them a living wage, earn much less per working hour than the weavers. As against these 3 lakhs working under the aegis of the A. I. S. A., there are several million weavers employed in the hand-loom industry where mill-spun yarn is used. The Fact-finding Committee (Handloom and Mills) puts their number at 5 to 7 millions. If we take the mean and assume that there are something like 6 million weavers, it is clear that the handloom industry still provides employment to twenty-times more people than the spinning and weaving sections of the khaddar industry.

14. Though the object of the A. I. S. A. is to provide employment to rural population in an important cottage industry, it has largely defeated its own object because of its puritanic insistence on hand-spun yarn, and its consequent neglect of an allied and very much larger branch of the same cottage industry, which is now threatened with extinction. Yet the ultimate choice is clear: either cent per cent "purity" of cloth which, that is to say, should be hand-woven out of hand-spun yarn, with employment for only a few lakhs of people, or only 50 per cent "purity" of cloth which, that is to say, should be hand-woven out of mill-spun yarn, with employment for twenty times more people. This difference in the volume of employment is the price for "purity". Should we pay such a heavy price for such an intangible gain? Is the game worth the candle?

15. If to provide employment to the rural population is the main objective, then the case for extending the protection of the A. I. S. A. or A. I. V. I. A., to the handloom weavers is unanswerable. For we should then sacrifice

purity for the sake of employment rather than employment for the sake of purity. We should most gladly sacrifice half the purity in order to increase the volume of employment twenty times. "When danger threatens the whole, the wise part with one half." This old saying may very well be applied here.

16. "The extra cost you are asked to pay (for khaddar) is the unemployment dole that every nation must pay in one way or another," said C. Rajagopalachari. The motive is no doubt noble. But the thesis is not quite proved. It is not merely a question of having an unemployment dole, but of having it in the best form. Other things remaining equal, the less the need for dole, the better, and the less the amount of dole necessary, the better. The dole policy of the khaddarite violates these principles. It benefits only a very small number of people and the amount of dole necessary to maintain even this small number is proportionately greater than what should have been necessary under a more rational policy. Under the Khadi dole a maximum of sacrifice on the part of the cloth-consuming public would confer a minimum of benefit on the unemployed or under-employed villager.

17. With all its idealism the A. I. S. A. has so far struck to an unrealistic course. It is high time to re-examine its policy in the light of its past achievements and to assess its future prospects with a better sense of realities. The relevant questions are—how many people can it induce to take to spinning as a means of earning their bread or of supplementing their income? How many weavers can it induce to use exclusively hand-spun yarn? How many people would be willing and able to pay the present levels of prices for khadi? And if the prospects are no better than they have been in the past, would it be wise for the A. I. S. A. to continue along the same course when there are easier, surer and sounder ways of furthering the cause for which the A. I. S. A. was founded?

18. Let there be no misunderstanding of our attitude. The A. I. S. A. has done excellent work. It has revived a languishing cottage industry, educated the public to appreciate the coarse beauty of hand-made fabrics, given a stimulus to the study of designs, spread the spirit of Swadeshi far and wide. It has brought together a band of devoted workers who have both the will and the ability to work, and are in intimate touch with the rural environment. All this must be readily admitted by everybody who has had occasion to visit branches of the A. I. S. A. Nevertheless, it is no unfair criticism to suggest that the benefit to the rural population in terms of the volume of employment provided has been far from commensurate with the persistent efforts of the last two decades. It could not be otherwise because of the defects inherent in its programme.

19. It has been pointed out that the handloom industry suffers from the great drawback that it is dependent on mills or on imports for the supply of yarn. The war-time development has fully demonstrated the danger of such dependence. Decentralisation of industry as in handloom weaving is in practice incompatible with a centralised supply of raw material. Khaddar, it is suggested, removes this anomaly by arranging for a decentralised supply of yarn in the immediate vicinity of the weaver.

20. All this is no doubt true. The question of an assured source of yarn supply at moderate prices is all-important for the future of the handloom industry. But it need not carry us as far as the introduction of khaddar. If the handloom industry were to depend completely on hand-spinning, the cure would in most cases be worse than the disease. It would resemble the case where the operation was successful, but the patient died.

21. If, for example, the A. I. S. A were prepared to extend its protection to the handloom weavers using mill-spun yarn, on condition that the yarn used was of Indian origin, then the question would arise as to the best way of supplying yarn to the weavers. It could, for example, buy yarn from Indian mills and distribute it to the various working centres at wholesale prices. It might be difficult even for A. I. S. A. to procure an adequate supply of yarn just at this time when practically the whole supply goes to meet the extraordinary war-time demand. Nevertheless, with all the prestige and influence at its back it could make such an effort with at least partial success. In the long run, however, it would be definitely worth its while to run spinning mills of its own, which may be partly aided by the Government. If the A. I. S. A. were to agree on such a policy, the present difficulties of the handloom weaver with regard to the supply of yarn would disappear. The weaver would have an assured supply of yarn while the price of yarn would be much below than that of hand-spun yarn so that unlike in the case of khadi, the price of the finished products would not be pushed too high for the general public.

III

22. But "khadi economics are based on patriotism, sentiment and humanity," that is to say, not on economics. It is, therefore,

doubtful, if the economic considerations set forth above, though fully compatible with patriotism, sentiment and humanity, would tell much with the A. I. S. A. The chances are that in the prevailing atmosphere in which ends and means are so easily confused, this body will go on merrily paying the heavy price in terms of employment for its peculiar conception of purity.

23. We therefore suggest that an All-India Handloom Weavers' Association should be created without the least possible delay. It would resemble the A. I. S. A. in most respects, though (*i*) it would be concerned only with weaving and not with spinning as well, (*ii*) Government representatives should be included in its Board of Management, and (*iii*) until such time as it becomes completely self-sufficient, it should recieve suitable grants from the central as well as provincial governments. Such funds as have already been advanced by governments for the benefit of the handloom industry should be handed over to this new body.

24. As regards the functions of A. I. H. W. A., the A. I. S. A., can very well serve as a model. The following points may be mentioned in particular:

(*i*) The A. I. H. W. A. will, like A. I. S. A., have provincial organisations which again will establish branches in all the most important centres of the handloom weaving industry.

(*ii*) The yarn will be distributed after it is dyed either at or under the control of, the provincial head office or at the office of its various working centres.

(*iii*) Weavers' remuneration will be fixed by the Central Board of the A. I. H. W. A., although in this they will necessarily be guided by the provincial boards.

(*iv*) The woven fabrics will be collected at the working centres and thence distributed to various places according to the orders received from the provincial head office.

(*v*) It is vitally important that sales depots like the A. I. S. A. shops, should be established in all important centres of consumption. In places like Calcutta and Bombay, it may be necessary to have several establishments in different parts of the town.

(*vi*) The branches can make advances to credit-worthy weavers at a moderate rate of interest for the purchase of loom equipment, etc.

(*vii*) Provincial offices should undertake publicity and propaganda work to educate the public on such points as the aesthetic value of goods, their durability, etc.

(*viii*) All workers, whether at the provincial head office or branch offices or at the sales depots, should be paid. The scale of salary should be moderate to begin with, but may be increased if the financial position of the organisation improves.

(*ix*) It is not to be expected that the organisation would be able to pay its way from the outset. The deficit should be met from Government grants.

(*x*) If the organisation is run along the lines just suggested by honest and efficient men having the necessary push and drive, we firmly believe that it would soon be in a position not only to meet all its expenses, but actually to show a surplus. Such surplus money could be utilised for the benefit of the industry in various ways.

(*xi*) Some at least of the Industrial Arts Schools, as recommended above, should be taken over by the A. I. H. W. A. as soon as possible. A time may come when it will be able to run spinning mills with its own capital, supplemented, if necessary, by Government subscription.

25. These reforms will, we believe, remove most of the disabilities from which the handloom industry now suffers as compared with mills. If pushed through, they will infuse a new life into the industry.



VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

By "GRAM-SILPI"

What are the needs of an average man in our villages? First comes his food. Then clothing. Then a house to live in. His food consists of rice, or wheat, or other grains like maize, and dal, vegetables, fish. His clothing is of the simplest—dhoti for himself, sari for his women. The house he lives in is of mud, the roof of bamboo and thatch or tiles, a few doors and fewer windows. For cultivation he needs a few simple implements of iron, others of wood. To catch fish he needs a net. In building his house he uses as little iron as possible. Bamboos are plenty, so is timber of the type he needs. Instead of nails he uses strings to make the raft on which the thatch or tiles are placed. Doors have iron hinges but wooden contrivances are just as common. The fastening arrangement of doors and windows is wooden bolts. His cattle he tethers to wooden or bamboo pegs driven in the ground. The feeding vessel is either an earthen or stone trough, sometimes wooden. For his cart he needs the iron tyres, the rest is all wooden. He is an adept in making wells which he lines with either earthen or stone rings, placed one over the other. The utensils he needs for cooking are earthen. The same type is used for storing grains and other food. Baskets and mats he has plenty of all kinds and types to suit his needs. They are made of bamboo, cane reeds or grasses. Chests of wood are not uncommon, nor utensils made of brass, iron, copper or bell-metal. His women wear ornaments of metal, mostly brass, some silver, and rarely of gold. Beads and glass bangles also delight their heart. The paddy his womenfolk husk in a 'dhenki,' the wheat is ground by a 'chakki,' which also breaks the 'dal.' A stone slab with a stone pin does the work of grinding and making paste of the spices used for cooking. The oil he uses on his person and for cooking is pressed in a wooden 'ghani.' Milk is churned for butter by a wooden churner with a bamboo handle. Large earthen-pots are used for holding the milk. His fuel is dried branches of trees, twigs and leaves, cowdung cakes, and wood. An axe is all that he needs to get wood.

These roughly are his needs and the order of society is accordingly arranged to meet his wants. He himself is the agriculturist and raises his food. He can make the strings and ropes he needs. In certain spheres he needs specialists and there is the carpenter and the smith. Fishing is also a specialised job and a class exists that specialises in it, making their own strings and nets. The oilman makes the oil and the 'gowalas' the 'ghee.' The housewife grinds the corn and dehusks the paddy. The stone-mason makes the stone-grinders and roughens their surfaces periodically. The weaver weaves at his home and between himself and the carpenter can make a loom when necessary. So has society slowly endowed itself in rural areas. A specialised class has been established where the avocation needs practice and skill of a special nature. Occupation has become traditional to ensure efficiency. In a country of vast distances and difficult communication the tendency has been to utilise raw materials grown or found easily at the spot. Implements and instruments employed are also such as can be obtained easily, manufactured and therefore replaced locally. Thus the village industries grew up in accordance with and along with the needs of the society. As wants multiplied complexity of manufacture arose without losing the essential character of village industries. These characters are ready availability of raw materials for ease in manufacture and equal facility in obtaining the necessary implements and instruments and in manufacturing or replacing parts thereof.

Such a state, however, pre-supposes a society of limited wants, in other words, a simple life, without needless paraphernalia of unessentials. But it will be entirely erroneous if the conclusion is drawn therefrom that a society of the type was without wealth in the true sense of the word, or that life therein was devoid of beauty and art. Simple articles of village products in daily use still extort the highest admiration from the most reluctant by sheer beauty of lines, design and colour, efficiency of execution and finish. India's pottery, her textile, her baskets, her mats, her architecture, her carvings, her engravings, the craftsmanship of her artisans are still the marvel of the world. This precious heritage is untold wealth of the country and its preservation is a sacred duty.

The question of village industries is at the present moment receiving a great deal of attention in India. At times it is erroneously

considered to be a problem of man versus machine. It is not so. Man has ever taken aid of mechanical devices to help him in his work in all fields of activities. For ever will he use such devices, and the more efficient they are the better. There need be no quarrel there. It is the mass production of articles under intense mechanisation that conflicts with production on the individualistic basis of the village inlustries. For it brings in its trail two evils. It kills individuality, and the joy of creation in one's work and introduces monotony and uniformity. Secondly, it replaces the human element by machine, deprives man of labour, of employment. Wealth should not be judged only in its money value or by the amassed riches of millionaires. Labour must also count as wealth. That country is wealthy which can proudly point to the fact that every able-bodied man and woman is provided with adequate labour, that unemployment, the nighmare of the present day industrial system, is liquidated.

India is at the threshold of revolutionary changes. We are about to take in our own hands the shaping of our country. No doubt the social, economic and political systems will all come under the anvil. It is desirable that the line of demarcation between the village industries and large-scale industries be clearly laid to avoid conflict between the two.

In deciding the issue the background of the existing social system must play an important role. The most important factor to remember is that occupation has become highly specialized. Whether we like it or not it is traditional and society is divided into groups accordingly and has been so for centuries. A weaver's son takes to weaving like fish to water. So does the blacksmith, the silversmith, the mat and basket maker, the oilman, the carpenter and so on. There are two distinct advantages in this system. One is heritage—it gets into one's blood. The second is no centralised schools or institutions are needed to train successive generations of craftsmen. The sons learn from the fathers. No good can come in destroying this system of traditional occupation. On the contrary any system that destroys this order of things will annihilate the precious heritage of skill, sense of beauty, of colour, that our craftsmen possess in such rich measure. It is they who have maintained the tradition of Indian culture through our dark days. Can we make use of these qualities in our artisans acquired through centuries in the modern system of industrialisation? If not, are we justified in cutting this loss out from our national life? It would seem a terrible waste which no society could afford. What is more it would kill the soul of the artisan. His skill is his asset. Take this away from him he remains a mere automaton, he loses that which gives character, poise, dignity to human mind. The nation loses so much wealth.

Every man or woman should work. There should be employment for all. This should be the first function of a state. Otherwise, there is waste of wealth. Can we in India provide employment for all if we introduced largescale production on the mechanised basis indiscriminately to produce everything we needed? Machinery in the West has replaced man throwing him out of employment. It has ever done so since the first days of industrialisation. Should history repeat itself in India? The rightful place of a machine is as man's aid and not as a supplanter. Man should be our first consideration and then the machine. Such work the man can perform with his hands should be left to him to perform. Where human material is available to give aid, assistance it is this element that must first be used. It is criminal to keep a man idle without work while a machine undertakes that work. Therefore, before we embark on rapid industrialisation of the country on a mechanised basis we must ensure so that no plan of development brushes aside the human element of the problem, that is, no man or woman sits idle for want of work. There should be no unemployment in the country, the nightmare of the industrialized west.

Our civilization has ever laid stress on a certain simplicity of life, a life of few needs. Few needs do not necessarily imply want of ease, comfort or happiness, nor a slovenly life. Happiness does not always go with rich possessions. We have a vast country, there is no dearth of land here. We possess a beautiful country and our life is attuned to nature. Is there any reason why we should discard this heritage and ape the west in concentrating in towns and cities, produce artificial surroundings leaving out nature available at our door, increase needlessly our needs, surround ourselves with possessions which are not necessarily aids to our happiness? Why should we unnecessarily complicate our life, with what end? Is an American or a British or a German necessarily happier than an Indian because national wealth per capita in those countries is miles ahead of ours, because he owns a motor car, or a radio, or lives on the fortieth floor of a sky-scraper with the latest kitchen gadgets that completely eliminate human assistance? On the contrary, it appears that with the disapperance of simplicity of life has come an inability to live by one's own self. Man seems to want constantly to be on the

move, his introspectiveness is gone, he depends on others to amuse him, to fill up his leisure time, he is happiest to be led. Our sophisticated westernised man in India cannot spend an hour by himself, he is ever bored, ever in search of excitement, ever afraid to be alone, for him there is nothing to "do" during the holidays even though he may be fortunate enough to be able to afford a holiday in the Himalayas. Why should we destroy the simplicity of life that is still found to exist in the unsophisticated life in rural India ? Not that we must retain life as it is—the villages with all its discomforts, unhygienic conditions and disadvantages of want of communications. Far from it; but need we change the essential character of life there ? Mechanized industrialisation will do so undoubtedly to a great extent. It will uproot the base and create a different atmosphere entirely foreign in its background, outlook and perception.

If we do not wish to lose the skill of our artisans, if we have no desire to keep an army of men and women unemployed, either starving or living on charity, be it private munificence, or state dole, if we would not destroy the fabric of simplicity of life, village industries must be maintained and even developed. This does not imply that no large-scale industries should be pursued or developed. Not so. Village industries have their own limitations and therefore have their own field. It is for us to demarcate this field to prevent encroachments. We have to protect man from machine when the latter threatens to supplant him. This is where the harm creeps in, harm to society. Milling of rice is an excellent illustration to the point. Milling by the power process in the mills deprives the rice grain of its beneficent salts and vitamins. Rice milled by the village "Dhenki" retains these. On this ground alone the rice mills stand condemned. But there is yet another reason. Thousands of poor women and mostly widows without a means of livelihood used to earn their living from the 'Dhenki.' They have been deprived of honest labour and their means of livelihood. No alternative employment has been found for them or can be found so far as one can see ahead. Now is there any reason why this industry of rice mills should not be crushed out of existence for the good of the society ? Even if an improved process of milling were discovered which would not remove the salts and vitamins in dehusking and polishing the rice; the fact that this industry destroyed labour and means of employment to thousands who could not be given alternative employment should justify a ban on it. The rice mill is not a machine that aids man, it supplants him. On the contrary the 'Dhenki' is a machine that is an aid in the true sense. It has the additional advantage of requiring an outlay of only a few rupees and lasts a lifetime. It hardly needs repairs and rarely replacement. It is easily manufactured in the village, needs little space, and does not uproot the worker from her surroundings. Yet in a province in India with less than 100 factories over 70 are rice-mills. These provide employment to less than 2000 workers and that too for about 4 months in the year.

Pressing of oil is a function which tradition delegates to a class. For centuries they have worked to produce oil. They know no other profession whereas they have acquired a very high degree of skill in their own work. Are we to allow mills to throw this class of men forming a large part of our society out of employment ? If so, why ? What advantage is there in fostering this industry ? It has now been demonstrated that the village 'ghani' can be improved to make it as nearly efficient as the mill. It is an article of food in which its purity can be controlled more easily if production were not centralised but diffused over the country. The control will be exercised by the consumers themselves, for if there is not a 'ghani' in the village itself there is perhaps a village of oil-men plying their trade in the neighbourhood. There seems every reason for decentralization of manufacture of all articles of food. Home-made food is the best all the world over. For there is close contact between the producer and the consumer—which places a healthy check on the former. This reads as a sound proposition full of common sense which needs no pleading. Yet there is need to be wary, for puffed rice and various other preparations of corn from America is being imported in large quantities and consumed in preference to freshly roasted rice, maize, grain and other cereals. Confectioneries of all types are found in the villages. It gives employment to thousands and provides good and fresh food. There is a marked tendency towards confectioneries of foreign make. Perhaps, in time, unless checked, hundreds of factories will spring up producing sweets inconsiderate of the fact that in a hot country the more there is of fresh food and the less of the preserved the better. A drive to turn the mind of the educated to the products of the village industries in this respect will be of immense value to both the health of the people and to retaining a source of employment for many. There should thus be more and more demand created for mats and baskets made in the

villages. Thereby these village industries will be fostered. There is no dearth of raw materials in our country, bamboo, cane, reeds and grasses of many kinds. Baskets, mats, fans made of these are articles of great beauty pleasing to the eyes. The workers are mostly harijans, also the poorest. It is an army of workers of great numbers. If we do not want to see them further impoverished not only should we scrupulously use their products but keep a watchful eye on all such articles that tend to replace them in the market. Import of such articles or their manufacture should be banned, for work-trays and waste-paper baskets and similar other articles made of zinc wire have already made considerable headway in our offices and homes. Another unhealthy trend of this type are the many dairies that are springing up these days in many parts of the country. Butter is difficult to keep in this country, yet they concentrate on it rather than on 'ghee' which is the natural food suited to the climate. Caesin and not cheese is more suited to India, yet the manufacturers talk of making cheese with a great deal of pride and excitement written all over their faces. They talk of pasteurizing the milk which will make it more expensive in the process in a poor country but are incapable of thinking out ways and means of evolving a more suitable and cheaper method of preserving milk in its freshness. It was left to a foreign expert to draw attention to the desirability of concentrating research on making 'ghee,' and preferring milk and its preparations on the lines already known in the country and in keeping with the food of the people. Our approach in India is often so vitiated, revealing appalling ignorance or appreciation of the true conditions prevailing in the country, to the needs and suitability due to climatic conditions that no vigilance can be too strict to guard against loopholes through which flourishing village industries can be dealt a mortal blow. Already the import of confectionaries of all types is large and manufacturing concerns are being established in India. We admire the flimsy, ugly Japanese mats and hang them as decorations on our walls completely oblivious of the beautiful products of our own country. We buy baskets imported from outside the country and cast disdainful looks at our own baskets of beautiful shape and workmanship. We, the educated classes have changed our way of living in aping the foreigner and discarded the use of the many articles of basketry that are in daily use in the humbler homes in real India. To that extent we have harmed this village industry, deprived men and women and children of food, of work, leave alone developing it. We may be a handful now in the sum total of India, but it is to us that the people all unconsciously look up to. It is us and our ways that they follow. Therefore it is that when a blacksmith, or a weaver, or a carpenter gives his son a school education he aspires for him a clerical post in some office for he wants him to be a "Babu". Here I am reminded of the 'Gowala' movement some years ago in the province of Bihar. There was a strong and genuine internal movement amongst the 'gowalas' to reform themselves. Amongst such laudable objects in view as abstinence from alcoholic drinks, stealing which was almost a habit and spread of education, there were others based on aping the higher class like wearing a sacred thread and placing their women-folk in purdah and giving them in marriage at a younger age. Till then girls grew up to 15 or 16 years or more before they were married and their women were free to go and come where they pleased and ably helped thir menfolk to prepare curd, and 'ghee' and sell these in the markets. Here lies the danger to the country. The educated people have a duty, for the rest of the country, perhaps without their conscious knowledge, assimilate our weaknesses. It therefore behoves us to accord our life to the lines on which we want the country to develop.

The village industry which still agitates most the mind of conscious India is that of weaving. As an industry, its place is next to agriculture. In a small province like Orissa, there are 50,000 looms, while all the large-scale industries taken together do not employ even 5000 workers in that province. The province produces textiles worth 2 crores of rupees with mill yarn; in addition there is production of silk and of khadi. In skill, artistic production, colour, texture, the Indian weaver can hold his own with any in the world. Its product can be superior to the best product of the mill. There are weaves and designs that the mills cannot produce. India's textile in the past was the wonder of the world. The descendants of those master craftsmen still live and are equally proficient, only want of patronage will soon obliterate them. All the cloth-mills of India taken together employ a little over 4 lacs of workers while they produce 65 per cent of the requirement of the country. Against this we have not less than 2,500,000 handlooms in India and it is estimated that nearly 10 million people as dependent thereon. Are we to sacrifice so many for so few? Should it not be the other way round? Is India to lose all this heritage of the past which enables her weavers to still hold their own against the mills albeit in a losing

fight? If weavers are holding out it is mainly because they are at the spot, that is, their market is in the village they live and its neighbourhood, and because in the village economy that still rules in rural India the householder looks to his neighbour the weaver for his cloth. Another reason is that it has a place as luxury trade of fine workmanship to individual taste. Of this the weaving profession can never be deprived, just as demand for home-made bread, home-made jam, home-made tweed will always exist amongst a discriminating clientele. Only, such industry can live on greatly restricted scale and not be so far flung as the weaving industry at present is. The weaver cannot produce his goods at competitive prices as he has to depend for his yarn on the mills. It stands therefore to reason that his cloth will be dearer than that produced by the mill. The weaver knows it and deplores it, and that is all that he can do as daily he watches himself sliding down to starvation. Like hundreds of 'ghanis' in the oil-pressing industry thousands of looms are lying idle. The industry can only flourish if there was decentralization of the manufacture of yarn, that is the yarn too was produced at the weaving centres as it used to be once. That is why khadi has a bright prospect. Hand-spinning all over the country has to come if the weavers are to be saved. I am conscious of the criticism that spinning has not brought the price of khadi down to the level of the mill-made cloth. But that is another matter. It has not because spinning as an industry is in its infancy. In every industry costs are higher at the initial stage. Java can produce sugar cheaper than India. The British Isle can sell textile at a lower rate all the way across the seas in India than the Indian mills. Also, the All-India Spinners' Association has adopted as a principle the humane economics of fixing wage not on what the market will bear but what the minimum requirement of the wage-earner is. The price of a commodity will depend on that. Britain has adopted this principle very recently for agricultural labour, 48 s. a week is to the minimum and she is prepared to pay higher price to the farmer for his produce. Very soon, there is no doubt, it is this human element that will count in the industries, and not the industry itself. Spinning must be revived for the sake of the weavers.

But that is not the only reason. Spinning is such an ideal part-time occupation for an agricultural country. That is why before the age of industrialisation agriculture and spinning went hand in hand in all countries of the world. Its capacity to provide additional income to those sorely in need of it is infinite and be it remembered that we have no alternative to offer. The great majority of our people cannot afford to have two square meals in the day, a very large proportion not even one. There are people who do not know for months the taste of rice or wheat. What have we to offer them for employment to earn a living decent enough for a human being. There is only one remedy that has been offered and has stood the test in the practical field and that is spinning. With an organisation of less than 3 years the All India Spinners' Association in Utkal gave employment to 10,000 men in 1939. The spinners numbered nearly 7000. The average earning of this year per spinner was Rs. 8. To us this figure seems so insignificant, but it is a fortune to some and these form the majority in our country. The scoffer should bear in mind and he should also note that the sum represents the earning of leisure hours, needs a capital of no more than a sum of Rs. 5 and the plying of the industry interferes with no normal activity of the worker. In addition most of the spinners have also from their own spinning provided themselves with a part of their own requirement in cloth. Suppose all the governments in India were to take up the development of spinning as a state enterprise and all the mills were to be abolished, how widely we should be finding employment for the leisure hour of our population, what wealth the nation will accumulate and how evenly and equitably it will be distributed, and how at once we shall be reviving the glorious tradition of our weaving skill providing food to hundreds of thousands of our weaving population. Why should not this be done for the welfare of a large portion of our population? A state is bound to provide food to the population and take work from him. At the present moment and under the present conditions there seems to be no other subsidiary industry of such wide and general applicability requiring so little capital to provide additional income where it is sorely needed. A voluntary organisation has showed the way, and its possibilities, at much odd, and achieved remarkable results. In 1938, it gave employment to nearly 3 lacs and placed over 21 lacs of rupees into their hands. The state should undertake this work if for no other reason than as unemployment relief. Obviously, the mills should not be allowed to encroach on this field.

Metal utensils of iron, brass, copper or bell-metal are in universal use along with earthen pots. Perhaps it is seldom realised the extent of the industry and trade in pottery, but a visit to the nearest Hat (market) should suffice to make a rough guess. Should we not

try to preserve it? First of all there are hundreds and thousands of potters who must not be deprived of employment, they form a unit in the present day village economy which it would not do to break without creating chaos. Then, earthenware is so suitable to the need of the country and the ways of life. Who does not know how cool the water is to drink in hot summer out of an earthen jug, how refreshing the cool water to bathe in from an earthen trough? In winter on the contrary, it keeps the water warmer than a metal ware. To get the best curd one must set the milk in an earthenware. Again an earthenware is so cheap; there is no dearth of raw material; so easily replaceable which adds variety to life and prevents monotony. The bamboo and thatch or tile roof in a hot country keep the house cool in summer and warm in winter. Is there any reason why we should build brick and stone houses with their concrete roofs, or a roof of corrugated iron sheeting which makes the house hot in summer and cold in winter? Status quo is not being advocated. Progress is elemental to human nature. But in going forward it should not be a blind rush ahead in imitation, oblivious of the necessities and suitability of the prevailing conditions in the country, or of human considerations of providing food and work for the people. Light aluminium is fast replacing the heavier metals like brass, copper or bell-metal in utensils. Aesthetically these utensils jar on the mind within a week of use. But from the point of utility too, it is forgotten that it does not possess the life of the heavier metals against the type of fuel used in the countryside and it cannot be cleaned to the same extent as the brass, copper or bell-metal ware with the material available in the villages. The shining pots and pans which adds to the beauty of the village home, and are the pride of the housewife are in danger of disappearance unless manufacture of the cheaper aluminium vessels on a mass scale is not prohibited. The metal worker in the villages is already feeling the pinch. The rot has to be checked now. Along with it scientific minds should turn their attention to what we possess and evolve developments and advance on the framework of our bases. Timeworn usages have the advantage of adaptation to environment, these should therefore be retained and any advance that is made should rest on this foundation. It will only then be a true advance, real creation.

We lay so much stress on sugar. The industry has grown at a tremendous sacrifice by the nation. Yet, in the food of the people of the country the place of 'gur' is higher than that of sugar. 'Gur' we are told has more food value than sugar and we also know that it merges better in the food we eat. Yet, we have entirely neglected 'gur' and lavished our money, energy, and brains on sugar. If we had displayed the same interest in 'gur' we could have perhaps made an undoubtedly better food available more widely to the mass of people and within their means, incidentally providing employment and additional income to hundreds of thousands of workers in the villages.

Thus instances can be multiplied of industries which should retain their essential character of decentralised production on the cottage scale. There is also undoubted disadvantage in centralized production in these days of mechanized forces of swift destruction. The war today is to blot out these production centres in Britain and Germany for on them rests the success of the combatants. It is said that it is decentralization of her important industries that is responsible for the continued existence of nationalist China against the aggression of Japan of infinitely superior might. Village industries have their own field, so have such other industries which must necessarily be on a large mechanized scale. The fields should be delineated, not once for all but from time to time as the country advances. The one essential point to keep in mind always is that our chief consideration is man—employment, work, food for him; the machine is an aid. Machine has no right to supplant man.



SIR C. Y. CHINTAMANI

A Few Reminiscences

BY N. R. MEHTA

THE numerous friends of the late Sir C. Y Chintamani who have paid glowing tributes to his fine qualities of head and heart have, from the very nature of the circumstances, been men of the older generation. But how did Sir Yajneswara's personality react on members of the younger generation, of whom, for instance, I am one?

I recollect the days of the early '20's when I was just a child and when we youngsters used to play in the spacious compound of the Leader Press at Allahabad. Of a summer evening one could watch Mr. Chintamani writing his pungent articles at his desk on the lawns in front of his office. Just nearby stood like a sentry a short lamp-post bearing a shapely, square kerosene lamp. (The electric light had not yet come.) Standing there in a group we would watch him at his work with curiosity and awe, for had we not heard about his powerful pen?

I next remember how we were once caught in his office as we were playing hide-and-seek. It was a room with a high ceiling, reminiscent of the Victorian era, very neat and full of books and thick volumes ranged in rows. Mr. Chintamani was a strict disciplinarian and had great dislike for disorder. Entry into his office was tabooed to the children. Our hearts went pit-a-pat when we were summoned to his presence, but he was not angry and soon put us at our ease. He interrogated us and demanded intelligent answers to his questions. In fact, when I recall his love of order, efficiency and intelligence, which I could notice only afterwards as forming very distinctive traits of his character, I realize that it must have been present there in those far off days when he was still struggling to make his mark in life.

Another memory from my childhood days emerges at this moment. I recall a political meeting of the moderates of those days being held indoors. As I stood behind the closed doors, wondering what was going on there, I heard sounds of the sudden scraping of chairs and of sobbing as if a sudden sorrow had descended upon the gathering. I was frightened and filled with the sense of doom. At that time I did not know the cause of this commotion, but later learnt that it was the news of the death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom Chitamani acknowledged as his political *guru*.

All these memories from my childhood are associated with the personality of Sir C. Y. Chintamani.

The feeling of awe with which I used to regard Mr. Chintamani came later on to be modified by one of admiration as I grew up and had occasion to come into closer contact with him. This was all the more remarkable because his influence on me was not of a political nature. It was rather the influence that a vital and living personality is bound to exert on all those who come into contact with it. This fact I regard as of the utmost importance in judging the greatness of a man. Political opinions divide men as hardly few things do and when two persons belong to different generations, so that one largely lives in the past and has his opinions and outlook subtly moulded by it and the other draws inspiration from the hopes and ideals of the future, differences that arise are bound to be great. There may not be a difference from the ideological point of view, but certainly there is the difference as to how far one is prepared to go. Chintāmani impressed despite one's politics. So I may point out here that many a young man whatever his political denomination when he came into contact with Chintamani could not help but feel that he had met a vital personality and that it was all the better for him that he had done so.

Some of the most fascinating conversations I have had with Mr. Chintamani had been in his office at the Leader Press. Sitting in his cosy, revolving chair he would be at work. You could not tell whether he was writing a letter or a leader for the next day's issue of the paper—writing came so easy to him. Then all at once he would turn round, signifying that he was ready for a talk: But certain preliminaries must be gone through. For instance, he must first light his cigarette; the interviewers must come closer to him as he was hard of hearing. Sometimes he would read crisp, humorous editorial notes from various papers, at the same time asking opinions. If the response was feeble he would instantly pull up the offender, saying as in one case which I remember very

well. "You seem to be very lukewarm in your appreciation." His quick, powerful intellect demanded proper appreciation of a piece of writing, definite and clear-cut opinions on subjects under discussion and appropriate answers to questions. These he demanded not only from strangers but also from those who were familiar with him. Thus if his friendship was valuable, a great corrective influence, so to say, it had also its disadvantages!—You could not easily be a 'yes-man' so far as Chintamani was concerned.

When Chintamani got into a reminiscent mood his talk would be of particularly absorbing interest. With his heavy palms resting on the arms of his chair he would relate various anecdotes from his life, the while tapping the ground lightly with his right foot, as if to lay emphasis on his narratives. His eyes would twinkle with an almost mischievous light as if punctuating the sentences. This was a very charming habit of his and made him look almost childlike, leaving a very pleasing impression on the beholder.

Talking about journalism three years ago, Mr. Chintamani said to me: "This is my 40th year as a journalist and I have had a very varied experience in this line." With evident pride he contiued: "I began my journalistic career as an editor at the age of 18." Relating his experiences then he said: "I was not merely the editor: I was foreman, proof-reader, reporter, sub-editor, editor and manager all rolled into one," and he blinked at us enjoying the effect on us of his revelation. He added: "I had to see to the composing of the matter, I had to read proofs, I had to edit telegrams and having done all this, I had to apply myself to hurriedly writing the editorial comments. I worked tremendously hard"

Commenting on his political writings he said: "I had the vanity to think that I derived greater satisfaction from them than from the writings of many another man."

On another occasion he told me: "A journalist must never take anything for granted."

During his prolonged and ultimately fatal illness lasting over three years Mr. Chintamani's complaint was that he was neither so ill as to be quite prostrate nor well enough to be able to work as much as he would have liked to. He fought against his illness with the same doggedness which characterised his activities as a publicist and politician in his fight for what he considered to be right and just.

At a time when he was strictly forbidden to leave his bed Chintamani continued to do from day to day such a quantity of work as would have amazed any one. In fact the issue of the *Leader* which announced his death also contained the last editorial article that he ever wrote.

Once when I remarked that it was very wrong of him to overstrain himself in this manner he replied: "I cannot help it. That has been my life's habit. If you come to think of it, I imagine that that sustains me too. Anyway, how can I close my eyes to things that are happening around me?"

While the doctors declared all the conditions for death were there and expressed their amazement that he should still be living, Chintamani wrote the following in a letter to a friend of his in which he also foretold his approaching end:—

"I have long held the view that while health has everything to do with comfort in life, it has much less to do with length of life. I have seen healthy men in the prime of life pass away almost without illness; I have also seen old men in chronic ill-health living year after year in a state of the utmost discomfort."

Truly no ordinary man could have expressed the truth contained in these lines so neatly and so well.

Sir C. Y. Chintamani's death came only a few days after this letter was written, but the memory of his personality will remain for long.



OLD CONCEPTS AND NEW THEORIES

By Prof. A. C. BANERJI, I.E.S., M.A. (Cantab), M.Sc. (Cal.), F.R.A.S. (Lond.), F.N.I.,
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I shall try to explain briefly in simple language some of the modern theories of physical science and interpret the far-reaching changes which have been brought about in our conception of the Universe and in some of the philosophical ideas of the present day. The progress of science during the last forty years has been very rapid and it has been far more revolutionary in character during this period than during the whole period of the last four centuries. In ways that are seen, and in ways that are unseen, science and also philosophy, being closely interwoven with the life of mankind touch the life-interests of every person at every point and at every moment. It is true that scientists and philosophers, to suit their own convenience and in the interest of intellectual economy, have gradually created a technical language of their own. They have thus become accustomed to expressing their thoughts and communicating their ideas in a language which can only be understood by their fellow specialists. These scientific and philosophical concepts are hardly too profound for intellectual non-specialists to understand them, but they are often expressed in technical language and symbols which none save specialists can decipher. Nevertheless I maintain that it is the right of all men and women who together constitute the great fraternity of intellectual laymen to impose upon specialists in science and philosophy an obligation to popularise their specialised knowledge. It is an obligation which they cannot honourably escape and which they should rejoice to keep by cultivating, developing and practising the useful art of popular exposition of scientific and philosophical ideas, methods and achievements, so that laymen with some degree of intelligence may get a perspective understanding and a proper appreciation of all that is best in human thought. About a hundred years ago Gergonne, a French Mathematician said, "One may not imagine that the last word has been said of a given theory until it can be made clear by a brief explanation to the man-in-the-street." On the other hand Prof. Hermann Weyl who is among the most eminent of living Mathematical Physicists complains about "the actual and inevitable tragedy of our culture." Weyl stresses on the fact that the more science advances, the more incomprehensible its findings become for all those who, however intelligent they may be, "cannot devote their entire time and energy to the development and adjustment of their theoretical thinking." In reply to Prof. Weyl's observation it may be said that although the "tragedy" cannot be completely obviated it can surely be mitigated to a great extent by properly cultivating the art of popularizing higher forms of knowledge. I fully realise that success in such an enterprise depends mainly on scholarly competence and on a high degree of expository skill both of which I lack, but I hope that my genuine willgness to engage in the work of popular interpretation of scientific ideas may not make my humble efforts in that direction wholly unsuccessful. I shall divide my subject into five main topics.

1. Breakdown of Determinism.
2. The principle of Duality and Breakdown of Absolutism.
3. The Theory of Relativity.
4. Evolution.
5. Religion.

Breakdown of Determinism

The whole aspect of Science in the 19th century was highly mechanical in character. The aim of the scientist was to make numerous mechanical models of Nature in her different aspects. Helmholtz, the German scientist declared that "the final aim of all Natural Sciences is to resolve itself into Mechanics." Lord Kelvin frankly admitted that he could not understand anything which could not be made into a mechanical model. This was the age when the Law of Causality reigned supreme, and it was believed that this law alone guided the course of the natural world. It was confidently proclaimed that the whole course of Nature was chalked out along a narrow path, without any chance of diversion from it, by continuous chain of cause and effect. With the advent of the twentieth century new facts came to light and compelled the scientists to give up their belief in the invulnerability of the Law of Causality. They gradually accepted the principle of Uncertainty or Indeterminacy as a law of Nature which guide its course in many a case. I need hardly say that the Law of Causality cannot be

totally discarded—there are certainly many "effects" which are produced by "causes." But this law has lost its unique position, and has to share authority with the principle of uncertainty which is found to be equally applicable in many cases. Suppose, you leave a certain quantity of a radio-active substance to disintegrate. All the atoms of this radio-active substance are similarly constituted and similarly situated, and they all have the same environment. It is found that all the atoms are not disintegrated at once, some atoms are disintegrated first, others are disintegrated later on, while some others are disintegrated still later on. There is no reason why one such atom will disintegrate first and a second one will do so later on. There seems to be complete uncertainty about this matter. It is as if Fate calls arbitrarily one atom to its doom first and a second one to its doom later on. We do not or cannot know when a *particular* atom will be disintegrated, but for a very large number of atoms, some sort of definite law for their disintegration can be found, and we can determine what exact quantity of the substance will be disintegrated in a certain period of time.

An atom of an element is a miniature solar system with a massive central nucleus of heavy protons as the Sun, and the shells of electrons as planets revolving round the nucleus in different orbits. By outside influence such as heat, one or more electrons out of a shell may be made to jump from original orbit to other orbit or orbits. But we are in absolute darkness as to which particular electron in a shell will jump first and neither can w say into which of the other orbits it will ultimately go. So there is two-fold uncertainty as regards its behaviour. It is as if the electron is endowed with "free will" and it has got its free choice as to when it should jump and where it should go.

I have already said that the principle of uncertainty is applicable in the case of individual units, whereas in the case of 'mass-effect' for large groups of units a definite law can easily be formulated. It may be argued that although

"the behaviour of ultimate *microscopic* units is essentially indeterminate and unpredictable, but on the *macroscopic* level of ordinary observation these individual uncertainties cancel out so as to yield the apparent regularities and uniformities which underlie our predictions and are formulated in our deterministic laws."

We may now take an example of "macroscopic" domain. Suppose you are a good marksman and you are given 100 shots to hit the bull's eye. Perhaps we may safely predict that you will be successful about eighty times in hitting the bull's eye. But we cannot predict whether a particular shot of yours will hit the centre of the target or not. It may be said that more or less deterministic laws governing "mass effects" in "macroscopic domain" are only "secondary laws" which are merely "statistical" in character. Those who uphold the law of indeterminacy say that these "secondary laws" are mere illusions "created by the mass, hiding the physical fact below it, *viz.*, the freedom or indetermination of the individual unit." It is doubtful whether any analogy between scientific phenomena which are mass effects depending on the behaviour of a very large number of electrons and protons and the statistical averages of the dates of death calculated by the insurance companies are valid. The date of death of an individual is not an "uncaused fact," whereas the behaviour of a "microscopic" unit in 'Nuclear Physic' is believed by the supporter of the principle of uncertainty to be indeterminate and unpredictable. On the other-hand the champion for the Law of Causality asserts that there is no inherent indeterminacy in the behaviour of the individual unit, but the apparent uncertainty originates in the purely mechanical difficulty of observing a particle properly and keeping it isolated at the same-time from the rest of the Universe. It is further argued that there is no justification in discarding the Law of Causality if in certain regions, being unable to find adequate reasons. we have to be content with resorting to approximations, probabilities and other make-shifts.

I may now allude briefly to Heisenberg's famous Law of Indeterminacy. A popular formulation of this law has been given as follows:

"If we know where an electron is going, we cannot say precisely where it is, and if we know precisely where it is, we cannot find out where it is going."

A supporter of the Law of Causality would say that Heisenberg's uncertainty is nothing but the effect of what we do to the electron in the effort to observe it. Certain physical forces are brought to bear on the electron we wish to observe with the result that there is a disturbance which prevents us from finding more than an approximate answer to our question. Then this is an effect which is not "uncaused" as we ourselves are responsible for its occurrence—but this effect due to the very nature of the case cannot be determined by actual measurement. Again it may be argued that as philosophical theories are on a different plane, any changes in physical theories cannot possibly affect the conclusions of a philosopher. Even

if the physical realm is only a sensuous appearance of relations existing in the domain of philosophy, no revolutions in physical theories can either conflict with or support a philosophical theory which is valid on a different plane.

If the principle of uncertainty is also applicable in the domain of philosophy or also in theology, let us see how some of our ideas are modified due to its intrusion. In Hindu Philosophy or rather in Theology the law of 'Karma' or the Law of Causality is one of the theories accepted by many. Now if the principle of uncertainty and not the law of 'Karma' is applicable to an individual soul, then the theory of transmigration of soul falls through. Why a child is born diseased or deformed may now be explained by the mass effect of a group of factors such as heredity, health of parents, economic condition, climate, environment, etc., etc. The idea of continuity is inherent in the Law of Causality and also in the mass effect of a very large number of individual units, whereas the idea of discrete quantities or quanta is inherent when the units are dealt with individually.

Personally I believe in both the laws and so as a supporter of the principle of indeterminacy I am uncertain as to which of the two laws is more acceptable to us or more dominant in its action.

The Principle of Duality & Breakdown of Absolutism

The Principle of Duality is quite new in science although it is an accepted principle in philosophy. In some experiments electrons and protons behave as particles, whereas in other experiments they behave as packets of waves. These two types of experiments are not contradictory but complementary in their nature. Those experiments which show the particle-character of an electron cannot tell us anything about its wave-character, and vice-versa. We cannot know the true and absolute nature of an electron. All our experiments are subjective and vitiated by personal factors. Similarly when we see the beautiful Nature through green glasses, she appears to be green and when we see her through red glasses she appears to be red. We cannot know her true and absolute property.

Although the scientist is constantly searching after the aboslute truth he is unable to get it as all his experiments and observations are subjective. He discards old laws and proposes new theories to explain his experiments. But there is no finality in his theories and conclusions. Theories we accept today are discarded tomorrow. Conclusions we arrived at yesterday are proved to be false today. The scientist finds, to his discomfiture, that he is unable to get at the real truth. The philosopher is also in the same plight, he is also unable to discover the absolute truth. Neither science nor philosophy can reveal the absolute truth. Both in science and philosophy it is necessary to assume in the beginning certain fundamental definitions, axioms, postulates or principles which cannot be proved, before these branches of knowledge can be developed. Even in Mathematics we cannot prove that one and one make two. Two, in fact, is the abbreviated statement for one and one. Similarly four is abbreviated statement for one, one, one and one. Accepting these two statements we can then perhaps prove that two and two make four. So Mathematics also is not an absolute science, and it ceases to be an exact science when we apply the principle of uncertainty and probability to mathematical problems and employ the methods of approximation.

The Theory of Relativity

Scientists have not been able to find the absolute velocity of an object in the Universe, *i.e.*, its velocity relative to so-called ether which is supposed to be at absolute rest. If there be an ether, it is playing a hide and seek game with us, and it is also a party to a clever conspiracy not to reveal its identity to us. On the other-hand Michelson and Morley found that the velocity of light as measured by an observer is independent of the velocity of the source of light relative to the observer. This phenomenon cannot be explained unless we give up the idea of absolute motion or absolute rest. All the objects in the Universe are moving relatively to one another. In Relativity time and three positional co-ordinates are taken as four independent variables and the four dimensional geometry is thus developed. There are two theories of Relativity—the Special Theory and the Generalised Theory. The Special Theory deals with uniform relative motion whereas the Generalised Theory deals with accelerated relative motion due to the presence of matter. Experiments in Nuclear Physics corroborates the formulae depending on the Special Theory of Relativity. The Mathematical expression for acceleration in three dimensional Newtonian Mechanics corresponds to the expression for the curvature of space in four dimensional continuum. If there be matter in space, the latter thus gets curved and bounded. If there be no matter, then our space would not be curved and would extend to infinity in all directions. Relativists have found by

calculation that our bounded space or Universe is expanding with ever increasing velocity, and some prominent scientists believe that astronomical observations also corroborate the theory of Expanding Universe. If our space is bounded, one may pertinently ask, by what is it surrounded? We may say that it is surrounded by 'void' and that it is expanding in 'void.' What is then the difference between 'space' and 'void'? In 'space' geometrical laws hold good whereas in 'void' no such laws are applicable. When 'space' expands it absorbs more of 'void,' and in this additional portion which now becomes part of 'space' geometrical laws begin to hold good. 'Void' extends infinitely in every direction. Physicists maintain that in our own bounded Universe no object can have any velocity greater than the velocity of light. If there be an object which is receding from us with a velocity greater than the velocity of light, no light can reach us from that object, and we can have no physical knowledge of it. There may be innumerable "Universes" about which we have no knowledge, and they may be receding from us with a velocity greater than that of light. Moreover, each Universe has got infinite varieties and possibilities. So the conception of "bounded Universe" does not conflict with the idea of infinity. If there be innumerable universes then the manifestations of totality of creation will be infinitely infinite. So if there be any God, and if He comprises totality of creation, He must then be infinite in infinite ways.

Evolution

We have our old scientific concept of evolution which is guided by the law of cause and effect, and in which more cannot come out of less. Moreover there cannot be more in the effect than what was already in the cause. On the otherhand there might have been more in the cause than what appears to be in the effect. Some modern philosophers have now given a philosophical extension to the old scientific concept of evolution. According to them, in evolution the new pattern which emerges is more complex, more organized, and more perfect than what went before. In short, more has come out of less and so something comes into being which was not there before. As the Universe evolves through higher and higher orders, in each higher order new qualities emerge which were not possessed by the lower order.

Closely analogous to the theory of evolution is the problem of creation and destruction. Is there any intrinsic difference between creation and destruction? In the 'macroscopic' domain which is confined to bodies of finite dimensions and limited experiences, the force of destruction appears to be much more powerful than the creative force. It may take six months or more to construct a building or an edifice, but through earthquake or any other powerful cause the whole edifice may be destroyed in an instant. In the 'macroscopic' domain which concerns atoms and molecules, destruction is accompanied by creation of energy and formation of a different atom. In the "telescopic" or astronomical domain which deals with heavenly bodies of gigantic dimensions the so-called destruction may be simultaneously followed by creation and evolution. When two dark stars collide, a planetary system may be formed with the evolution of life. So we find destructive and creative forces go together or rather destruction is another phase of creation. We are "macroscopic" beings and so on the "macroscopic" plane we are unable to get a true perspective of the phenomena of creation and destruction, and so the latter appears to be more powerful than the former.

Religion

We have already seen that neither Science nor Philosophy by itself can discover absolute truth. On account of the subjective nature of our experiences and observations, a philosopher unaided by science and religion may be tempted to propose that the world is *Maya*. Religion uncontrolled by science and philosophy may lead us to superstition. Science uncontrolled by philosophy and religion would make us dogmatic. What we require now is a Prophet of harmony who will harmonize logically science, philosophy and religion and put us on the proper tract leading to absolute truth.

A scientist is compelled to take for granted certain initial axioms or postulates before he is able to develop his science. He cannot, with fairness or justice, object to the fundamental assumption of *a faith-philosopher or a religious man, i.e.*, the natural faith in God. If I am an astronomer, I have no right to criticise or ridicule any biological theory which is proposed by any eminent biologist. If I want to criticise the theory, I must first get proper training in Biology and become a specialist in that subject, then and then only my criticism will deserve respectful consideration. It is most unfortunate that a scientist who calls himself a rationalist often dares to criticise the simple faith of a truly religious man even if he (the scientist) had no training and experience in spiritual matters. Although he calls himself a scientist

and a rationalist, his attitude in this matter is wholly unscientific and devoid of reason.

It has been said that "God created man in his own image." A man cannot easily imagine more than what he is accustomed to see around himself. It is therefore more true to say that "man created God in his own image." Man has endowed his God with the most perfect human qualities which he can imagine. *Man's idea about God develops as his 'humanity' develops.*

In the pastoral state of civilisation God was like the Patriarch of a tribe. The scientists of the nineteenth century metamorphosed God into a Mechanical Engineer. Later on the role of a Superb Electrical Engineer was assigned to Him. To a Relativist God is a Mathematician Who geometrises. If dog has intelligence and is able to think his God would be endowed with most perfect canine qualities. It is not possible for a human soul with its limitations to form a total and comprehensive idea of God. I have already mentioned before that if God comprises totality of creation and existence He is infinite in infinite ways. I am reminded of the sloka in the Gita where Sri Krishna says to Arjuna :

"Oh Partha! behold my hundreds and thousands of manifestations of various types and various forms."*

Again we have in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad :

"Om! this is *full*, that is *full*. The *full* proceeds from the *full*. Taking infinity from the infinity *full* infinity remains."†

The above is really the property of infinitely infinite. The Behaviourist School maintains that every phenomenon exhibited by a living being and by a conscious and intelligent being can be fully explained by purely physico-chemical laws. So life, intelligence and even consciousness might have sprung out of inert matter through self-evolutionary processes brought about by certain physico-chemical laws. By similar processes, it is quite possible that from totality of matter, totality of consciousness or all-pervading consciousness might have evolved out. On the other hand it appears to be much more probable that intelligent consciousness has been existing all along and is responsible for creation of matter and life. There are two possibilities for the evolution of the world. Either the world of inert matter has evolved itself or some powerful agency has evolved itself (मयम्भु) and then created this world. The second alternative is more acceptable as it is more probable that a powerful agency will evolve itself rather than inert matter.

[Read under the auspices of the Philosophical Association, Allahabad University.]

* पश्य मे पार्थ रुपाणि शतानि च सहस्रशः ।
नानाविधानि दिव्यानि नानावर्णाकृतीनि च ॥

† "ओम् पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदम् पूर्णात् पूर्णमुदच्यते ।
पूर्णस्य पूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावशिष्यते ॥"

INDIA'S FOREIGN INDEBTEDNESS

A Rationale of Sterling Repatriation Scheme

By P. C. JAIN, M.Sc. (Econ.), London
University of Allahabad

The problem of foreign capital in India has been engaging the attention of Indian thinkers for a long time. The amount of foreign capital invested in India has been estimated at £800 millions to £1200 millions, though we have no statistics of the exact amount, and out of this nearly two-thirds has been borrowed by the government and public utilities in our country. Therefore, the decision of the Government of India to cancel a major portion of their sterling indebtedness and to replace it by rupee loans floated in India, or by the creation of rupee counterparts of the sterling scrips to be cancelled, has once again focussed public attention on this problem.

THE 'INDIA LIMITEDS'!

It may at once be admitted that foreign capital has done some useful work in India. We owe our railway, plantation, jute, and coal industries, among others, to the initiative and enterprise of foreign capital. In the absence of foreign investment our industrial system would have been more backward than it is at present In a way, the interference arising out of foreign capital has also contributed to the growth of nationalist feeling in our country and, in that respect, it has done us good. But these advantages have been secured at a high cost. In the first place, foreign capital entrenched itself deeply in our economic system at an early stage

with the consequence that now when we have our own Tatas, Birlas, Dalmias, and Walchands they have to face unfair competition at the hands of Andrew Yules, Shaw Wallaces, Octavius Steels and others. The whole array of 'India Limited' companies has caused great complications in our industrial structure.

Secondly, as should have been expected, foreign capital has only interested itself in those branches of production which do not compete with industry in the 'Home' country and which bring good profit. As a result of this we find that even today we do not have any automobile, aeroplane, machine and tool, aluminium, and locomotive manufacturing industries worth the name in our country. It has been demonstrated again and again that we have full economic advantage and justification for these industries, but this without any result. We should also realise that without these key industries Indian industrialisation cannot proceed beyond the elementary stage; and this is not welcome to us. A belated start has now been made in shipbuilding, aeroplane, and aluminium industries but it might take many years before these industries come to exist and then the post-war depression might finish some of them. Finally, specially as regards government loans, foreign capital has been borrowed at unduly high rates of interest. A comparative study of interest rates tells us that the Government of India has often paid much higher rates than the market conditions in London demanded. Even after the cheap money policy was fully mature in England by 1934-35 and the British government had enforced a conversion of £2000 millions worth of loan to a lower level of interest, the Government of India continued to pay a high rate.

It was only in 1937 that a halting and half-hearted effort was started at sterling repatriation and the effort did not gather force before 1940. Between April and December 1940 the Reserve Bank of India purchased sterling to the tune of £41½ millions, and this was facilitated by political reverses on the continent causing a fall in the price of sterling scrips in the summer months. In addition to this the sterling family pensions fund amounting to £9½ millions has been transferred to England and the sterling railway annuities and debentures have been paid. It is only very recently that the governments of U. K. and India have agreed to repatriate as early as possible the terminable sterling loan of the Government of India amounting to £90 millions (Rs. 120 crores). It has been estimated that during the whole period from 1935 to the completion of these operations Rs. 220 crores worth of sterling obligations will have been reduced.

The Government of India were faced with huge sterling funds in England. The sale of silver had given them £8 millions. The favourable balance of trade leaves much sterling surplus every year. The British government also pay for their purchases in sterling. Hence, there was hardly any other alternative left but to cancel the sterling loan.

The Gilt-Edged Market

This late effort at repatriation, however, is likely to give us many advantages. In the first place, the repatriation of sterling loan to India will strengthen our gilt-edged market. In this market the government and public utility securities and bonds constitute the demand for funds and the supply of funds comes from the institutional investors, such as the insurance companies and banks, and from private investors who want to hold their savings in the form of government paper. On the whole, we might say that so far the supply of funds in this market has always been more than demand. The government has not raised large funds in the Indian market. In the pre-war (1914-18) period not more than Rs. 5 crores were raised in any one year from the Indian gilt-edged market; in the post-war period (1920 to 1930) this annual amount increased to Rs. 30 crores. In the subsequent ten year period, 1930 to 1940, due to loan conversion policy among other reasons, not more than 10 to 15 crores have been raised in cash from the Indian market in any one year. This of course does not take account of the recent Defence Loans, the proceeds of which will surely pull up the average. The demand from provincial governments and from the public utility companies has been very meagre.

On the other hand, the supply of funds in this market has always been large and has exceeded the demand. This for three reasons. In the first place, the institutional investors generally perfer to hold a portion of their funds in gilt-edged scrips and this tendency has now been greatly strengthened because under the new Insurance Act, enforced since 1st July 1939, the insurance companies are compelled to hold a very substantial portion of their funds in gilt-edged paper. Secondly, the willingness of the joint-stock banks to advance money on the security of gilt-edged scrips on reasonable terms has made them popular. Finally, in India the average investor seems to prefer security to higher return and in the absence of honest and well-organised industrial investment institutions his

confidence in the stability of British rule prompts him to invest money in government securities. This disparity between supply and demand will to a large extent be removed and thereby our gilt-edged market will be strengthened if the Government of India borrows larger amounts in the Indian market; and this will be one of the consequences of the sterling repatriation programme.

Rupee-Sterling Exchange

Secondly, the repatriation of sterling loan will reduce the annual payments that Government of India has to make in sterling for "Home" charges. These payments, it will be remembered, include the interest on debt, annuities on account of railways and irrigation works, payments in connection with civil departments in India, army and marine charges, India-Office expenses, payments for stores purchased for India, and furlough allowances. These payments amounted to £41 millions in 1936-37, £37 millions in 1937-38, £36 millions in 1938-39, and £10½ millions in 1939-40. In the earlier years the figures were inflated because sterling railway debentures were being discharged and the sterling family pensions fund was being transferred. Due to the sterling repatriation programme, these payments are expected not to exceed £ one-million sterling in 1940-41. So that the pressure on the rupee-sterling exchange will be reduced.

In this connection it may be pointed out that the Government of India and its supporters have justified the 1s. 6d. ratio on three grounds: this rate has now come to exist and has adjusted itself in the economic 'equilibrium' of Indian exchanges; it benefits the importer and the consumer; with this rate the Government of India has to find less rupees to make payment of 'Home' charges in sterling than they would have to if the rate is reduced to 1s. 4d. This last argument was their most important stick with which they thought they could beat back the pressing nationalist demand for the reduction of the exchange value of the rupee to 1s. 4d. Now this stick seems to have been broken, and we will watch with interest what new argument the Government of India gives in support of the 1s. 6d. ratio. So far as we are concerned, it appears clear to us that now there is more justification for reduction of the exchange value of the rupee to 1s. 4d. than there was before the completion of sterling repatriation.

Is Sterling Repatriation Harmful ?

In some quarters there appears to be an apprehension that the repatriation of sterling loan may after all prove harmful to the value of Indian currency and to the credit of the Government of India. This fear, however, is entirely baseless. To make repatriation possible the Reserve Bank has been authorised to reduce sterling securities and to increase rupee securities in its issue department. Under the Act as modified by an Ordinance it is laid down that the Bank's external assets, *i.e.*, gold coins, bullion, and sterling securities should not be less than two-fifths of total assets and the value of gold shall not be less than 40 crores. Formerly the Bank could not hold more than ¼th of its total assets or 50 crores of rupees, whichever amount was greater, in rupee securities; now this limit has been increased to three-fifths of the total assets. This should, however, cause no panic for two reasons. In the first place, as the Finance Member himself pointed out, the only advantage of holding sterling securities is to be able, in case of need, to liquidate the sterling obligation by selling these securities. The possibility of such an emergency will be positively less now that the sterling obligations of the Government of India have been reduced. Secondly, it must be realised that even now the assets in gold and sterling are sufficiently high even from the conservative point of view. Hence, we need entertain no fear on this score.

But there are two aspects of the repatriation progamme which deserve adverse criticism. In the first place, the speed with which sterling securities have been acquired and cancelled has been unduly slow. As we have pointed out above, the thing started in 1937 but was done only half-heartedly till very recently. Even now it seems we are not taking full advantage of the splendid opportunity we have got. Secondly, there is no justification whatsoever to issue rupee counterparts of the cancelled sterling securities at the old rate of interest. The Government of India should combine sterling repatriation with loan conversion. The counterparts should only be issued at lower rates of interest; and if this is not acceptable to the erstwhile holders of sterling securities the best policy is to replace them by issuing rupee securities in the open market at lower rates of interest. There is no reason why the Indian tax payer should be asked to pay a higher rate of interest when it is perfectly possible to borrow at lower rates.

Control of Foreign Investment

The spirit of sterling loan repartriation if carried to its logical conclusion should lead to the control of foreign (including British) investments in India. The British policy in India with regard to foreign capital investments is

based upon two assumptions, both of which are wrong. In the first place, it is a thoroughly wrong assumption that in these matters the British "Commonwealth" should be considered as a single unit. This could only have been fair if all the 'units' were at the same level of economic, industrial, and political development and prosperity. Now, as things are today, Indian problems have to be considered in an entirely separate category. Secondly, it is wrong to assume that the Indian capital is shy. In ten years, 1930 to 1940, the Indian sugar industry has commanded more than rupees eleven crores of Indian capital. Moreover, the Indian investor has not been slow to respond to the call and in three periods—(1) 1920-23, (2) 1932-33, (3) 1936-37—he has put in much capital into industrial enterprise in our country. This shows the great potentiality of the Indian capital market; and if mismanagement and fraud are ruled out the supply of capital will positively be more uniform and more substantial. Hence, our future policy has to be guided by a full appreciation of these undeniable facts.

We do not hold for a minute that India should be independent of foreign capital. That will be a suicidal and narrow policy. We also recognise that foreign capitalists will not allow their funds to be invested in India unless they have the necessary security and hope of reasonable profits. But at the same time we in India cannot permit this fact to be made an excuse for political and economic interference by foreign capitalists as is taking place in our country today. The problem of "India Limiteds" has to be solved one day and we are of opinion that the sooner it is solved the less friction and bitterness it will cause, and it will thus be in the best interests of everybody concerned.

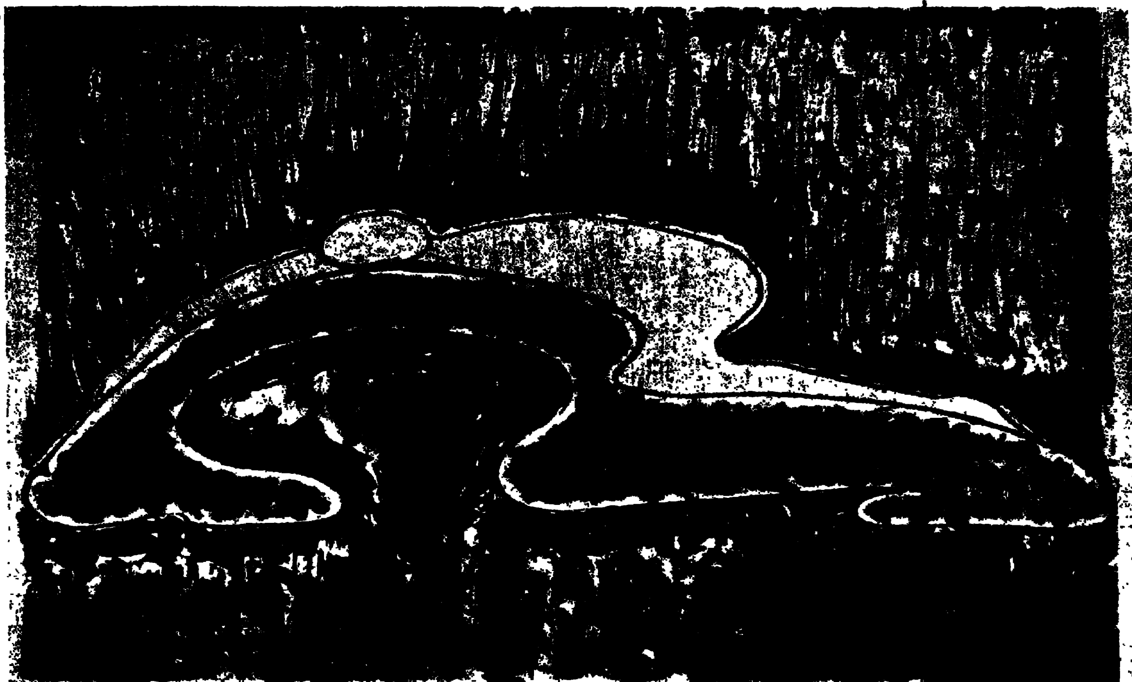
In handling the problem of foreign capital we will have to keep before us two principles. In the first place, foreign (including British) capital should not be borrowed at higher rate of interest than that at which Indian capital is available or where Indian capital comes forward on equal terms. We cannot afford to force Indian savings into idleness by allowing foreign capital to exploit those branches of production and service for which plentiful supply of Indian capital is available at reasonable rates. Secondly, foreign capital in whichever branch it operates cannot be allowed to use the device of 'cut-throat' competition to throttle Indian enterprise.

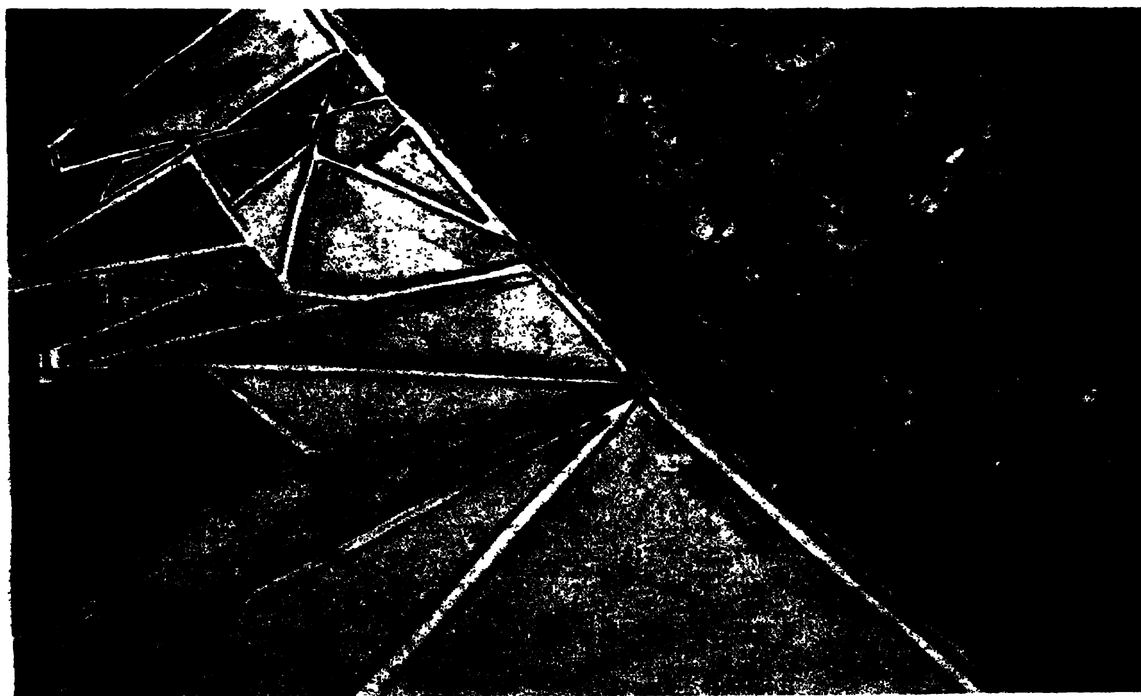
It is no solution of the problem to lay down that some proportion of the firms' capital must be Indian or that the British firms in India should have a certain proportion of Indians on their staff as directors, clerks, and mechanics. This technique of "puppet governments" will solve the problem of loaves and fishes for some individuals in India; it will, however, make no contribution towards the broader problem of Indian industrialisation. We have to concern ourselves with the basic policy of these "India Limited" companies towards their Indian rivals and this would need a far-reaching effort.

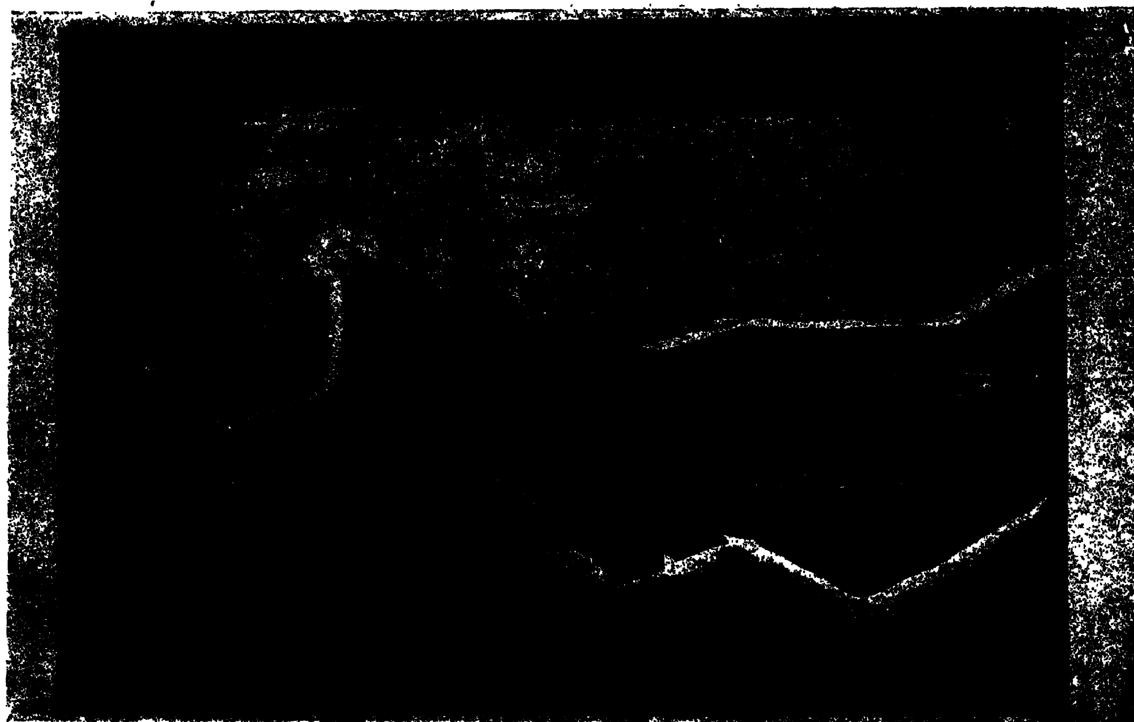
We are helpless witnesses of the struggle that the Indian enterprise has to put up against "India Limiteds" in our shipping, cement, matches, and soap industries, for example. And very soon this struggle might also become acute in our leather, aluminium, and chemical industries. It was only in December 1940, after 24 years of deadly struggle, that a brave Indian firm could claim by right nearly one-thirds of the market in the cement industry from a powerful British-controlled rival (The Associated Cement Company Limited). But not all have been equally fortunate. In Indian shipping, the Scindia Company has continued a commendable fight for the past 20 years but without making much headway. In some other industries Indian capital has suffered similar defeat. This is, therefore, our problem for solution.

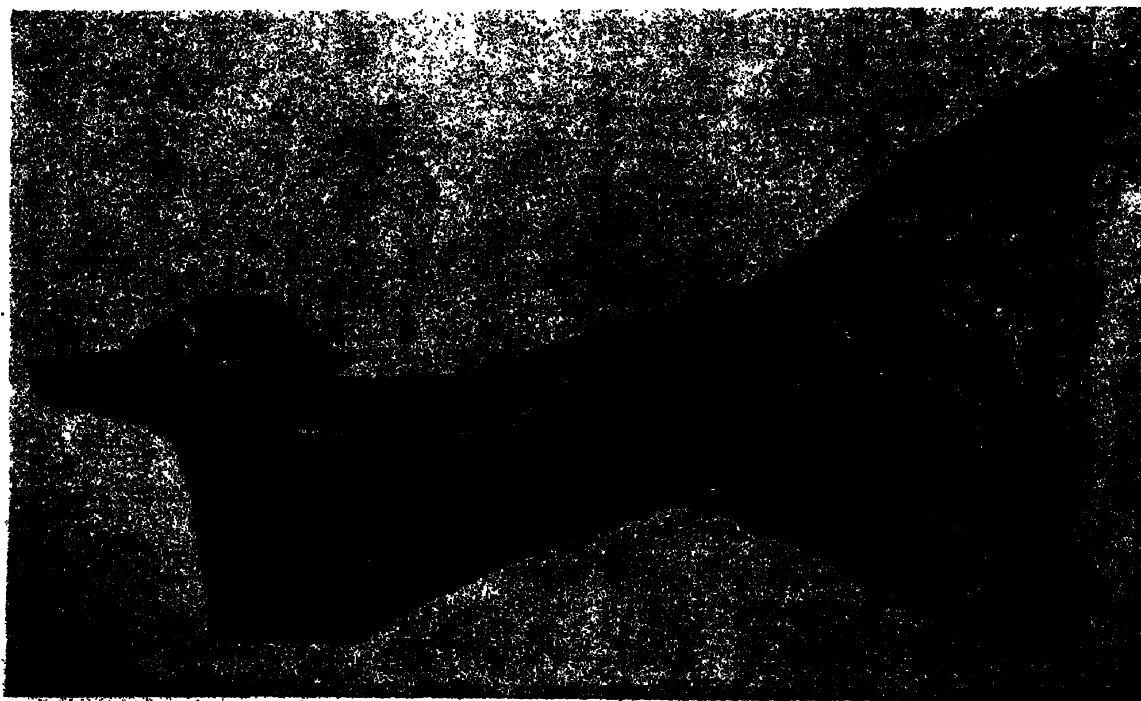
In all these cases the main point is that the costs of production of Indian firms are not higher than those of the British firms; in some cases they are definitely lower. But the trouble is that because of initial start the British firms have acquired some advantages which make them deadly rivals. It is undoubtedly true that if the Indian firms continue the struggle long enough they will win. But the wastes of the transitional period are too great and it is to prevent them that state intervention has to be invoked in our country.

One way of doing this is by enlarging the functions and powers of the Tariff Board. It should be made a permanent body whose decisions should carry more weight with the Government of India than they do at present. All complaints of 'unfair competition' against foreign capital, as well as between differnt Indian firms, will be enquired into by this Board. The Board, depending upon the nature of the case, will recommend direct state intervntion to prevent injustice by legislative action, the division of the market between the contesting firms, the grant of help either in the shape of money or preferential treatment in the grant of government contracts. It is expected that by this means justice will be secured to all the parties concernd. The stage will also be set for a rapid industrialisation of India.









RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S DRAWINGS: A PANEGYRIC

By O. C. GANGOLY

During the last few years, the works of Rabindranath Tagore in various forms of literature,—poems, drama, essays, songs, short stories and other works of fiction, have evoked enthusiastic appreciation and admiration among an ever-growing circle of cultured connoisseurs, particulraly among the younger generation in Bengal, and among that group of lovers of literature, who have outgrown the forms, conventions, and ideals of older types of expression, and who, with a modern outlook, have been thirsting for a newer form of expression to answer to the needs of newer forms of thought. But, even to the wildest admirers and blind worshippers of the poet's works in the field of literature, their favourite's excursion into the field of Pictorial Art, has proved very



embarrassing, and has severely taxed their devotion to the poet. They have been unable to understand and appreciate the poet's point of view in his graphic versifications, or to extend any warm applause to the poet's fantastic creations in line and colour. And I have been flooded with enquiries and appeals for help to an understanding of the poet's pictures. They have been exhibited in France, Germany, England and America, and have extorted appreciation from European and American connoisseurs of art. The Poet-artist, or (shall you say), the Artist-poet had been very reluctant to place his creations in pictorial art before the devotees of his creations in literature. Happily he was pursuaded to exhibit his pictures in Calcutta, in connection with the celebrations of his 70th birth-day, a few years ago. And later on, his pictures have been exhibited in other parts of India.

Being too much addicted to the study of literature, we have neglected to cultivate other forms of aesthetic expression and have forgotten the alphabets and the languages of Plastic Art. On the other hand, we have developed a cultivated ignorance of the Principles of Art, as distinguished from Literature,—an ignorance which a remarkable opportunity for contact with the living Art of modern Bengal, under the leadership of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, for over a decade, has failed to dispel. We are now in a very embarassing predicament, for, while we have neglected, with impunity, the claims of the Modern School of Indian Painting (which incidentally has won laurels in Paris, Berlin, and New York, and has now spread its influences on all parts of India),—we can ill afford to treat the pictorial creations of our favourite poet with any manner of indifference, or neglect. We are now compelled to make an attempt to learn the rudiments of the Graphic Arts, and the fundamental principles that govern them. It is scarcely to be expected that we could develop our aesthetic "third eye," immediately, or could master the language of the Graphic Arts, at one stroke, so as to be in a position to critically appraise and appreciate the quality of the poet's pictures, which appear to our untrained eyes, so 'absurd,' so 'queer,' so 'fantastic,' and so 'grotesque.'

It requires years of training, before we can master the alphabets, the vocabulary, and the grammar of a particular language before one is

qualified to enter into the atmosphere of that language and to establish contacts with its master-pieces,—be it Chinese Painting, Greek Drama, or Sanskrit Poetry. The first step towards an understanding of a new language is to shed our old pre-conceptions and prejudices and to place ourselves in the attitude of a passive learner, an attitude of reverence and humility. To appreciate a work of art unfamiliar to us, it is necessary to approach in a spirit of worship, not in a gesture of militant repudiation; not to *ask* questions, but to *accept* its message and to



try to understand it,—to let the pictures talk to us, instead of talking to the picures, ourselves.

The most obvious story that the drawings of the poet convey to us is that they are not conscious reproductions of the existing forms of nature. They do not set out to imitate, illustrate, or reproduce any recognizable forms, or types. That they may have chance resemblances to forms of flowers, animals or human bodies, is more a matter of accident than of design. In fact, they have no deliberate aim or intention to produce any definite kind of forms. They are the accidental bye-products of care-free and careless indulgences in a quaint manner of penmanship,—which allows the pen to wander about on the paper, apparently without any aims,—but really in response to a sub-conscious urge for a pilgrimage in search for rhythmic forms, "in an automatic submission to a rhythmic impulse." The character and quality of these chance calligraphs have to be judged not by their so-called resemblances to any known forms, but by the abstract rhythmic qualities of their bends and curves,—the harmonious orchestration of their component lines, and the uniqueness of the designs of their forms. The lines and forms have, therefore, to be judged in their individual quality, for their own sake, for their intrinsic merit, and for their capacity to weave out a rhythmic design. The individual merit of a peculiar line, or an idiosyncratic curve,—not answering to any familiar forms,—lies in its capacity to evoke a physiological pleasure to the eye, as it caressingly follows its rhythmic career through an intricate pattern of organic relations, without any 'meaning,' or concrete visual significance. Such designs do not stand for, symbolize, or interpret any idea, but stand by themselves as abstract and imaginary orchestrations of lines, having plastic qualities, akin to music. If we wished to indicate their quality by parallels in musical or literary compositions, we might say, they have analogies firstly, in non-sense verses, improvised by our grannies and old nurses as lullabies to put children to sleep, and secondly, in the *telena* (*tarana*) songs in Indian music composed in meaningless syllables, stitched together in rhythmic versifications.

On the first analogy, these drawings have a childlike simplicity and a spontaniety of vision and imagination. This may appear contradictory to the highly intellectual and sophisticated culture of a talented poet. But they are really the products of a mood of un-sophisticated indulgences,—in spells of 'insane' hours, when the conscious intellectual powers go to sleep, and when the latent sub-conscious impulses of artistic creation put forth their army of fairies and imps, who, in course of their childish pranks, playfully weave out original and aesthetic cobwebs of fantastic dreams.

The chief difficulty to a responsive approach to these drawings lies in the fact that they are not wholly and unconditionally non-representations, like the geometric arabesques of Islamic Art. They are somewhat tantalizing in their distant suggestions for and analogies with human and animal forms. Generally, the designs are abstract in their embryonic stage, but gradually, by the added gifts of superposed limbs, they sometime shadow forth the ghosts of some natural forms,—hovering between the actual and the imaginary, and in the final shape,

the memory of a known form is submerged and buried in the unreality of a weird dream. The wayward twisting of the outline of a bird, blossoms out into a fantastic flower, and vice-versa. Some chance combinations of line start to shape into the form of an orchid, or a shell, but, somehow, they 'change their minds' and discarding all laws of Biology, evolve, ultimately, into a shape resembling a human form. From the depths of an intricate pattern of chance scribblings, the shape of a flower slowly springs forth, but somehow avoids that destiny and is born in the form of a quaint un-earthly creature—not having any exact prototype in the human or the animal kingdom. In this manner these fanciful creations hover between the destiny of known and unknown forms,—sometimes culminating in the perfect pattern of a plausible shape, rich in ornamental elements, but very often consigned to the purgatory of mis-shapen things, to which the plastic logic of the poet-artist had denied a better destiny.

To those who are trained to understand the rhythmical quality of linear compositions, to those who are qualified to respond to the music of curves and the vibrating pulsations of abstract patterns, the imaginary qualities of the poet's drawings have a refreshing charm and attractiveness in their power of devising new shapes and designs. For, it is now an accepted canon of all modern artistic creeds in Europe, as in Asia, that the artist has an inherent right not only to deviate from the well-trodden paths of familiar forms, current in the world of Nature—but also to compete with Nature, and to devise new shapes and forms, to create a new world of imagination clothed in an atmosphere of aesthetic dreams. Visvakarmmā, as the descendant of Brahmā, has an inherent right to create original forms to be judged and appraised by no other standard than that of Rhythm and Beauty.

The infinite variety of original creations of Asiatic Art in its diverse phases of Assyrian, Sassanian, Indian, Chinese, and Polynesian Art—have been neglected and repudiated by a generation of people of untrained judgment, and spoilt by a slavish adherence to a narrow doctrine of realistic and representational ideals in plastic art.

The original creations of the poet in a new world of Expression will help us to realise the fundamental values of Forms for their own sake, and, incidentally, to chide away the prejudices and misconceptions which had misled us to regard Art as the imitative representation of natural appearances.

The neglected artists of the Modern Revival in Bengal, the starving outcasts of modern Bengali culture, are rejoicing in the fact that the conversion of a great literary genius to the true doctrines of plastic creeds was a veritable triumph for them; for, if they had failed to conquer Phillistine India, impervious to artistic stimulations, they succeeded in capturing her greatest poet.

QUATER-CENTENARY OF COPERNICAN THEORY

By SUSOBHAN DATTA, M.SC., P.R.S.

WERE it not for the war, scientists in Europe, specially in Germany and Poland, would celebrate last year the important anniversary of publication of the first account of the Copernican theory. Just 400 years ago in 1540, the first public announcement was made of the theory propounded by Nicolaus Copernicus—that the earth revolves round the sun. It was this work of Copernicus which prepared the way for the subsequent rapid advance in the progress of astronomical science made by Tycho Brahe, Galileo, Kepler, Newton and others.

In the progress of human knowledge the publication of the heliocentric theory of Copernicus forms an important landmark which distinguishes modern science from mediaeval thought. The modern period in science emerged out of the Renaissance, which was marked with a revival of certain ancient tendencies opposed to mediaeval outlook and attitude towards life and reality. To the mediaeval Christian, nature and natural phenomena had but little intrinsic interest and freedom of thought was always to be subordinated to authority. Into this stifling and oppressive atmosphere, painters, poets and thinkers nourished on the classics of Greece and Rome, and inspired with a lively interest in nature and with an impulse to intellectual and emotional self-assertion, brought in a fresh breeze. Modernism in art and literature was in

some respects an essential revival of antiquity. Rise of modern science also was to a certain extent helped by the mathematical, astronomical and biological knowledge transmitted from the ancient Greeks. But the difference distinguishing modern science from mediaeval thought or scholasticism was really due not to any radical divergence between the latter and Greek thought generally. It was due rather to mediaeval thought following one set of Greek philosophers whereas the pioneers of modern science were



Portrait of Nicholas Copernicus

imbued with the spirit of a different and earlier Greek school. Scholasticism set up the science of Aristotle which was mainly qualitative and not quantitative, as its authority and mediaeval thought exclusively followed this Aristotelian tradition. The object of scholasticism was far from being a study of nature; it was in fact a study of authorities which gradually came very near being a study of Aristotle. Pioneers of modern science on the otherhand followed the earlier Pythagorean school, which laid stress on exact quantitative descriptions and laws. The traditions followed by scholastics and pioneers of modern science were marked by another divergence as well. Following Socrates and Plato scholastics always favoured a teleogical explanation of natural phenomena. Every phenomenon taking place in nature was supposed to serve some human need. In the whole of creation Man was supposed to be of supreme importance as created by God himself after his own image, and the creator of the universe was almost thought to be solely occupied with human affairs. The earth according to them could not but be the fixed immovable centre of the universe round which the sun and other planets were moving. The Church had given its sanction and active support to this geocentric theory, which was one of the greatest obstacles to the advancement of further astronomical knowledge. Modern science had never any fancy for teleological explanation of natural phenomena, but following Democritus and other Greek atomists, had always advocated the method of explanations by reference to the causes or conditions which produce things. In fact the mathematical tendency of modern science could have no regard for and could scarcely be made to fit in with teleological explanation.

The initiation of modern science marked the breaking away from scholasticism altogether. Of course the transformation took time to complete and real freedom from the trammels of authority came much later. The martyrdom of Giordano Bruno who was burned at the stake in Rome (1600) or the persecutions of Galileo were instances of what the powerful churches would do to suppress true knowledge if it went against their accepted doctrines. But the beginning of this freedom may perhaps be identified with the year 1540, in which the first public announcement was made of the heliocentric theory of Copernicus.

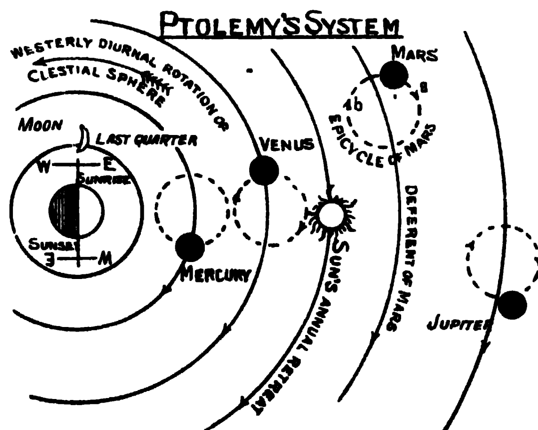
Niklas Koppernigk (more well-known by the Latinized form of his name, Nicolaus Copernicus) was born on February 19, 1473, at the small town of Thorn, on the Vistula. He was the son of a Polish merchant* and his mother was of German extraction. Copernicus studied at the University of Cracow for three years where he showed much interest in astronomy and mathematics and became accustomed to the use of astronomical instruments and to the observation of the heavens. Later on he was sent to Italy where he spent ten years studying at the University of Bologna, Padua and Ferrara. At Bologna Copernicus had the opportunity to come in close contact with Domenico di Novara, professor of astronomy there, who was a leader in the revival of Pythagorean ideals in Italy. A few years after his return from Italy Copernicus took up his duties as Canon of Frauenburg Cathedral in 1572 and spent most of the remaining thirty years of his life there. It was during this outwardly uneventful period of his life that

* There is some controversy regarding his father's nationality, whether German or Polish.

Copernicus thought out the details of his planetary theory, carried out the necessary laborious calculations and perfected the manuscript in which the fruits of his labours were given to the world in later years.

The long standing problem which Copernicus took upon as his life's work to solve was to find out what geometrical laws govern the motions of the planets in order to explain the apparent motions observed and also to predict how planets would move in future. The planetary theories which were in vogue at that time assumed after Aristotle that the earth formed the fixed centre of the universe. According to one type of theory first put forward by Eudoxus (408-355 B.C.), a pupil of Plato, each planet was supposed to be embedded in the equator of a uniformly rotating sphere having the earth at its centre. The planet revolved uniformly in a great circle of the sphere perpendicular to the axis of rotation. But in order to explain the changes in the speed of the planet's motion, their stations and retrogradations, as well as their deviations in latitude, one circular motion was not enough and he had to assume a number of circular motions working on each planet and producing by their combination the single apparently irregular motion. He held that the poles of the sphere which carries the planet are not fixed but themselves move on a greater sphere concentric with the carrying sphere and moving about two different poles with a speed of its own. Even this was not sufficient to explain the phenomena and Eudoxus placed the poles of the second sphere on a third which was concentric with and larger than the first and second and moved about separate poles of its own with a speed peculiar to itself. The spheres which move each planet or the sun and the moon were made quite separate and Eudoxus postulated the existance of 27 concentric spheres in all. But he did not seem to have given his spheres any substance or mechanical. connection. The whole system was a purely geometrical hypothesis to represent the apparent paths of the planets. But with all its elaborations the system of geocentric spheres failed to explain familiar celestial phenomena and no numerically determinate theory, fit to serve as the basis of planetary tables, had ever been arrived at with the aid of this hypothesis. At a later date Ptolemy (2nd century) explained the tracks of the planets across the sky in terms of a complicated system of cycles and epicycles. The planets moved in circular paths around moving points which themselves moved in circles around an immovable earth. In India the planetary system evolved by Hindu astronomers (*e.g.*, Aryabhatta of 5th century) coincide in outline with the system of Ptolemy. It is doubtful if the Hindus can claim any originality in this respect, since there is evidence to show that Greek and Babylonian systems of astronomy came to India before the time of Aryabhatta. The only important contribution of Hindu astronomy to our knowledge of planetary motion consists in the more accurate determination of certain astronomical constant.

For 1400 years the system of Ptolemy



Ptolemy's system : According to this system the whole celestial sphere including the sun has a diurnal motion from East to West around the earth as centre. Each planet has two independent motions : one the epicyclic orbit of the planet about an imaginary fixed point, the other the deferent orbit of this fixed point around the earth as world centre.

which was found suitable to serve as the basis of planetary tables, dominated astronomy. Copernicus had to take up his stand against the universal belief that the earth was fixed and the sun and the planets revolved round it. Aristarchus, a Greek mathematician, who lived more than two hundred years before Christ, had conceived the idea that the earth and other planets circled round the sun. But his views had received little attention. The studies of Copernicus led him to believe that a heliocentric theory would give a much better explanation of the motions he observed in the sky. So radical was his theory that Copernicus knew very well of the opposition which would be aroused both on learned and doctrinal grounds by the publication of these views. Not unnaturally therefore he hesitated to publish it though several copies of a hand-written account had been circulated among a few friend astronomers.

During the summer of 1540, George Joachim Rheticus, a young scholar from the University of Wittenberg, came on a long visit to the aged

astronomer at Frauenberg in East Prussia. An intimate friendship soon grew between the two in spite of differences in age, country and creed. Copernicus approaching three score years and ten, was a catholic canon loyal to the church, and though an independent thinker, was anxious to avoid antagonism. Rheticus, a Lutheran German, only 26 at the time, was a professor of mathematics at Wittenberg, a storm-centre of rising Protestantism. Copernicus entrusted his manuscript to this enthusiastic new disciple, who after "scarcely ten weeks of study" sent to his former Nurenberg teacher John Schoener his famous *Narratio Prima*, an account of the new ideas of Copernicus. Just 400 years ago *Narratio Prima*, the first printed account of the Copernican theory made its appearance at Danzig. Today it forms one of the rarest of scientific first editions.

Before making the announcement of the heliocentric theory Rheticus evidently meant to impress his readers with the learning and achievements of his 'Dominus Doctor' whose name however, does not appear. He was compared favourably with Ptolemy and other distinguished astronomers of the past. The great announcement is made in the following words :

> "These phenomena can be explained as my teacher shows, by a regular motion of the spherical earth; that is by having the sun occupy the centre of the universe, while the earth revolves instead of the sun on the eccentric, which it has pleased him to name the Great Circle. Indeed there is something divine in the circumstance that a sure understanding of celestial phenomena must depend on the regular and uniform motions of the terrestrial globe alone."

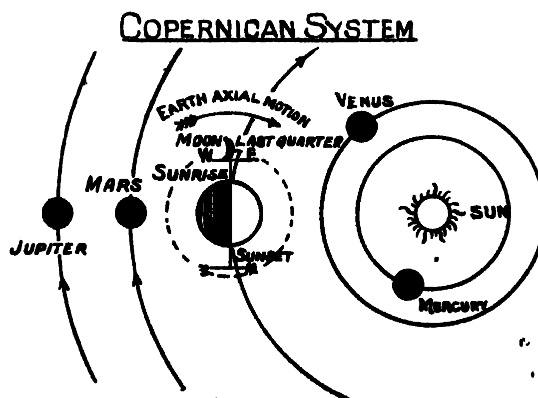
But the courage of the author's (Rheticus') conviction apparently falters and he adds later :

> "Which of these assumptions (whether the sun is at rest or in motion) is preferrable, I leave to be determined by geometers and philosophers."

The arrangement of the spheres is described with the sun at the centre, "Governor of nature, king of the entire universe, conspicuous by its divine splendour." The diurnal rotation of the earth accounts for day and night and the apparent diurnal motion of the celestial sphere. The annual revolution of the earth explains the apparent annual motion of the sun and with the heliocentric orbits of the planets accounts for their apparent convolutions. The seasons are explained by a third motion, a conical turning of the earth's axis, considered necessary to keep its direction constant during the year, because the geometrical method employed made use of a moving radius vector rigidly attached to the sun and earth. But its period was slightly less than a sidereal year and the small difference was correctly attributed to the mean precession, which constituted a fourth motion also variable. All the celestial motions were thus explained by a simplified harmonious system based on real motions of the earth around the sun.

In his monumental work, *Nicolai Copernici Torinensis de Revolutionibus orbium celestium Libri VI*, published three years later, the ideas set forth in the preliminary account were elaborated. Only after long persuasion by his friends Copernicus agreed to publish the book and handed over the manuscript to Rheticus for publication. It was finally printed at Nurenberg and published in 1543. The first printed copy, it is said, reached the hands of Copernicus on the day of his death on May 24, 1543.

The book was dedicated to the reigning Pope Paul III, whose interest and protection the author claimed. Copernicus' attitude of mind as well as the spirit of the times are nicely reflected in the following passages from the dedication : "I can easily conceive, most Holy Father, that as soon as some people learn that in this book which I have written concerning the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, I ascribe certain motions to the earth, they will cry out at once that I and my theory should be rejected. For I am not so much in love with my conclusions



The Copernican system : According to this system the earth has a diurnal motion about its own axis from West to East, and all planets (including the Earth) has orbital motion around the sun as the centre, from West to East.

as not to weigh what others will think about them, and although I know that the meditations of a philosopher are far removed from the judgment of the laity, because his endeavour is to seek out the truth in all things, so far as this is permitted by the God to the human reason, I still believe that one must avoid theories altogether foreign to orthodoxy. Accordingly when I considered in my own mind how absurd

a performance it must seem to those who know that the judgment of many centuries has approved the view that the earth reamins fixed as centre in the midst of the heavens, if I should, on the contrary, assert that the earth moves; I was for a long time at a loss to know whether I should publish the commentaries which I have written in proof of its motion, or whether it was not better to follow the example of the Pythagoreans and of some others, who were accustomed to transmit the secrets of philosophy not in writing but orally, and only to their relatives and friends, as the letter from Lysis to Hipparchus bears witness. They did this, it seems to me, not as some think, because of a certain selfish reluctance to give their views to the world, but in order that the noble truths, worked out by the careful study of great men, should not be despised by those who are vexed at the idea of taking great pains with any form of literature except such as would be profitable, or by those who, if they are driven to the study of philosophy for its own sake by the admonitions and the example of others, nevertheless, on account of their stupidity, hold a place among philosophers, similar to that of drones among bees. Therefore, when I considered this carefully, the contempt which I had to fear because of the novelty and apparent absurdity of my view, nearly induced me to abandon utterly the work I had begun. My friends, however, in spite of long delay and even resistance on my part, withheld me from this decision.

* * * *

Nor do I doubt that ingenious and learned mathematicians will sustain me, if they are willing to recognize and weigh, not superficially, but with that thoroughness which philosophy demands above all things, those matters which have been adduced by me in this work to demonstrate these theories. In order, however, that both the learned and the unlearned equally may see that I do not avoid any one's judgment, I have preferred to dedicate these lucubrations of mine to your Holiness rather than to any other, because, even in this remote corner of the world where I live, you are considered to be the most eminent man in dignity of rank, and in love of all learning and even of mathematics, so that by your authority and judgment you can easily suppress the bites of slanderers, albeit the proverb hath it that there is no remedy for the bite of sycophant"*.

It is not easy to ascertain whether Copernicus first derived his ideas from the writings of certain classical thinkers who had attributed some form of motion to the earth, or he simply introduced their names for the sake of the impression which they were likely to create and to serve as an excuse for introducing his own system. He writes in the preface to his book :

"Taking occasion thence, I too began to reflect upon the earth's capacity for motion. And though the idea appeared absurd, yet I knew that others before me had been allowed freedom to imagine what circles they pleased in order to represent the phenomena of the heavenly bodies. I, therefore, deemed that it would be readily granted to me also to try whether, by assuming the earth to have a certain motion, demonstrations more valid than those of others could be found for the revolution of the heavenly spheres.

"And so having assumed those motions which I attribute to the earth further on in the book, I found at length, by much long continued observation, that if the motions of the remaining planets be referred to the revolution of the earth, and calculated according to the period of each planet, then not only would the planetary phenomena follow as a consequence, but the order of succession and the dimensions of all the planets and all the spheres and the heaven itself, would be so bound together that in no part could anything be transposed without the disordering of the other parts and of the entire universe.

This new point of view appealed to Copernicus undoubtedly because of its greater symmetry and coherence, and for a long time after the publication of this work some uncertainty was felt as to whether the hypothesis advanced by Copernicus was really intended to be a true description of motion of the earth and planets or it was simply a mathematical device for facilitating the computation of planetary tables. In view of the religious opinion prevalent at the time, this question was of great importance, as on it largely depended the acceptance or rejection of the theory. The unfortunate situation arose because of an interpolation in the preface made by Andreas Osiander, a mathematician friend of Copernicus, to whom Rheticus left over the charge of supervising the publication of the work. Osiander himself a Lutheran clergyman, was afraid that the doctrines advanced by Copernicus would offend philosophers and strict Lutherans and he advised Copernicus to insert a statement in his preface to the effect that the whole work was to be regarded as a mere computational device without any prejudice to scriptural or physical truth. Copernicus having refused, Osiander inserted a little preface of his own. This imposture was later exposed by Kepler when the original manuscript was recovered. A Neo-Pythagorean as he was Copernicus firmly believed that his work was not only a harmonious mathematical representation of planetary motions but was undoubtedly to be accepted as the only true planetary theory.

The Copernican System took long years to

* Harvard Classics, Vol. 39, p. 55.

establish itself in scientific circles. From the beginning Lutherans opposed it vehemently and Catholic Church, though at first somewhat tolerant also went against it so much so that in 1616 Galileo was forbidden to teach Copernican astronomy. Even in the early years of the eighteenth century the University of Paris was teaching that the heliocentric theory was a convenient but false hypothesis! Its final acceptance, however, was due chiefly to the support of Galileo, Kepler, Descartes and Newton. In assessing the originality of Copernicus' work it cannot be denied that the heliocentric system had been anticipated in its barest outlines by Aristarchus of Samos, (250 B.C.) though how far Copernicus derived his ideas from that source is not known. Even assuming that the ideas originated elsewhere and long before, Copernicus' great contribution to astronomy lies in his elaboration of these ideas into a coherent planetary theory capable of furnishing tables of an accuracy hitherto unattained. The importance and utility of the heliocentric point of view have increased enormously since the time of Copernicus. On this foundation, Tycho Brahe, Galileo, Kepler and Newton added the super-structure—the analytical solution of the problem of motion of the heavenly bodies. As soon as the nature and motions of the planets had been elucidated, hypotheses and speculations as to their origin were put forward in profusion. It is remarkable that the works of Cosmogonists from La Place to Jeans have added a genetic significance to the heliocentric theory of Copernicus as both La Place's theory of nebular origin and Roche's theory of tidal origin of planets later elaborated by Jeans, have recognised the sun as the central parent body from which the substances of the planets were originally ejected either under the action of centrifugal forces or by the gravitational attraction of a second star.

AN EXHIBITION OF GRAPHIC ART OF RAMENDRANATH CHAKRAVORTY

By NILIMA DEVI

An interesting Exhibition of Wood-cuts, Engraings, Eitchings and Lithographs by Mr. Ramendranath Chakravorty, one of our ablest artists in this direction, recently organised in Calcutta by the Gallery of Fine Arts demonstrated the high standard reached by these Graphic Arts in India today.

Art of this particular nature, though in vogue in India before the advent of the present century has only recently come into its own. Mr. Chakravorty, who is undoubtedly one of the most promising in the field, came in contact with the European art-forms and the best craftsmen of the West, including Sir Muirhead Bone, W. P. Robins, Eric Gill and André Jacquemin during his sojourn in Europe. They showed great interest in the exhibition that he held in London and were unanimous in their high opinion of his ability. With this background of experience Mr.



Shyamali: colour wood-cut

Chakravorty is able to bring to his work in the graphic arts not only strength and vividness,



Winter morning by the Ganges
Etching by R. N. Chakravorty



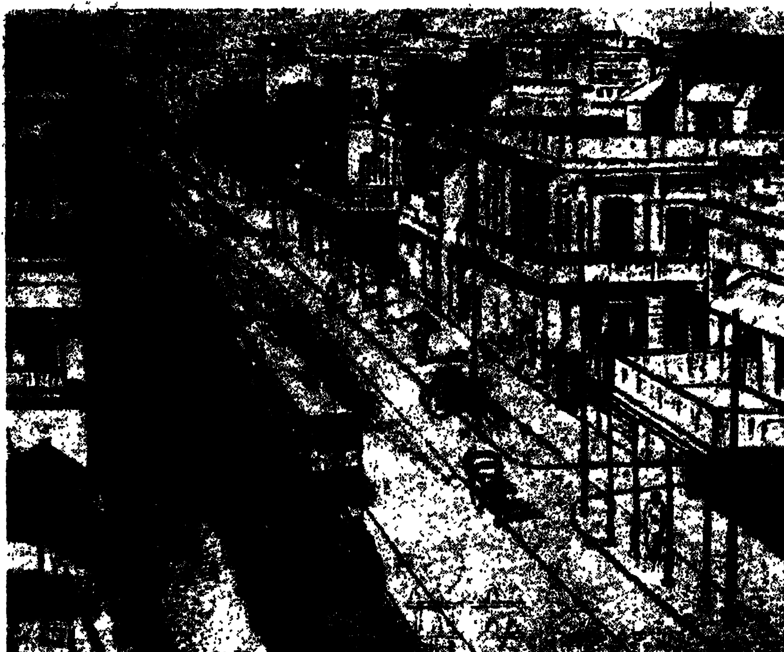
The boats and the ducks
Aquatint by R. N. Chakravorty



On the way to Badrinath
Colour woodcut by R. N. Chakravorty



The village entrance
Lithograph by R. N. Chakravorty



A street scene: Etching



Sunset on the Padma: Etching

but also a sense of the dramatic.

These qualities are evident in most of the specimens of his style which were exhibited in the Gallery. Among the etchings the outstanding exhibits were 'Hampstead Heath,' 'The Pavement Artist,' and 'A Girl in a Studio.' A fine sense of composition and delicacy of execution are the characteristic features of these three etchings. In another, 'The Padma,' the artist has conveyed the typical outlines of this particular river scene with a few deft strokes.



Old Ghat : Etching

Almost equally interesting are the Wood-cuts and Engravings. The one called 'Santal Dance' is a wonderful example of the blending of harmony and rhythm that can be achieved with simple meterials on a primitive subject, when handled in the proper manner. Simpler still is 'A Well in the Hermitage.' The subject is charming in its idyllic outlook; a hermit under a tree, two or three thatched cottages, and a well. There are few details; but what little there is, is satisfying; which is really ample praise.



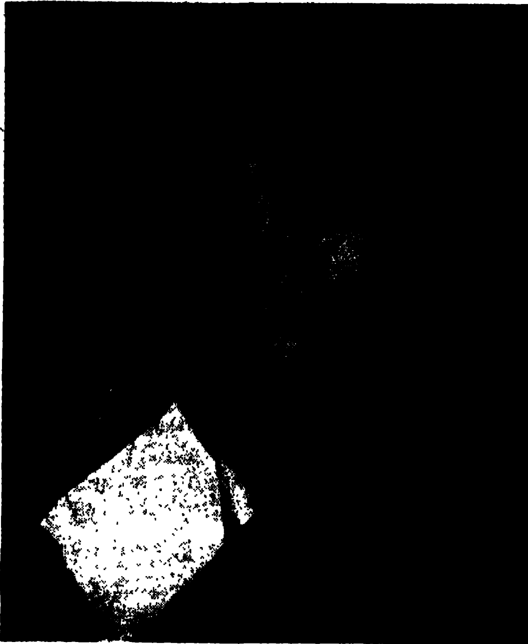
A girl in a studio : Etching

Colour Wood-cuts are not a subject that can be handled by a tyro. For, over and above a thorough sense of line, essential in all branches of Graphic Art it demands a perception of colour balance, and ability to harmonise them into one compact whole. Special merit attaches to these because of the limitations of colours, in spite of which a pleasing and artistic completeness of effect has been achieved. The best example is 'Shyamali' the mud-house of Tagore. Other good examples are the 'Boats' and 'On the way to Badrinath.'

Though by no means divorced from the tradition of this land, the technique of Mr. Chakravorty is essentially western, acquired no doubt during his fruitful stay in Europe.

Art in its best forms has never been within the reach of the mass, because of its expensiveness. But in view of its very cheapness these exhibits should appeal to people with a modest purse, who are desirous of acquiring something beautiful at a price not hopelessly out of their reach. From this point of view too, apart from its intrinsic merit, the Exhibition has been a success, a fact on which the artist as well as the sponsors are to be congratulated

MRS. SUSHILABAI LAXMAN RANADE is elected President of the Dhulia Municipal Borough for the year August 1941 to August 1942. Mrs. Ranade was elected to the Dhulia Municipal



Mrs. Sushilabai Laxman Ranade

Borough as a member in July 1941. Mrs. Ranade takes keen interest in the civic life of Dhulia City and takes active part in the movement of uplift of women. Mrs. Ranade's husband Mr. Laxman Shridhar Ranade, B.A., LL.B. is a practising pleader at Dhulia, Headquarters of West Khandesh District.

MISS SHAHEDA AHAD passed the B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University this year from the Bethune College securing a high second class Honours in English. She has the unique distinction to pass this examination, as being the first Muslim girl from Orissa. She also did well in her Matriculation and Intermediate Arts Examinations. Miss Ahad is going up for higher studies.

MRS. VIJAYA R. DESAI, B.A., who was a student of the Whitelands College for Women, Putney, London, took the L.T.C. of the University of London in July 1939 and had to return to India due to War. She has specialised herself in Psychology, Hygiene and Principles of Physical Training.

On her return, Mrs. Desai worked as Lecturer and Lady Instructor at the Government Physical Training Institute, Kandivlee, Bombay for two terms. At present she is



Mrs. Vijaya R. Desai

working as Lecturer and Instructor in the Sophia College for Women, Bombay.

Mrs. Desai is also keen in Tennis, Badmington and particularly fond of swiming. She has also a Diploma in Indian Music of the Maharastra Sangit Vidyalaya, Bombay.

MISS APARAJITA RAY, M.A. stood second class 1st in History in the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University this year. She is the first M.A. from among the women of Bankura and the youngest daughter of Mr. M. B. Ray, M.A., B.L., S. D. O., Dinajpur. Her academic career had all along been brilliant. She won scholarships of Rs. 20/- in her Matriculation and Intermediate Examinations and stood First in History in the Matriculation and in Bengali in the Intermediate Examinations and won the University medals, and extra scholarships. She graduated from the Hooghly College, standing 2nd class 1st in History. Her special paper in M.A. Examination was the History of the Marathas. She received University training in French and proposes to pursue research studies in Maratha History.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF BACKWARD CLASSES, BENGAL & ASSAM

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, B.A.,
Honorary Secretary

Origin & Constitution

The Society, which is a constituent institution of the Sādhan-āsram Seva Samsad, a corporate body registered under Act XXI of 1860, completed the thirty-first year of its existence on the 2nd of December, 1940. Its history is a standing testimony to the fact that when men, even of humble or no resources and talents but with a genuine desire to be of help to others, come forward in a spirit of service to God and humanity, they are used by God as instruments in His hand for fulfilling His purposes. The origin of this noble institution was as humble as any one could think of. Thirty-one years ago the idea of ameliorating the condition of the backward classes of the people of this province and Assam was conceived by Mr. Hemendra Nath Datta, then a worker of the Sādhan-āsram stationed at Dacca. Along with a few young friends he nurtured and talked over the idea as a God-sent message and approached it in a prayerful spirit for its actualization. The writer was present at the prayer meeting on the day when to our great joy we found that the idea had materialised itself in the form of an offer of a consecrated life in the heart of one of the members of the group—the youngest of the lot. A consultation was afterwards made with the late Pandit Sivanath Sastri of revered memory, the Founder and Superintendent of the Sādhan-āsram, and under his inspiration and guidance the Society was started in the year 1909 under the name of "The Depressed Classes Mission" with the object of promoting in every possible way the welfare of the backward sections of the population of Bengal & Assam, and of instilling into their minds the sense of dignity and self-respect as human beings.

Its Early History and Progress

With a token capital of Rs. 10-8-0 only three schools were immediately started in a Namasudra village. Since then our young pioneer worker Mr. Hari Narayan Sen, then a young man of 21 years only, made that Namasudra village in the district of Dacca his home for about ten years. Many and diverse have been the vicissitudes through which the Society has had to continue its existence and its noble work for the diffusion of education in the hitherto neglected and benighted parts of the province among the backward classes of people for their all-round uplift. Though of such humble origin, the Society gradually attracted the attention and received the support and co-operation of some of the ablest stalwarts of the Brahmo Samaj as well as of the general public. Especially, it made good progress under the leadership of its once worthy Secretaries, *viz.*, late Rai Sahib Rajmohan Das and Dr. Prankrishna Acharji, and the patronage of the late Sir Provas Chandra Mitter and Sir R. N. Mookerjee. During this period, financial assistance from the Government of Bengal to the extent of Rs. 9,250/- a year (Rs. 3,250/- permanent and Rs. 6,000/- temporary, being renewable every year) was secured and a permanent fund was created with a sum of Rs. 37,834-8-0 collected from the public. The activities of the Society gradually spread over 400 villages, having a net-work of 444 schools.

Present Financial Juncture Necessitating Curtailment

But since the early period of the last decade various reason, as set forth at page 5 of the Society's report for the year 1939-40, contributed to a sharp fall in the income of the Society. From an average of Rs. 64,875/- during the 3 years from 1932-33 to 1934-35, the income of the Society fell to an average level of Rs. 53,992/- during the last 3 years from 1937-38 to 1939-40. Consequently, the activities of the Society had to be gradually curtailed by reducing the number of its schools, so that at the beginning of 1939-40, the Society maintained only 202 schools against 444 schools in 1932-33 and 1933-34. It has been decided that from April 1941 the number of schools should be further reduced to 102 and to concentrate the activities of the Society mainly at or near some of the more improtant centres of rural reorganisation that have naturally developed in various districts of Bengal as the result of its endeavours.

Education—the Main Desideratum

The main object of the Society has from its very inception been to implant in the minds of the backward classes of the population a spirit of self-respect and self-help, so that they themselves might fight against the many social disabilities under which they have been suffer-

ing and rise in the scale of progress just like other classes of the people of the country by remedying the various kinds of moral, economic and civic degradation to which the former have unfortunately been driven by age-long repression and unjust social treatment. It would almost be a truism to say that such an object can be fulfilled only by diffusion of education. From this view-point, the retrenchment of the number of schools, which the Society once maintained or helped, is certainly to be deplored; but, as already pointed out, we have been forced to do so on account of paucity of funds. The withdrawal of the existing grants to 102 schools from April 1941, is all the more disheartening from another stand-point in that we, by an annual grant of Rs. 1,131/- only, were instrumental in rousing the spirit of self-help and sacrifice amongst the villagers themselves which, valued in monetary shape, amounted to Rs. 8,000/— odd as local subscriptions, collected and spent by the local Managing Committees themselves towards the up-keep of those schools. It remains to be seen how the withdrawal of this moral help hitherto made in the shape of token grants and of our association with the schools reacts in the minds of the local villagers. This is a matter of vital importance to classes of people who, for want of education and spirit of self-reliance, have been used to look up to others for their uplift.

Maliat Girls' School—" A Light Post "

Quite recently, I had been at one of our main centres of educational activities in the district of Jessore *viz.*, Maliat, where we maintain a M.E. school for girls with an attached hostel and have been struck by the enthusiasm which such visits on the part of the Society's workers and a few words of advice and encouragement engender in the minds of the workers and the inmates of such institutions as well as the simple folks of the locality. Maliat Girls' school with its hostel is really a " Light Post " in the midst of the surrounding gloom of the backward locality, as was once remarked by the Inspectress of Schools of the Presidency & Burdwan Divisions, who kindly paid a visit to the Institution. The difference between the aims, aspiration, conduct and mentality of the inmates of the hostel and those of other girls of the same class around is something which forcibly arrests the attention of an onlooker. As I have seen, the girls are getting not only secular education but are being imbued with the ideals of liberal life and morals. The Headmistress, Mrs. Sudhamukhi Goswami, is out-and-out a product of the Society's endeavours and monetary help as well. It gives us much pleasure to see her, not without considerable sacrifice to her financial interests, devoted to the cause of the Society, to which she owes so much, and to the betterment of her sisters of the class to which she herself belongs. It is also an encouragement and pleasure to think that each one of the boarders of the school will probably in future be the centre of a sweet home, where the value of education, self-respect, morality and fear of God will prevail amongst hapless homes of 25 lacs or so of Namasudras of our Province.

Social Reformation at Berash

I would cite an instance of how the Society's endeavours in the propagation of general education and a little of its sympathetic activities towards the reformation of the social conditions of the people among whom we work, have been fruitful in the awakening of the spirit of liberty of thought and in creating a broader outlook on social matters, which is the first *sine qua non* of all programmes of social reform. There is in the village of Berash a Namasudra Association. At its annual meeting held in the year 1919, a discussion was started at the instance of our workers as to the desirability of re-marriage of girl-widows. The forced widowhood of many illiterate girls, without any moral or religious tradition of the society in which they lived, became a direct menace to the moral atmosphere of the community. For 6 long years our workers patiently argued against and pointed out the evils of such forced widowhood, and tried to create a public opinion in favour of re-marriage of girl-widows. At last truth and good sense prevailed, and in the month of May in the year 1925, twelve girl-widows (6 on one day and another 6 on another day) belonging to a village adjacent to Berash were remarried with great eclat. In the celebration of those 12 marriages, a sum of Rs. 1,000/- was spent, out of which not less than Rs. 700/- was collected in Calcutta, and the balance was met by the villagers themselves. Since then as many as 400 to 500 cases of re-marriage of widows have been recorded in that centre. It has become a custom, so to say, to re-marry girl-widows in these quarters. In Maliat centre two cases only of such re-marriages are on record up to now. The slow progress in these quarters is due to the fact that it has not been possible as yet to create a public opinion in favour of re-marriage of widows in that centre.

As regards the good effect of our educational propaganda in other respects in Berash centre and elsewhere, as well as other allied welfare activities of the Society, I hope to write more in future.

TAGORE MEMORIAL IN WESTERN UNITED STATES

(Contributed by Members of Ananda-Ashrama, California)

On Saturday, August 9th, just after the news of the passing away of the great Indian poet and philosopher, Rabindranath Tagore, had reached the western world, a representative of a group of his occidental and oriental friends telephoned to the Ananda-Ashrama, La Crescenta, California, to know if it would be possible for the Ashrama to unite with the other friends of the poet in and about Los Angeles in a memorial service in his honour. Ananda-Ashrama, founded by the late Swami Paramananda of the Ramakrishna Mission and now conducted by the sisterhood established by him, seemed the most appropriate setting for such a memorial service, for it is a spot of rare scenic beauty, and permeated as it has ever been with the spirit of universality, it is a natural meeting place for East and West. Accordingly, the members of the Ashrama and the friends from the city began to arrange a suitable program and to send out invitations and newspaper notices to all who might be interested in order that the service might be as worthy as possible of the great soul it commemorated.

On Sunday, August 17th, the date chosen for the occasion, the weather was most propitious, and although the Ashrama is situated in the mountains about sixteen miles from the city, several hundred people gathered under the trees and "pandal" set up in the naturally beautiful patio or out-door court of its Temple of the Universal Spirit. As the audience sat resting its eyes on the lovely flower-decked hillside, most exquisite violin music blended with that of birds and falling water in Nature's sanctuary. Mr. Roderick White, a musician and composer of note and ability, had travelled many miles to contribute his offering to the occasion. After giving an invocation and peace chant, Sister Daya painted a vivid word-picture of Tagore as she had seen him on a very few occasions, including the two on which he graced Swami Paramananda's Vedanta Centre in Boston. She fully justified the remark she had made in the beginning—that sometimes the deep impression made during a very short contact with a great being is a much greater tribute to the power of that personality than an impression made by long and continued association with him. She then introduced Dr. Syed Hossain, an internationally-known lecturer on oriental history and culture and for long a personal friend and admirer of Tagore.

Dr. Hossain said that when he had read in the newspaper the brief notice of Tagore's passing, he was overcome by the sensation that a great light had gone out in a world already dark. He spoke of the years of communion that had taken place between Tagore and him and of his great good fortune in having seen his dear friend again on several occasions on his last visit to India in 1938.

He said that for at least two decades before the western world knew anything of Tagore, his name had been a household word in India and his poems and songs were murmured and sung by scholar and peasant alike throughout his native land. He then told of how Tagore had translated the poems of his *Gitanjali* into English for his own amusement and how later, in London, he had given this translation to the Irish poet, William Butler Yeats, as a token from one poet to another, and how this had opened the door to the Nobel Prize and the recognition of Tagore as a world poet.

Dr. Hossain remarked that there were so many aspects to Tagore's marvellously rich and varied life—whether one viewed him as a poet, patriot, musician, or philosopher—that one would have to speak for hours if one were to try to review the entire life, so he would attempt to point out only two or three aspects. He reviewed briefly the supreme quality of the devotional poems in *Gitanjali*, of the love lyrics in *The Gardener*, and of the poems for and about children in *The Crescent Moon*. He spoke of the wonderful relationship Tagore had with children, of how they naturally gravitated to him and he to them and of how the rest of the world no longer existed for him or them when they were together.

He then laid great emphasis on the poet's outstanding catholicity and universality and aptly quoted from him the following words: "That which I value most in my religion or my aspiration, I seek to find corroborated in its fundamental unity in every great religion or in habits expressed in the history of other peoples. Whenever we find, in the immensity of the human mind, the prototypes of something which we hold most precious in ourselves, we should rejoice." He also spoke of his absolute dedication to truth and beauty and of the ever-bubbling joy of life which he always radiated, even through his old age and illness—a joy of life that never failed because he always saw the One Beloved everywhere. In a spirit of gaiety he spent his life trying to distil the essence of truth and beauty for the happiness of mankind.

Dr. Hossain brought his words to a close

with the reading of two of Tagore's poems, "On the Fear of Death" and "Death"—fitting expressions of the immortal life that has passed on to pastures new.

Madame Barrie-Orlova, a great actress and admirer of the poet, then gave thrillingly dramatic readings of three of his poems, the last one being "Wings," which she had had the honour of reciting before the Poet himself.

Sita Devi and Ranu Devi, nieces of Swami Paramananda, now sang two of Tagore's songs. Then Ranu Devi gave a spring dance in the spirit of Tagore, followed by the "Dance of Renunciation," based on a poem of Tagore's about Srimati, the devotee of Lord Buddha, who payed with her life for disobeying the edict of King Bimbisara's son—that none should worship the Lord Buddha. For this dance a large and beautiful statue of Lord Buddha had been loaned by a Chinese friend and had been set up under a tree amid the greenery beside the Swami Paramananda Memorial Pool. The dance itself was a thing of exquisite colour and beauty of movement and a blending of poignant sadness and devoted abandonment.

The service ended with the reading by Sister Daya of Tagore's invocation to the serene Buddha beginning with the lines: "The world today is wild with the delirium of hatred"—a poem particularly appropriate to this day and age—followed by the universal benediction and peace chant.

There was spontaneous warm response from the many who had assembled to pay their tribute; all felt that the service had indeed been a fitting memorial to the immortal spirit of Tagore.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

In Memoriam

By Principal DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

Rabindranath Tagore is no more. He breathed his last on the 7th August. And in the month that has elapsed since his passing away, we have seen Bengal and India plunged in the most unutterable grief, and sunk in the profoundest mourning. Countless meetings have been held, and speeches delivered, and articles written on the various aspects of the life and writings of this myriad-minded genius. As a result, for the past month we have been living in an atmosphere steeped in the aroma of Rabindranath, and have scarcely been able to feel the void that has been created by the cruel hand of Death.

And what a void! For half-a-century Rabindranath bestrode the world like a colossus; and men of our generation will all recall that even in their infancy Tagore was a famous man, and his songs and his poems and his other writings were already the treasured possessions of the nation. The cultural world of Bengal was dominated by the overwhelming presence of Rabindranath. Through his medium we spoke, in his spirit we thought and acted, in the *milieu* created by him we lived and moved and had our being. It were impossible to visualize Bengal without Rabindranath Tagore even fifty years ago.

And since then? Since then, Bengal has had her baptism of fire—in the great Swadeshi movement and its aftermath—and who was the High Priest of that baptism? It was Rabindranath Tagore. The beloved *bulbul* of Bengal became the fiery Bard of Bengal's political and spiritual renaissance. And ever since those fateful days of over thirty years ago, whenever the nation was in distress, our ancient Bard never failed her, but coming out of the seclusion so dear to his poetic soul, ever vivified the nation with his inspiring and soul-stirring message. That happened in the dark and dismal days of Jallianwalla Bagh; and that happened even the other day when in his eightieth year he voiced forth the agony of a nation crucified.

Ever true to the kindred points of Heaven and Home, and keenly sensitive to the self-respect of his nation, Rabindranath was all the time a citizen of the world. His horizon was only bounded by the entire round of humanity; he could say in truth, like the Roman of old, "*Homo sum : nihil humani a me alienum puto.*" Happily he lived to see himself acclaimed as a Prophet of Universal Humanity. And Bengal gloried in that universal acclamation of her darling son.

And so it happened that Rabindranath, the beloved of Bengal, the idol of India, became one of the world's elect—one of that immortal band whose names "like jewels on the stretched forefinger of all Time sparkle for ever."

In this hour of our profoundest grief, that is our consolation and our pride. May the Great Soul repose in peace.

Rangpur
September 7, 1941

THE WIDOW IN THE VEDIC RITUAL

By JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London)

In Vedic Ritual the position of a widow is no more miserable than that of a widower. In the absence of the equal half, the other half becomes useless—in religious matters as well as worldly affairs—and what the surviving half can best do is to pass away the remaining part of his or her life in absolute self-abnegation—proving loyal to the deceased one and offering homage to him or her in thought as well as action. If they cannot observe the ideal, they can do what they consider best; the way is no more blocked for one than for the other. On the otherhand, the widow has some special privileges over the widower as will be shown below.

Niyoga

The propagation of children is enjoined as a religious necessity because they keep the ancestors living in the other world. On this score, the widower sometimes marries again. The widow, too, can remarry if she likes; but if she prefers to keep up the memory of her husband and live with her husband's family and at the same time have children, she may have them by taking recourse to Niyoga, or levirate.[1] Niyoga is a social custom allowing widow or even women with husbands living to have children by persons other than their husbands. It has been known in India from Rig-Vedic times.[2] Whereas the commentators try to interpret Apastamba[3] and Baudhāyana's[4] sūtras in support of Niyoga, there is no doubt that Manu[5] contradicts himself on the point as pointed out by Brihaspati.[6] Vasistha,[7] Gautama[8] and Nārada,[9] however, speak approvingly on the usage. Kautilya allows a queen to resort to Niyoga if an old king is badly in need of a competent and honest heir.[9] Yasodhara also in his commentary on Vātsyāyana[10] mentions that a brother-in-law often becomes the lover of the eldest sister-in-law; this also seems to refer to Niyoga.

The Niyoga is nothing but making a virtue of necessity and after coception, she cannot meet with the person appointed.[11] She can appoint her husband's younger brother, some kinsman or near relative of his or even an outsider during life-time of her husband if he is incapable of procreating or after his life-time if she is childless.[12] She may also do so if her husband is away from home for some years, and for some reason or other, she does not like to leave her husband's family and marry. As is only natural in ancient societies, the younger brother of the husband is preferred for the purpose as the issue, in that case, carries the maximum quantity of blood of the family of the husband possible under the circumstances.

A wife or a widow must not, however, be forced to take recourse to Niyoga[13] or inheritance or similar purposes.

Baudhāyana[14] and Vasistha[15] say that a widow desiring Niyoga should avoid meat, honey, etc., and sleep on the ground for a short period not exceeding one year. After six months of the death of her husband, she offers a funeral oblation to her husband and with the approval and aid of her brother or father, and relatives of her husband, and also in consulation with the Gurus of her family, she chooses the man to raise an issue on her.[16] A characterless, mad,

1. It was known in various ancient civilizations; see Spencer, Sociology, 1, p. 661; Denteronomy, 25, 5-10, etc.; Plutarch's Lives, Lycurgus, p. 86.
2. Rig-veda, x. 40, 2; see also Nirukta, 3, 15 and Durgacarya on the same.
3. ii. 6, 13, 7.
4. ii. 2, 34-35.

Haradatta, however, explains Gatha away saying that it represents the sentiments of a neglectful husband.

5. ix. 68; 57-cp. v. 162; ix. 120f. In fact, he contradicts himself on this point as pointed out by Brihaspati.
6. *E.g.*, Manu ix. 59-60.
7. xvii. 6-9; 63-64; cp. Manu ix. 50.
8. ii. 9. [xviii], 9-14. (No. 14). Haradatta in his commentary Mitaksara says,

Visnu, too, does not inveigh against the custom, see xv. 3, see also Nanda Pandita's comments on the same.

9. xii. 54f. see also xiii. 14.
10. Vatsyayana, chap. 23, p. 262, 1, 8, "Jyestha-bharya bahu-devaraka" commentary, op. cit., p. 263, 1, 7-8 (Nirnaya-sagara ed., 1891).
11. Narada-dharma-sutra, ii. 1, 20; ii. 2.
12. According to Gautama (xxviii. 45), issues raised are to be treated as sons of a sudra wife by a Brahmana, cp. Visnu-smriti, xv. 37.

For a list of persons to be preferred, see Vasistha-dharma-sutra, xvii. 79. For instances of Niyoga, see Mahabharata, i. 103, 104.

13. Vasistha-dharma-sutra, xvii. 65.
14. ii. 4, 7-9.
15. xvii. 55-56.
16. Vasistha-dharma-sutra, xvii. 56.

diseased or very aged widow is not entitled to Niyoga.[17] Sixteen years after maturity is the proper time for such appointment.[18] A sickly person is to be avoided for the purpose.[19] She must be economically independent of the person whom she appoints and provides for the necessary expenses for food, unguents, etc., herself *i.e.*, from the estate of her former husband.[20] An issue by Niyoga *i.e.*, a ksetraja[21] son is second in position only to the real son, being decidedly better than an adopted son. In the list of inheritance, his position is second to that of the aurasa or real son begotten by the husband himself.[22] Coming from outside as an adopted son or daughter does, the latter cannot claim precedence over the former who has the blood of the family in him.

Thus we find that the Niyoga is sanctioned under the following circumstances :

1. When the wife (with her husband living) of widow is childless.
2. When the wife has children, but not honest and competent. This is a special concession granted only to a queen, with her husband incapable of any further procreation, for in this case a competent heir is absolutely necessary for the good of the whole country.
3. But when a wife or a widow has already a good and competent child or children, Niyoga is not allowed under any circumstances.

Further the Niyoga always needs the approval of her husband if living or of her father or brother and husband's families, and then alone the children begotten can be regarded as legitimate, enjoying all the social and legal privileges of those born in wedlock. Otherwise, they are considered illegitimate. This strong emphasis on the approval of the husband, the heads of families and Gurus clearly shows that there is nothing underhand in this practice of the Niyoga, but it is a full-fledged social custom, approved, at least consented to, as necessary under certain circumstances. In course of time when Niyoga became unpopular in India the number of children to be raised by this device lowered down to two, or even one.[23] But the Mahābhārata expressly states that the number should be three and no more,[24] though in still earlier times, it points out, a larger number of children could be thus raised. Thus Vyusitāsva's wife Bhadrā is said to have obtained seven sons.[25] Balirāja had eleven sons, Kāksīvat and others, raised one maid[26] and five sons on his queen Sudesnā.[27] The Mahābharata also makes the significant remark that further similar instances were not lacking.[28] Thus we see that whereas the widowers have three alternatives to choose from, *viz.*, 1. the ideal one *i.e.*, cherishing the memory of the departed wife, leading a celibate life; 2. remarrying for the sake of children *i.e.*, for the sake of propitiating the forefathers; and 3. remarrying in spite of having children by the first wife, the widow is entitled to all these; in addition, she has another privilege, *viz.*, having recourse to Niyoga. This is specially allowed in the case of the widow because her circumstances are different from those of the widower; she may desire to stay in her husband's family. If she, however, remarries outside her family, she has to leave her former husband's house. So a middle course was devised specially for her, *viz.*, staying in her husband's family and having children by Niyoga. This shows that women were shown every possible consideration in Ancient India though it can not be denied that this attitude unfortunately changed for the worse in later ages.

17. op. cit., xvii. 57-58; Narada, xii. 83-84.
18. op. cit., 59.
19. op. cit., xvii. 60.
20. op. cit., xvii. 61.
21. For the definition of the ksetraja son, see Baudhayana-dharma-sutra, ii. 23, 17.
22. Visnu, xv. 3; Manu. x. 158-181; Yajnavalkya. ii. 127f; Narada, xiii. 45.
23. Manu, ix. 61; Baudhayana-dharma-sutra, xviii. 8—not more than two sons. Haradatta, however, explains the word as "not more than one son." Saudasa appointed Vasistha to raise one son (Asmaka) on his wife Madayanti.
24. Kunti says to Pandu, i. 123, 76-77, p. 218, Citrasala Press ed. Kunti's sister Srutasena had also three sons by means of Niyoga. Saradandayini also did the same, one of them being Durjaya; i. 120, 38-40, p. 212. Citrasala Press ed.
25. Mahabharata, i. 121, vv. 19ff, Citrasala Press, p. 213.
26. 1. 104, 42ff.
27. op. cit., v. 53, p. 193, Citrasala ed.
28. op. cit., v. 56.



FIGHT LEPROSY WITH KNOWLEDGE

By Dr. P. SEN,

Publicity Officer, British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, Bengal Branch

There is a common notion that health is a matter with which we have very little to do except to send for a doctor when we become ill and trust to the doctor's medicine and to Providence to pull us through. There could be no notion more false or detrimental to individual or social welfare. On the contrary, health is something very precious with which we have everything to do, and the most important time for concern is when we are in robust health. Similarly, we should not wait for an epidemic to occur before taking common action against disease.

Sickness and disease do not just happen. They do not come about as a punishment of divine displeasure. Diseases are not the result of fate or some unseen force which we do not understand. Disease and sickness are not accidents. Diseases are the result of causes which are largely understood. Therefore, when an individual becomes ill we suspect that either he has personally violated some principles of healthful living, or he has become infected from the carelessness, or indifference of some one else who has violated the laws of health and has spread the disease in the community.

Leprosy is a disease which in our country has for centuries past remained covered by a smoke-screen of superstition, misconception and ignorance. It is so widely prevalent in our country largely because of our indifference and wrong attitude towards the disease. Nevertheless much is known about its cause and spread.

Cause of the disease :—Leprosy like so many other diseases is caused by a very minute germ which lives and multiplies in the tissues of our body and causes the disease. In serious cases of leprosy enormous numbers of the germs are found in the skin of the body. Many of these germs may be discharged from the body of the patient, and if some healthy person comes into contact with him, may find their way into the skin of this other person, and through cuts, scratches or insect bites get into the tissues of this healthy person, and there may multiply and cause the disease.

The reader may ask how the germs find their way out of the body of the leper. Many people think that the leper with ulcers on the hands and feet is most dangerous. But this is not actually so. Such ulcers do sometimes discharge germs but usually not in very great numbers and often none at all can be found in such ulcers. It is probably very much more common for the germs to get out of the body not from the skin at all, but from the passages of the noses and throat. In these places there are often ulcers not visible from outside and from these ulcers enormous numbers of germs may be discharged and be a danger to other people. The patient with such ulcers in the noses and throat has often no visible ulcers in his body and ordinary people may not be able to recognise him as a leper, or, if they do, they may not know that he has the disease in a serious infectious form. Thus the patient who looks very bad with deformities and sores on hands and feet may not be a great danger to other people as another patient who does not look so bad, and yet has the disease in its infectious form and from whose noses large numbers of bacilli are being discharged.

Many people come into contact with even these infectious patients of leprosy but do not get the disease. Leprosy is not a very highly infectious disease, and most people, particularly healthy adults, are partly or completely immune to the disease. If the germs get into the body tissues of such persons, they are rendered inactive or killed and no disease develops. Fortunately, there are only relatively few people who are susceptible to the disease, and in such persons, if germs of leprosy get into the body, the disease develops, not at once, but two, four, or even ten or more years later.

Children are very susceptible.—During recent years the matter has been studied to find out what kinds of people are susceptible to the disease and what kinds of people are immune. It has been found that the people who get the disease most easily are children and young people living or coming into contact with infectious patients. Close contact of children or young persons with infectious patients of leprosy is the chief way in which the disease is spread. Adults are less susceptible to leprosy and when an adult has contact with an infectious leper it is not often that he gets the disease and when he does, the disease is quite often in a mild form.

Spread of the disease.—The most favourable conditions for spread of leprosy are seen in the homes of those suffering from the infectious form of the disease. If a mother is suffering from infectious form of leprosy her children often get the disease because they are young and susceptible, but the husband does not often get the disase because he is an adult and usually immune. In the same way a father often passes the disease to his children but rarely to his wife.

Leprosy is not hereditary.—These facts may lead some people to think that children may acquire the disease before birth. But this matter has also been extensively studied and it is found that if a mother who has leprosy in an infectious form becomes pregnant and bears child and if that child is taken from the mother at birth and adopted and brought up by a healthy relative or some other healthy person and not allowed to come into contact with the mother that child remains healthy and does not develop leprosy. If, however, the child is allowed to stay in contact with the mother the child will very likely develop the disease.

Danger of infectious neighbours, relatives and servants.—Children and young persons may quite easily get infected not only by the infectious parents but also by any infectious person with whom they come into contact either inside or outside the home. Relations or servants in the home, neighbours and other children or adults with leprosy may infect them. It is not to be concluded that only children and young people get the disease. There is, however, little doubt that most of the patients with serious forms of the disease are the results of infection in early life, although it may be years later that the disease actually becomes detectable in the body.

Prevention of leprosy.—From what has already been said it should be clear what is the most important thing in the prevention of leprosy, namely, the prevention of contact between infectious patients and children and young persons. The prevention of contact between infectious patients and adults, while it is desirable, is not nearly so important. The most important question is how is the contact between infectious patients and children and young people to be prevented? There are various ways.

The best method is, where possible, to provide institutions and hospitals where infectious patients may live apart from healthy people and receive treatment. In some patients treatment may help to render infectious patients non-infectious so that patients may then return home. This is no doubt the best way. But unfortunately there are leprosy institutions in Bengal for only about 1,000 people while the number of infectious cases only is probably sixty times this number. It is, therefore, evident that the great majority of infectious patients cannot be accommodated in institutions and hospitals and so some other suitable arrangements have to be made.

In some parts of India as well as in other countries, various towns and villages are making attempts to look after their infectious lepers by establishment and maintenance of local isolation centres. Provision is made there for patients to be housed, clothed and fed separately. Houses or huts are built a little apart from the rest of the town or the village and the infectious patients are pursuaded to live there. These patients may be given suitable land for cultivation and thus partly maintain themselves, and the local people are encouraged to contribute small sums of money or goods in kind to help them. Sometimes one such centre may serve not one but several nearby villages. Where isolation of groups of infectious patients in this way is difficult or impossible, it is sometimes possible to arrange for the isolation of infectious patients in their own homes. They must have a separate room, bed, clothing and feeding arrangements, and must be waited upon by adults and not by children and young people as is sometimes seen.

In the prevention of leprosy it is important that infectious patients should not marry and have children, because although the husband or the wife runs little risk of getting the disease, the children will run a very grave risk. If an infectious leper is already married, he should avoid having children, and if he already has children he should avoid all contact with them, and, if possible, arrange for them to be taken by some other member of the family to live elsewhere.

Treatment of leprosy.—It used to be thought that no medical or surgical treatment was of any real value in leprosy. There were various medicines in our country which were reputed to produce improvement in some cases, but the effect of treatment was not at all marked. One of these medicines were Chaulmoogra oil, which was often used in a very impure form for rubbing on the affected skin. During the last thirty years or so various doctors and chemists have tried and succeeded in producing pure preparations of Chaulmoogra group of oil suitable for injection. At the present time the particular oil of the group that is widely used all over the world is known as Tubrok Oil (Hydnocarpus Wightiana), and it has been found that injections

of this oil are much more beneficial than the old method of rubbing it into the skin or administering it by mouth. Injections of these pure forms of oil are now the common form of treatment in leprosy, and it is of undoubted benefit in many cases. The treatment however has many limitations. There are some patients who are so bad that they cannot get benefit from this or any other form of treatment. Patients, therefore, should take treatment before the disease is too far advanced. The treatment has to be continued for a long time.

In spite of these limitations the treatment has become sufficiently popular to make it possible to open clinics for the treatment of leprosy in many places in India. There are hundreds of such clinics in the country. In India altogether there are thousands of patients attending these clinics. In Bengal the number of clinics is limited, and the patients attending them are a very small fraction of the total number.

The result of treatment though often good, are not so good as to make it possible to solve the leprosy problem of India by treatment centres alone. An infectious patient may be treated for years and still remain infectious, and convey the disease to others. Therefore preventive work along the lines indicated above is a very vital need.

Attitude of the general public.—Governments and local bodies can do a certain amount to try to deal with leprosy problem, but unless the public really demand it, little or nothing will be done. In any case, all our attempts to deal with leprosy are very much handicapped unless the people in the villages and towns do what they can themselves and try to assist in work against leprosy.

At the present time the attitude of the ordinary people varies very much. Some people are terrified if any one with leprosy comes anywhere near them. Other people are quite indifferent and do nothing to prevent infectious patients coming into contact with them or their children. Both these attitudes of mind, terror and indifference, are wrong and harmful. People need to be taught to change these attitudes and take up instead a rational attitude. People must realise

(1) That leprosy is very common in our country.

(2) That leprosy is infectious but not highly infectious and that the infectious lepers should be treated with humanity and kindness.

(3) That many lepers (three-quarters of the total number in India) are non-infectious. In Bengal out of an estimated total number of two-and-a-half lakhs about sixty thousand patients only are infectious.

(4) That children and young people are susceptible to leprosy while most adults are partly or completely immune to leprosy.

(5) That the most important thing in the prevention of leprosy is to prevent contact between infectious patients and children and young people.

(6) That unless the people of the villages and towns do what they can to prevent this contact it will be impossible to control leprosy.

Leprosy has been common in our country for many centuries. Susruta, our ancient Hindu physician, recognised and described the disease quite elaborately in Susruta Sanhita which was compiled about 2,500 years ago. There is also a mention of the disease in the Rig Veda which was compiled about 5000 years ago. From those ancient days until now leprosy has been common in our country, and it has caused great misery and suffering. The physical suffering in leprosy is often not very great, but mental suffering is often very great indeed, because lepers have been regarded as obcjcts of divine displeasure for fantastic sins committed either by himself or by some of his forefathers, and have, therefore, been classed and treated as outcasts. Throughout all these centuries many lakhs of pople in India have suffered from leprosy, have left or been turned out of their homes, have gone on pilgrimage to holy places like Tarakeswar, Baidyanath, Puri of Prayag seeking relief, mental and physical, from their ills. But the relief rarely came, miseries and sufferings multiplied instead and their own doors being closed against them, they were compelled to gain a living by begging and end their days in misery. Until about a century ago little was done to ease their lot. In some temples and holy places, religious-minded people provided rooms or sheds where lepers could be provided with food and shelter, but a huge majority of them remained uncared for. Work done for lepers was not organised and constructive.

During the last hundred years, however, largely as the results of the efforts of certain missionaries, people have at last begun to do something constructive to improve the lot of these lepers. For a long time the work was confined to establishing leper asylums where lepers could be housed, clothed, fed and looked after and end their days somewhat peacefully under the loving care of these benevolent persons. Then about 1920 or so some doctors like Rogers and Muir took up the study of leprosy with right earnest and this work has been going on and increasing ever since. They have found out many important and interesting facts about leprosy and as more was found out more people, not only doctors but others too, began to take interest in leprosy problem and more and more institutions were opened until there are now

about 90 institutions in different parts of India with a provision for about 14,000 patients. Our requirement is much greater than this number.

But we are thinking in terms of not merely for provision and improvement of the condition of those suffering from leprosy, we are thinking in terms of preventing people from getting leprosy for, after all, prevention is far easier and cheaper in leprosy than probably in any other disease if only the people would care to mould some of their habits according to most elementary rules of hygiene. If and when our people will learn about the disease and do all they can to prevent leprosy the disease will gradually become less and less until when it will die out altogether.

It is with this object in view that in 1925 the Viceroy, Lord Reading, established the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, and collected funds as an endowment. This Council has branches in all the provinces of India including Bengal. The Bengal Branch is anxious to spread knowledge of leprosy throughout this province and to encourage and assist constructive work.

ASSAM CENSUS, 1941

By B. K. BHANDARY

THE more one studies the 1941 Census figures of Assam the more intriguing they turn out. The studied or rather the sphinxlike silence maintained by the Census authorities, both provincial and central, in the face of challenging demands for explanations of the Census vagaries, is to say the least, curious.

The most charitable and at first sight obvious explanation of the drop in the Hindu, Christian and Buddhist populations, was that tribals who in the last Census went under the above religious heads, must have returned themselves as only tribals this time, in view of the political advantages accruing to them by virtue of the provision of separate electorates, under the present Constitution. But even assuming without at all admitting the validity of this view (as many tribals returned themselves this time also, as Hindus, Christians or Buddhists) there were not enough Hindu, Christian and Buddhist tribals in 1931, who even if they had gone back, or by Census ukase compelled to record themselves as tribals, would have raised the tribal figures, this time to 28 lacs and a quarter. Here are the 1931 figures, for all the recorded tribal peoples in the province (1931 Census, Tables, pp. 260-61.)

	Tribe	Total	Hindu	Tribal	Xian	Buddhist
1.	Abhor	14,042	240	13,800	2	....
2.	Aka	38	....	35	3	....
3.	Dafla	1,600	39	1,550	11	....
4.	Garo	1,93,473	6,104	1,57,897	29,472	....
5.	Hajong	7,595	7,503	90	2	....
6.	Kachari	3,42,297	2,56,332	77,157	8,808	....
7.	Khamti	3,672	14	14	....	3,644
8.	Khasi	1,71,957	2,192	1,30,485	39,280	....
9.	Kuki	91,690	4,161	78,481	9,048	....
10.	Lakher (Lushai Hills)	6,105	....	5,638	467	....
11.	Lalung	43,448	31,179	12,026	243	....
12.	Lushai	1,14,158	990	54,007	59,161	....
13.	Mech	9,216	7,851	687	678	....
14.	Mikir	1,29,797	31,283	94,855	3,659	....
15.	Miri	85,038	79,848	5,152	38	....
16.	Mishmi	2,234	66	2,168	....	....
17.	Naga	2,68,303	2,355	2,39,265	26,683	....
18.	Rabha	69,154	60,518	8,215	421	....
19.	Singpho	2,908	53	1,302	....	1,553
20.	Syntang (Pnar)	60,573	30	43,388	17,155	....
	Total	16,17,298	4,90,758	9,26,212	1,95,131	5,197
	Add Tribals from among the tea-garden and ex-tea-labour castes	53,121	....	53,121	....	....
	Grand Total	16,70,419	4,90,758	9,79,333	1,95,131	5,197

Thus the entire tribal population in the province, including Hindu, Christian and Buddhist tribals, in 1931 was 16,70,419. And this at best could have grown to about 19 lacs during the decade. But from where on earth comes the other 9 lacs and odd to raise this total to 28 lacs and odd in 1941 ? This is an enigma which only the Census Pandits of the Government can and ought to explain.

Barama,
6-8-'41.

POTATOES AS RAW MATERIALS OF INDUSTRIES

By PRABODH CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAY

The plant kingdom, in addition to its supplying food to the men and beasts, feeds a number of industries which provide us with comforts. Of these cotton comes foremost to the mind as a nucleus of the huge textile industry. The cotton clothing industry gets its raw materials from the fruits of the cotton plants. The trunks and branches of a variety of trees in the lofty hills supply raw materials for manufacturing paper. Out of these forests another species is supplying splinters for the match boxes, which give us 'handy' fire, not mentioning here the other uses of wood in furniture, packing and in house building.

Now comes the report of the successful working of an absolutely different kind of vegetable product. The plant producing the product has so long been solely cultivated for human consumption. Recent news say that its increasing consumption in the industrial field has given a great impetus to its itensive cultivation. In the continent of Europe the industry of potatoes (together with the cultivation) has been profitably developed during the last twenty years and patato meal, starch, dextrine, glucose and alcohol are now the industrial products. When vitamins were not so much in the air, the food-values centred round carbohydrates and proteins, which are of course essential for a man doing hard manual work. Starch is a form of carbohydrate and we get it in abundance in potato, rice and wheat. In the kitchen potatoes yield the same substance with different tastes borowed from the added spices. But in a chemist's laboratory the potatoes serve to give products which are characterised by altogether new properties and different uses. The different products are the results of some clean separation of the different constituents of the potato and later of some proceses altering the links among the three kinds of atoms, carbon (C), hydrogen (H) and oxygen (O) which are present in a molecule of carbohydrate. The chemical reactions break the units into similar but smaller complete units.

Potato contains about 20 per cent starch, 76 per cent water (which become 70 on storing) and the remainder is made up of cellulose pentosanes with varying proportions of starch converted to sugar and inorganic matter. If there are acidic inorganic material in the soil, more starch is found converted into sugar in the potatoes from that soil.

Potato Meal

In potato meal the potato starch and the fibrous portions of the tubers are not separated but kept in a mixed condition after being macerated. The product can be stored for years and requires much less room than the complete potatoes from the fields. It is used as a dressing for the yarns in cotton mills. It may also serve as a food. This product makes use of all available potatoes including those rejected, being decomposed during storage or while growing in the fields under unfavourable climate. Dirt on the skin of the potato is a source of later decomposition and should be scrupulously removed as a first step towards the manufacture of potato meal and other products. It is then mechanically converted into pulp and sterilised in closed vessels under steam and pressure. The 'cooked' pulp is next disintegrated (the peel and any hard portions) into fine particles by means of machine similar to the grinding machine, used for sharpening knives and razors. The non-broken hard points are settled at the bottom of a vessel, which may be given to the cattle. The suspended meal after drying preferably under vacuum, is ready for the new use.

Potato Starch

In the manufacture of potato starch or farina, which name may be familiar to some, the attempt is to get the maximum amount of starch completely separated from the fibrous matter. In practice about 98 per cent is extracted. Here also a careful washing forms the first principal operation. By means of countercurrents and revolving paddle arms and later by passing through a series of compartments provided with agitators, all dirt and impurities are removed to prevent fouling of the starch liquor. With the help of serrated blades on the rim of a moving wheel the tubers are next broken by a process of rubbing or grinding (with one stone fixed and the other movable and subject to adjustment according to the desired fineness of the grains). The separation of the potato starch from the pulpy mass leaving the grinding mills is accomplished by passage through a number of

extracting sieves of increasing mesh. The exhausted pulp from the sieves is used as a cattle food. The starch liquor obtained, however, contains soluble impurities and these are removed by certain chemical agents like sulphites, hypochlorites. After a vigorous agitation with these chemicals, the liquor is allowed to settle and the clear solution is run off. In a centrifuge lined with silk and filter cloth allowing only the water to pass out, the starch is dehydrated efficiently. The deposited starch layer contains two different portions, one of the fine starch grains and the other is composed of fibrous starch. The latter is scraped to be fed into the grinders again for further treatment. After removing the water the starch layer is dried by hot air on a series of circular shelves. The special brand of farina undergoes further sifting and dressing after this drying.

Dextrine

The next product in the process of commercial exploitation is dextrine. It is commonly used as an adhesive. In dextrine the original properties of starch is lost and new characteristics are imposed. In its manufacture use is made of a chemical like hydrochloric acid and a temperature higher than normal. These two make starch soluble in water. Much of the marketed dextrine is made out of starch which are not marketable due to signs of mildew from fibrous or other impurity and are sometimes discoloured by overheating during drying. These however provide the starting materials for a new product. As a maximum of only 1 per cent hydrchloric acid is sufficient for decomposing the starch, thin layers of preheated starch are moved on one or more slowly moving belts encased in a chamber containing the acid in the gaseous state. This ensures uniform impregnation of the little acid over a large mass of the powder. The acid-impregnated starch is stored at a temperature, slightly higher than our normal. If an acid solution is used instead of acid gas, the risk would be greater to add more OH groups to the starch which will make starch sweet than stopping at the required point the conversion of the starch into glucose. The product from the dextrinising vessel is lumpy and contains only about one per cent of moisture. To convert it into a marketable product it is first powdered and sifted, and for economical reasons allowed to reabsorb water to the extent of about 12 per cent.

Crystal gum is an improved edition of dextrine. Ordinary dextrine is dissolved in hot water and then discoloured by activated charcoal (very commonly used in sugar refineries) and filtered. The filtrate is heated to a thick consistency which on cooling solidifies. The solid blocks are made into coarse powder. During preparation the non-dextrinised starch vary in proportion from 3 to about 50 per cent and some sugar is also formed which in commercial types of dextrine range to the extent of about 27 per cent. In the method of its preparation, if careful manipulation of temperature is made, these non-essential elements can be separated. Dextrine being an intermediate product, the starting material and the end product are found in varying porportions in the goods we purchase.

Glucose

Glucose is the next product in the series. It may be commonly identified as sugar which is generally given to patients for regaining strength. Its manufacture was a rural industry in European countries until chemical science developed it into a factory commodity and produced it in large amounts in standardised quality. The bulk of glucose manufacture is made from potato starch which gives higher yields than cereal starch. Potato starch is boiled under pressure in a closed vessel with about 1 per cent hydrochloric acid and the acid is afterwards got rid of by soda producing a little common salt as a result, which however does no harm to the main product. The product is made white by agitating the syrup with activated charcoal. Glucose is supplied to market as syrup, solid glucose and as crystals. For the last purpose potato starch, instead of potato pulp should be the first material to start with, and this gives 98 per cent purity. The hot glucose liquor is first cooled to a point about 10 degrees higher than our normal temperature when a few well developed 'seed' crystals are distributed throughout the pan. The temperature is next lowered and maintained there until a good crop of crystals is obtained.

Alcohol

When the decomposition of the glucose is further aided by chemical means, we get alcohol from potatoes. This alcohol has its uses in the internal combustion engines either alone or in combination with petrol. Another rich source of industrial alcohol is molasses obtained as a by-product in the sugar factories. 5 or 6 tons of washed potatoes are steamed in a closed vessel under double atmospheric pressure. This process kills all the bacteria present and the tubers are converted into pulp and the contained starch is converted into a thick syrup. From the vessel the contents are cooled to a

temperature of about 40°C (a high temperature during our fever) when 8 per cent of barley malt (a product obtained when a barley liquor is allowed to ferment, being kept at a temperature higher than normal) is added. The amylase of the malt converts the starch into water-soluble dextrine. Whether more malt will be required to convert starch into dextrine is ascertained by the persistence of a blue colouration in the solution when iodine solution is added to it. After it is all dextrine, the temperature is raised about 20° and the dextrinase of the malt produces maltose from the dextrine. In fact some glucose is also present. Yeast is now added to this weak sugar liquor and a low temperature is maintained when the fermentation proceeds. In this method it is difficult to control the growth of bacteria because we cannot kill these by heat as heating would break down the diastase and slow down the reaction. To obtain malt free from undesirable bacteria the old process has recently been modified in Germany by substituting the barley malt with certain moulds, a class of low vegetable organism feeding on plants and plant products. These are cultivated at controlled temperature on moistened rice. These moulds convert the starch to sugar and are capable of converting the sugar into alcohol. But yeast is further added as it is a more energetic agent to ferment the sugar into alcohol. Only 2 lb of mould is necessary for a ton of pulp and this small quantity can be cultivated under the aseptic conditions of laboratory. The risk of contamination which is unavoidable in the large-scale preparation of malt is therefore obviated. Before adding mould the pulp is acidified with hydrochloric acid and a temperature of 40°C is kept constant. A current of air agitates the mash which forces out 'carbon dioxide' released (due to the enchroaching habits of mould which does not stop after converting starch into sugar but provides more oxygen for the product to be burnt) as a result of early fermentation of the sugar. The whole process under mould takes 36 hours. In practice about 52 per cent of the original starch in the potatoes is utilised. The process is not complete in some cases and sometimes the chemical agents go to decompose the alcohol. The liquor resulting from the fermentation—'Wash'—requires filtering. The filtrate contains a maximum of 10 per cent of alcohol. Modern stills have been improved to produce 97 per cent alcohol in one operation by continuous vaporisation and condensation, and driving out the superfluous water.

Economical Aspect

There is a notable thing in the potato industry. The various products enumerated above even when unsaleable due to defects arising on storage or otherwise can serve as a raw material for the next product in order of precedence as decribed in the present account. This is a very clear economical factor in the cost of manufacture because an unlimited interchange of products between the factories concerned is possible. In this way wastage of materials, which during process of manufacture and storing fail to maintain the standard, is avoided.

Potato is however not a rich source of starch. But its utility lies in the fact that potatoes containing 20 per cent starch have been grown 5 tons per acre and thus give about 1 ton of flour, whereas wheat containing about 60 per cent starch produces 1 ton of grain in the same area and yields only 12 cwt. of starch. The growing of potatoes for food give the cultivators small margin of profit due to heavy costs of manuring. But now potatoes for the factories should considerably increase the gain. For manufacturing purposes, tubers decaying or broken up during harvesting and the small ones left to rot in the field are all utilised. Further, the nutriments like potash, nitrogen and phosphorous extracted from the soil can be returned to the land through the wastes of factory processes. The wastes may also be used as a cattle feed which will allow larger head of stock to be reared and will indirectly give the farmer a large supply of manure.

It should be noted that the industry in Europe, specially in Germany, owes its growth to a subsidy from the State but the preliminary stages being over there appears no reason why this chain of potato products should not find a big market and stabilise the industry. Apart from these products, aldehydes which are 'burnt' alcohols and obtained during distillation are made to condense together, that is polymerised, with phenol (or carbolic acid) and these find use in the synthetic resin trades for use in plastics. During distillation of alcohol another byeproduct, fusel oil, is obtained which finds extensive use in making industrial solvents. To top over these, it was reported before the present war that Germany had published a newspaper printed on paper produced from the leaves and stems of the potato plant. The wood pulp thus released was meant to replace certain metals.



Book Reviews



BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

POEMS: *By Sri Aurobindo. Published by The Asram, Pondicherry. Price Re. 1.*

Esoteric spiritual significance will be claimed for these poems—the literary reviewer cannot reach there. A breath of intense fervour communicates itself through some of the verses, and great power, speaking from the purely lyrical level, occasionally touches a single line in spite of the avowedly secret and private content of the book.

But the reviewer, if he is not self-deluding, will also have to note the heavy Swinburnean atmosphere of the language, and mark that the metaphors and phrases betray the derivative "poetical" touch of the 'nineties. Mingling with visions which are un-Swinburnean, the language hangs like an acquired cloak impeding artistic expression. "Joy's flaming scheme" is a case of linguistic anti-climax; "fire-importunities of scarlet bloom" is another. "Thought the Paraclete" is a web of such phrases, completing poetic disillusionment even when the reader's reverence may remain unaffected.

This yellow book provides examples where the instinct for the right word fails and descends on the obvious. "Mingled symphonies," "transform the body of the mortal," "channels of rapture" belong to this category. These are only a few instances, they could be multiplied. Where the modern touch is sought to be conveyed, the effect is equally unconvincing. To compare Nirvana with "a cinema's vacant shapes" is not felicitous. Where such expressions alternate with a plethora of the purple poetical—"smitten purple with incarnate divine desire"—thought must get clogged in the lurid air, so strangely composed. Shades of the Victorians, even of Hopkins, inhabit many of the reminiscent passages; there is also a good deal of what is called "Oriental" imagery in such poems as "The Rose of God." "Damask force of Infinity" is one of the less attenuated examples.

But these poems, evidently, are not to be judged as poems; there the inadequacies are obvious; but as something else. "Transformation" and "Nirvana" survive as poetry and move us in spite of linguistic excess and any hidden meanings they may contain. This book bears all indications of a private world, meant to be unfolded to the initiated. "Rose of Bliss, fire-sweet, seven-tinged with the ecstacies seven" is a key-line, frankly excluding the worshipper at the shrine of poetry.

VIKRAMORVASIE: *Translated by Sri Aurobindo. Published by The Asram, Pondicherry. Price Rs. 3.*

A more perfect translation of Kalidasa's drama could hardly be imagined. This is a fine rendering done in superb poetic language. Indeed, the rendering is sometimes too completely English to allow us to savour Kalidasa's peculiar imagination and the aroma of his age. "Urvasiean Ayus bows down to thee" is very English; while, "his holy thread is white," without any explanatory note, refers to an origin without conveying the original significance to a non-Indian reader. The book suffers much from the exclusion of Glossary, Notes, and a suitable Introduction. This exclusion proceeds from a different concept with regard to the translator's art; today, we care more for the indigenous and exact sense, and detailed atmosphere rather than for generally transformed experience, even if we have to be led painfully at first through footnotes and textual commentary. The system of spelling Sanscrit words also calls for an explanation. Why "Himaloy"—which is nearer to Bengali than to Sanscrit pronunciation.

But these are incidental points and we raise them in order to clear the path for complete and delighted surrender to this extraordinarily gracious and sensitive translation. May we hope that a cheap edition will be issued so as to make this book accessible to a wider public?

X.

THE WORKING OF THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF IN INDIA: *By L. C. Jain. Published by the University of Delhi. 1941. Pp. 114. Price not stated.*

This volume contains the Sir Kikabhai Premchand Readership Lectures for the year 1938-39, and constitutes No. 9 of the Delhi University Publications. Ten lectures are printed as ten chapters and there is a good bibliography. Dr. Jain is a well-known figure in the Indian economic world, and the book under review deserves to be much better known to professors and students of Indian Universities. The volume under review should prove very useful as a text-book for the B.A. in special subjects under Economics. Less than a generation ago, even Indian writers like Dr. P. N. Banerji (leave alone numerous European and Anglo-Indian writers) wrote his "A Study in Indian Economics" (it has been revised recently, but it still retains

its old beliefs), and at that time, "agriculture was subject to the law of diminishing returns" and therefore India was a backward country. India had a regular coast line and was poor in iron and coal deposits, and so India could not expect to become an industrial country. The best policy for India, as for any other country, was *laissez faire*. Protection was introduced into India with numerous apologies. Dr. Jain's book proves to the hilt that even with so many conditions, the protectionist policy has proved very helpful in the prosperity of the population.

Dr. Jain had to squeeze too much matter into very short space. Hardly three pages have been devoted to the sugar industry: one wishes that more space had been given for the discussion of some of the present-day problems relating to sugar manufacture and sugarcane cultivation. He rightly begins by saying that the data collected by the several Tariff Boards about numerous industries should prove very valuable material for professors and students to analyse and study. India is on the threshold of a new political life, and when she is about to formulate her economic policy on national lines, it is most appropriate that stock should be taken of achievements of the protectionist policy so far pursued in the country. Dr. Jain also stresses the fact that after the last great depression, the world view about protection has thoroughly changed: countries which would not have touched protection even with a pair of tongs, are now in love with it.

On page 95, Professor Marshall is quoted for proving that the youth of the country is her greatest force. On page 33, the Tariff Board of 1934 has been quoted to show that after the present period of protection is over, India does not require protection against Continental steel (leave alone the unforeseen effects of the present war). Dr. Jain concludes his study very fittingly: on page 114, he says:

"Because of the protective tariffs in India during the past fifteen years, the people of the country as a whole are richer, they are happier and more efficient, and that after all is the greatest testimony to the success of protective policy. The cultivators and labourers are better off with protection than without it, and they after all constitute the backbone of the nation."

S. Kesava Iyengar

EARLY MONASTIC BUDDHISM, Vol. I (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 30): *By Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, Calcutta. 1941. Pp. 340. Price Rs. 6.*

The book under review consists of twenty chapters dealing with geographical location of Vedic and Buddhist culture, early Indian thoughts and beliefs, the religieux of ancient India, six heretical teachers, other non-Buddhist views, the *Tathagata*, doctrine of impermanence, appearance of Buddha, causes of the spread of Buddhism, method of preaching and teaching, spread of Buddhism, the middle path, the moral precepts, the Buddhist meditation, the fundamental principles, growth of the *Sangha*, ecclesiastical acts and punishments, the *Patimokkha* rules, constitution of the *Sangha* and the First Buddhist Council. In the first chapter, the author has given us a brief survey of the places where Buddhism found its way. In the second, third, fourth and fifth chapters he has given us a very interesting account of the early Indian schools of thought including the ascetics, heretics, wandering teachers and many other non-Buddhistic schools, *e.g.*, *Sassatavada*, *asassatavada*, etc. In the sixth chapter he has given us a very clear idea of *nibbana* according to the Hinayanists and the Mahayanists. Equally interesting is his account of the advent of the Buddha in Chapter VIII. The author has ably set out the various causes leading to the spread of Buddhism, and he has not failed to give us a brief account of the spread of Buddhism in *Magadha, Kasi-Kosala, Kapilavastu, Vesali, Mithila, Anga, Pava, Kosambi, Avanti, Kuru* kingdom, etc. In Chapter XII of his book, the author has discussed the Buddhist view of the middle path (*majjhima patipada*). "Golden Mean" as it is called is the expression which verbally fits in with the Buddhist *Majjha* or *Madhya*. It is nothing but the middle course of the two extremes. It undoubtedly served as the guiding principle to the whole of the Vinaya discipline according to which the life of the Buddhist Holy Order was to be moulded. Under this head the author has given us short notes on *sila, citta* and *panna*. His chapter on Buddhist meditation dealing with *samadhi, samapatti, asubhas, anussatis, kammatthanas, jhana*, etc., is useful. Under the fundamental principles the author has explained such difficult topics as *Khandhas, dhatus, ayatanas, indriyas, ariyasaccas, paticcasamuppadas, samkharas, salayatanas, phassa, tanha, vedana, bhava, jati, upadana*, etc.

As regards *paticcasamuppada* or dependent origination we should bear in mind that its mode (*naya*) differs from the *patthana* mode. It is concerned with sequence in the procession of events or phenomena as observed while the *patthana* mode is concerned with the differentiation of the various causal factors (*paccayas*) involved in the causal relation. (I have discussed this point fully in my *Concepts of Buddhism*, Chapter VIII, and also in my paper on the *Formulation of Pratityasamutpada* published in the *JRAS.*, 1937, pp. 287-92). The author's chapters on the growth and constitution of the Buddhist Sangha are well-written. His account of the First Buddhist Council is interesting and instructive.

The book, on the whole, will be found useful by students and scholars interested in Buddhism and the history of Buddhist thought. It is deficient in one respect, namely, it has no Index, although the author has promised to supply it at the end of the Volume II which he proposes to bring out very soon.

B. C. Law

THE DARK WELL: *By Harindranath Chattopadhyaya. Kalakshetra, Adyar, Madras. 1939.*

Mr. Chottopadhyaya is no new-comer to those who enjoy reading English poetry written by Indian writers. This volume of verses testifies to the writer's amazing command of the English language with all the intricacies of rhythm and rhyme which usually baffle the Indian poet who wishes to communicate his experiences in English. From the point of view of technique Mr. Chattopadhyaya's poems are undoubtedly convincing; as regards their contents, they deal with experiences that cannot easily be classified. There is a good deal of metaphysical and mystical meditation in them, while most of the imagery is taken from nature. The book is beautifully got-up and should be recommended to all lovers of poetry.

A. Aronson

THE CHURCH TAKES ROOT IN INDIA: *By Basil Mathews. Published by the Edinburgh House Press, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W. 1.*

We have here an account of the aims, aspirations and activities of Christian missions in India. The author shows very great knowledge of Indian life in general, and life of the Indian villager in particular. He gives a fairly accurate account of the break-up of the emotional structure of the Indian mind and of the foundations of his social and communal life, owing to the impact of western civilization. He is alive also to the new political and economic idealogies that are

working in India today and he is also aware of the ideals for which men like the Mahatma Gandhi and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru are working. And on the whole he is quite sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. But, for all the ills from which India is suffering the one remedy suggested by him is the spread of Christianity.

The *Harijan* movement of Mahatma Gandhi is, according to our author, without any inherent authority in Hinduism; and Hinduism has been stirred to take interest in the welfare of the Harijans only by the work of Christians. The Harijans will never realise their fullest rights except within the fold of Christianity (pp. 49-50).

But Christianity is not one. There are so many churches and so many denominations. In India they ought to be one. He pleads for co-operation among the different churches—co-operation between East and West, co-operation between denominations. Large numbers, we are told, are crying for God's Christian light; "during the last year (*i.e.*, 1937) twenty-seven thousand (aboriginal *Bhils*) have been baptized" (p. 138). This is not the time for the various denominations to fight among themselves. "No one who has seen the wistful waiting multitudes of India with their faces turned toward the Light can question where the strategy of the hour lies" (p. 139). And in this *strategy*, the National Christian Council alone can take the lead. That is to say, the different labels of Christianity must present but one religion to the Indian mind.

"The National Christian Council," we are told, "has set up a sub-committee to deal with Christian marriage, divorce, social hygiene, and sex instruction for the young. Frank, able pamphlets for girls and young wives are being published" (p. 105). "Sex instruction for the young" and "frank, able pamphlets for girls" is a kind of work which many will probably like to see being done, but is it to be the work of a Christian Church Council?

We agree with the author when he says that "India's all-embracing need is for men and women in whose very fibre the standards of love and justice, truth and the will-to-serve are rooted" (p. 97). But unfortunately even among missionaries such men are by no means plentiful. Not infrequently the missions in India play their role as appanage to the Imperial fabric. When the author complains of a "universal paganism" fighting against "the freedom of the spirit everywhere" (p. 135) and of "the Cæsarean State, with its ritual, slogans, and shirts of many colours" organising the life of youth from Tokyo to Rome (p. 135), he has our fullest sympathy. But is there more real Christianity outside the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis?

Even Christian missionaries must face the unfortunate fact that Christian countries do not follow Christ's teachings better than those who do not *profess* Christianity. Brotherhood of men—of white, yellow and coloured races of men—is still a distant ideal. And the white races of Europe and America need as much to be Christianised as the coloured races. Contemporary world-events do not show that God's Kingdom has been established anywhere on earth.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

SIKH CEREMONIES: *By Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh. Published by International Book House, Bombay. 1941. Pp. 96. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a neat little book of delightful reading on Sikh ceremonies with a translation of Gurumukhi prayers in verse. This literary service to Sikhism is not a bid for fame on the part of its too illustrious author whose object is only to make the Word of the Guru reach the heart of humanity. This book comes with a very learned introduction from the pen of an equally loyal Sikh, Raja Sir Daljeet Singh. The author straightway describe every ceremony of his religion as it is without any boring apology or pseudo-scientific explanation of it as a less cautious writer would have perhaps done. Every ceremony among the Sikhs is simplicity itself in comparison with the cumbrous rituals of the orthodox Hindus. In Bengal, seven rounds completes the marriage ceremony; in the Punjab four is enough. Guru Granth Sahib is everything with the Sikh; he requires no other symbol like *Shalagram* or sacrificial fire. In the countryside of Rajputana and the Punjab, the women sing a song when the couple moves round:

Pahile phere babaree beti,
Duje phere mama-ree bhanji;
Tije phere dulhan dulha-ree,
Chauthe phere Dhee huiee parayee.

In the first round the girl walks free as her father's daughter; in the second as maternal uncle's niece (always proud of her mother's clan); in the third she becomes the bride of the bridegroom; and in the fourth a daughter passing to the control of others. The Sikh *Lavan* (hymns sung during four rounds) as quoted by the author is sublime philosophy and poetry. Death has neither terror nor sorrow for the Sikh; it is forbidden to near and dear ones to weep; nor it is allowed—as it prevails among Hindu upper classes of U. P. to pay barbar women for weeping over the dead (*Nayan ki rona*). Funeral is a silent and manly farewell to the dead, and burning of his earthly remains.

This book, we hope, will fulfil well the noble purpose that lies at its inception.

K. R. QANUNGO

HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES: *Edited by D. G. Karve. Published from Fergusson College, Poona. February, 1941. Pp. 238+xi. Price Rs. 3.*

This volume of essays by eminent scholars on historical, political and economic subjects has been published on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Fergusson College Historical and Economic Association and dedicated to its Founder-President Professor V. G. Kale, the well-known authority on Indian Economics.

It is not possible to critically notice the varied contributions, for most of them raise important issues. The historical section opens with articles on Maratha history, the pride of place having naturally been given to Potdass' "Bajirao in the Land of the Brave Bundelas." Of general interest are three articles in the section on "Aspects of Social Life under Maratha Rule" by Professor Oturka, Valabhi, the Ancient Buddhist University by M. G. Dikshit and "Where stands Clio?" by Professor Sharma—the last being a plea for the now-well-recognized necessity of an authoritative history of the Indian *peoples.*

The section on politics is slender but contains a very cogent and bright contribution by S. V. Kogekar on "Foundations of Political Science," wherein he seeks to rid the subject of its "moral pretensions" on the one hand and enlarge its domain to the study of all forms of social organization. An informative and suggestive contribution on the Indian States by R. H. Kelkar is also included in this section, which students of the problem should not miss.

The articles in the economic section are varied in their interest and cover more than half the volume. Special reference must be made of the editor's own article on "Population and Progress," where he lucidly presents the inter-connection between the problem and

capitalistic developments and incidentally notes the fallacies underlying popular assumptions and some declamations by demagogues. For richness of details and practical information three articles attract notice: "Basic Principles of Minimum Living Wage" by S. G. Beri; "Future of Foreign Capital in India" by N. G. Abhayankar; "Civil Aviation in India on the Eve of the War" by M. R. and B. R. Dhekney. Suggestive analysis of theoretical problems may be found in S. G. Barve's "The Competitive System," N. A. Mavlankar's "The Building up of Economics" and J. J. Anjaria's "Approach to Indian Economics."

The above scrappy enumeration would be enough to show the merit and quality of the volume. Most of the contributions are of a high standard and do credit to the Association and the famous Western India College.

Benoyendranath Banerjea

A WOMAN OF INDIA: *By G. S. Dutt (Indian Civil Service). With a foreword by Rabindranath Tagore. Published by the Oxford University Press. 1941. Price Rs. 2.*

The modest title encloses the life-story of Saroj Nalini, the founder of the Mahila Samitis in India, told by her husband. She was a woman of courage (physical and otherwise) and common-sense, and patriotism in her was finely tempered to the reality of her environment. Reading her biography now, we may see what an educative influence she exerted on her husband at a most critical stage of her life, and how she promoted in him a love of the indigenous institutions. The tribute to her memory paid by her husband all through the sketch, by C. F. Andrews in the introduction, and by Rabindranath in the Foreword to the Bengali version in 1925, was no doubt well-deserved. Whoever has attended any annual function of the Association that goes by her name will testify to the usefulness of her achievement, and the present edition should have wide publicity on account of the idealism that it preaches in modern times.

ESSAYS ON MAHATMA GANDHI, Book I, MAHATMA GANDHI AND AHIMSA, Book II and MAHATMA GANDHI AND TRUTH: *By K. R. Menon, Ph.D. Published by the Greater India Publishing House, Singapore. 1940. Price 30 cents each book.*

It is a laudable attempt to speak on Truth and Ahimsa specially when people jeer at the faith that holds on to them, and bombers are considered suitable illustrations for Christmas greetings and decorations. The writer, Dr. Menon, has taken up his work in earnest, and has studied Mahatmaji's writings with care. There is ample scope for a simple, clear-cut, coherent and compact exposition of Gandhiji's noble thoughts, and these publications deserve to be widely read and appreciated, in India and Greater India.

P. R. Sen

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING: *By S. K. Dey of the Indian Civil Service. Published by Indira Dey, Collector's House, Nadia. Price Re. 1.*

This is a brochure describing an experiment in co-operative farming in the district of Nadia launched through the initiative of Mr. Dey while he was the Collector there. It is no easy matter to bring together ignorant cultivators in a joint endeavour of this kind as anyone who has an intimate knowledge of the countryside will at once attest. The fact that Mr. Dey succeeded in even making a start with such a scheme is proof of his remarkable powers of organisation. But that is a minor matter so far as this brochure is concerned. What strikes the reader most is the severely objective presentation not only of the particular scheme which gives the brochure its title but the entire problem of economic reconstruction of the countryside against the background of which this scheme is considered.

The scheme has been worked out down to the minutest detail, the smallest items of budgeted expenditure and receipt being given for the benefit of interested readers. As a result we are convinced not only that it is a workable scheme, but also a perfect one, if any scheme can ever be perfect. But, as its author himself points out, it is a scheme with a strictly limited purpose. "It aims to tackle only one of immediately adverse factors in the agricultural situation, namely, the factor of sub-division-cum-fragmentation of arable land." Industrial expansion, in his opinion, offers the only permanent solution of the problem of population pressure on the land.

But permanent solutions may be long, too long in coming. In the meantime mere palliatives like Mr. Dey's scheme are welcome for what small measure of relief they provide for the time being. If Mr. Dey has earned our thanks by serving out such a palliative, he has done so still more by emphasizing that it is nothing more than a palliative.

An administrative officer's regional affiliations are of uncertain duration. Mr. Dey is no longer on the spot to supervise the working of his pet scheme. We should not be surprised to learn that his followers have given it up as a bad job. Even Mr. Brayne's famous Gurgaon experiment fell to pieces after he left the place. But whether his scheme is successful or not, Mr. Dey has not written this brochure in vain. A more significant document dealing with this important aspect of the problem of land in India has not come our way recently.

H. Sanyal

STATUS OF INDIAN PRINCES: *By Pyarelal Nair. Published by Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad. 1941. Pp. 44. Price annas four.*

This pamphlet gives in a compact form and in a lucid manner an idea of the Status of the Indian Princes of whom there are about six hundred. It considers some of the topical questions concerning the Princely Order: how far has the Paramount Power the right of intervention in internal affairs of the States; how far is it bound to help them against the legitimate aspirations of their subjects; has it any duty towards the people of the States against the autocracy of their rulers? It also examines the fantastic claim made by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, that "if the Crown withdraws from India, the Indian States presumably will reassume the position they occupied in India before the treaties were entered into."

Mahatma Gandhi in his Foreword writes: "The existence of this gigantic autocracy is the greatest disproof of British democracy and is a credit neither to the Princes nor to the unhappy people who have to live under this undiluted autocracy. It is no credit to the Princes that they allow themselves powers which no human being, conscious of his dignity, should possess. It is no credit to the people who have mutely suffered the loss of elementary human freedom. And it is perhaps the greatest blot on British rule in India."

"Nationalist India," says Mr. Nair, "would welcome the Princes into partnership with itself on a basis of absolute equality, provided they came as free agents, representing the will of their people." And he concludes: "Far from asking for the abolition of the States, the Congress has offered a solution which will not only restore to the States a reality and a vitality which, on

their own admission, Pax Britannica has robbed them of, but will give to their rulers, as constitutional monarchs, a status of honourable equality in a free India."

Mr. Nair presents his views dispassionately. The chief merit of his pamphlet is that it relies entirely on authentic records.

There are one or two slips, explainable perhaps by the circumstance that the writer was behind gaol walls at the time of the publication of the pamphlet.

A. B. Rudra

SONS OF THE SOIL: *Edited by W. Burns, D.Sc., I.A.S., Manager of Publications, Civil Lines, Delhi. 1941. Pp. ix+128+43 plates. Price Rs. 2-6 or 4s.*

The object of the present book is to present a popular account of the peasant's life in different portions of India. The field covered is the peasant's daily round of life, his food and labours, his games and amusements and his general outlook upon life. The types have been judiciously chosen from all quarters of India, and some of the accounts have a fine literary quality which is striking in an official Government publication.

The illustrations are excellent, and, we are sure, the public will welcome more books of the same sort about rural India. One wishes to know more about the dress, habitation, means of travel and transport, to be found in rural India; and an illustrated book like the present one covering these details would indeed prove equally helpful and instructive.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

PRIORITY OF THE YOGA-VASISTHA TO SAMKARACHARYA: *By Swami Bhumananda. Published by the Kalipur Ashrama, Kamakhya, Assam. Pp. 17.*

This is a paper read before the Tenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati last year. It concerns the great controversy about the probable date of the Yoga-Vasistha. Dr. B. L. Atreya of the Benares Hindu University who, like Swami Bhumananda, holds, in his great work on the philosophy of the Yoga-Vasistha, the view that the Yoga-Vasistha is prior to Sankara, has contributed a foreword to it. Most of the arguments advanced herein, in favour of the thesis, are however very vague and flimsy. The only strong evidence put forward in support of this view is the references of Sankara to the Yoga-Vasistha in his commentaries on the Gita (4-13), the Svetaswara Upanishad (8-1) and Sanatsujatiyam (15, 31-1). But whether these three references of Sankara are made to the Yoga-Vasistha or not, one cannot say with certitude. Such an evidence seems to be more conjectural than conclusive.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

PRACTICE OF BRAHMACHARYA: *By Swami Sivananda. Published by the Sivananda Publication League, A. C. Mansion, P. 167G, Bentinck Street, Calcutta. Pp. 140. Price Re. 1.*

BRAHMACHARYA DRAMA: *By Swami Sivananda. Published by the Sivananda Publication League, Ananda Kutir, Rikhikesh. Pp. 108. Price annas eight.*

The aim of both these publications is to impress the value of Brahmacharya.

In the first book the author has explained what is exactly meant by "Brahmacharya" and how to practise it. Any one who wishes to build a healthy body and a strong intellect should take this as a guide-book.

The same theme has been given a more effective form in the second book. This is a very good play-book for the students of schools and colleges to enact every year during the Pujas, Prize distributions and the like. The appendices at the end contain many useful informations on Brahmacharya.

Suhrid Krishna Basu

METRO'S CALCUTTA DIRECTORY (with Howrah and Suburbs), 1941: *Published by Messrs. Metro's Publicity, Sales and Service, Ltd., 10, Clive Row, Calcutta. Pp. 372. Price Rs. 4.*

The publication under review contains all the necessary informations regarding the city of Calcutta with Howrah and Suburbs. Special attention has been given towards Trade and Industry, Government of Bengal Educational and other Departments; even necessary information re., A. R. P. is also given. Though there is scope for improvement, the publishers have tried to make the compilation as useful and complete as possible.

Souren De

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

ANANDALAHARI: *With Translation and Commentary by Sri Swami Sivananda, Ananda Kutir, Rikhikesh. With a Preface and English Translation by Mr. Boris Sacharow. Published by the Sivananda Publication League, Calcutta.*

The volume contains the first 41 verses of the well-known hymn of the Great Mother by Sankaracarya, generally passing under the name Anandalahari or Saundaryalahari, strictly titles of the two parts into which the hymn is supposed to have been divided. The work appears to have been based on the model of the Theosophical Publishing House edition of the entire hymn (noticed in the pages of this Journal in February, 1940), though it does not seem to have reached the high standard of the latter. The order of several verses towards the end is different from that in the other edition or in the text adopted by the famous commentator Laksmidhar. But no indication is given of the manuscripts on the basis of which, the text is edited. The translation does not always strictly follow the text. It is difficult to make out, for instance, how the second half of verse 24 could be translated in the way in which it is published in the edition. The Roman transliteration which follows the Devanagari text of every verse is far from satisfactory. The absence of any diacritical mark mars its usefulness. Moreover, *visarga* is generally left out and the dental mute non-aspirate in Sanskrit is systematically represented as an aspirate. Mr. Sacharow's translation, which is metrical, is given at the end of the book.

Chintaharan Chakravarti

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

UPANISAT GRANTHAVALI, Part I: *Edited by Swami Gambhirananda. Publisher—Swami Atmabodhananda, Udbodhan Office, 1, Udbodhan Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-4.*

We have here a beautiful handy edition, with Bengali translation and notes, of nine of the principal Upanisads, *e.g.*, Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya, Taittiriya, Aitareya and Svetasvatara. In an 18-page introduction, the learned editor has discussed the main teachings of the Upanisads and their position in Vedic literature as well as Indian thought. The word-for-word Bengali equivalents which precede the translation will be much helpful to readers with little knowledge of Sanskrit in following the text without any difficulty while the explanatory and critical notes that follow it will be welcome even to the Sanskrit-knowing

reader in grasping the inner meaning of these mystic writings. The Udbodhan office deserves the congratulations of the religious-minded Bengali Hindu for bringing out attractive editions of popular scriptural texts like the Gita, Chandi and the Upanisads. We eagerly wait for the proposed second part of the series containing the Chhandogya and Brihadaranyaka. It is only natural to expect that this will also uphold the prestige and dignity of its predecessors.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

UNAVIMSA SATABDIR BANGALA (BENGAL IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY): *By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta. 1941. Price Rs. 2.*

During the last two decades, there has been a renewed interest in a critical study of the cultural history of Bengal in the nineteenth century. From the very commencement of that century, the contact and conflict of Bengal with western civilisation led to an entire reconstruction of its culture in almost all its aspects. In order to understand our present-day culture, it is essential to appreciate its deep and far-reaching foundation on the culture of the last century; and we are grateful to a small band of scholars who, with exemplary patience and industry, have been giving us the results of their fruitful studies of the hitherto neglected mass of documents and records of the nineteenth century. Their attention, however, has been hitherto chiefly confined to a critical examination of the various aspects of its educational and literary history, and we have now some excellent monographs bearing upon these subjects. That the trend of these studies has been inspiring and fruitful is shown by the present work, which attempts in a modest, but thorough, way to investigate some other aspects as well of the cultural history of the nineteenth century Bengal. Mr. Bagal selects for his study seven interesting and important personages of this period, namely, Rustomjee Cowasjee, Radhakanta Deb, David Hare, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, Tarachand Chakravarti, Rasik Krishna Mallik, and Radhanath Sikdar. He has spared no pains to make the accounts full and critical; and his style of presentation makes them interesting. He has not relied upon second-hand information, which is mostly untrustworthy; but at every step he has taken care to go back to original records and furnish correct and unbiassed statements of fact. It will be enough to say that in this he has been guided by the example of Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji, whom he acknowledges as his Guru in this sphere; and it must be said that the example has been inspiring. The author has eminently succeeded by his patience, perseverance and regard for historical accuracy. The last three studies, especially that of Radhanath Sikdar, deserve special mention, but all the studies have given us new and interesting facts which are bound to be of immense value to a critical study of the cultural history of Bengal. We congratulate the author on his success, but we also expect that he will continue these studies and give us from time to time the results of his interesting research into the forgotten records of the nineteenth century.

S. K. DE

BANGLA PARANO (THE TEACHING OF BENGALI): *By Prof. Priyaranjan Sen. Published by Bharati Bhavana, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 138. Price Re. 1.*

This is a timely publication. In these days when Bengali is taking its rightful place among the other subjects of study in our schools it is imperative that teachers of Bengali should pay increasing attention to the various methods of teaching the subject. The author has done well in placing his ideas and suggestions at the disposal of those who are interested in the work, professionally or otherwise. He speaks with authority on the subject as he has been connected with the Teachers' Training Department of the Calcutta University since its inception in 1935.

The book not only sets forth broad principles but also goes into details and gives a number of helpful and constructive suggestions. It is hoped that the book will stimulate interest and help teachers to make the teaching of Bengali a source of pleasure and profit to themselves and to their scholars.

KSHITISH ROY

KAUTUKA-KATHA: *By Sri Devendra Nath Mitra, M.A., B.L. Published by Das Gupta & Co., 54/3, College Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

A small volume of 51 funny stories. Some are collected from talks and gossips, some probably from foreign periodicals, and the rest are the author's original composition. As a leisure time recreation, the study of the book may not be unprofitable.

ANJALI: *By Sri Devendra Nath Mitra, M.A., B.L. Published by Das Gupta & Co., 54/3, College Street, Calcutta. Price annas twelve.*

A small book of poems. Though not of a very high order. Some of the poems are sweet and agreeable. The pieces of translation are formal and unattractive.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

DIARY KE KUCHH PANE: *By Ghanshyamdas Birla. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 134. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book, under review, consists of a sheaf of some leaves from the diary which the writer evidently kept when he attended the Second Round Table Conference in London, on behalf of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The record begins with the time when Gandhiji, Malavyaji and others left Bombay per *S.S. Rajputana* till the closing sessions of the Conference. The writer's eagle-eye took note of everything, concerning Gandhiji, that happened on board the ship during the voyage and at the ports which it touched on the way. It was roses, roses all the way, but after his arrival at his destination the roses were changed into thorns, for Gandhiji met with disappointment after disappointment. However, this gloom, which gathered round him, was relieved by the touching expressions of the poor people's love for him, his presence among the children whose company he liked better than the meetings of the Conference, his acceptance of some jewels which were returned, in token of repentance by the surviving members of the family of a military officer, who had taken part in the Mutiny of 1857 and carried them off home as a part of the spoils of victory; Lloyd George's remark that without Satyagraha, India would not get Swaraj; the late Lord Lothian's observation that the Indian moderates were no longer held in high respect by the Englishmen of his way of thinking and that they knew that the British Government had to settle accounts with the Congress, the Moslems and the non-Brahmins (whereupon Gandhiji said, "Leave the third party out") and his efforts, single-handed, alas! against the vivisection of India.

Diary Ke Kuchh Pane is not only an interesting study of the mystical mind of Gandhiji, but also of various other types of people, such as the English politician, the Indian communalist, and the British

business-man. There are some very good pictures in the book.

G. M.

MARATHI

MALIK AMBER (Shri Sayaji Bal Jayana Mala, Vol. 165) : *By V. S. Wakaskar, Baroda. Published by P. A. Chitre, B.A., Khari Bav Road, Baroda. Crown size. Pp. 88. Price annas six.*

Malik Amber, the Abyssinian soldier of fortune, general, statesman and administrator made history by his genius, bravery and loyal and unflinching support of the Ahmednagar principality carved out of the Bahamani Kingdom of the Deccan. He stoutly fought the Bijapur Sultans as well as the Delhi Moguls in defence of Ahmednagar and postponed the day of its final subjugation by the vastly superior Mogul hordes. Besides this, he introduced and established the survey and settlement system in the Deccan. He also initiated the guerilla method of warfare, specially suited to the mountainous terrain of Maharashtra, successfully adopted by the Mahrattas after him. Mr. Wakaskar's small book brings out these salient points in an easy and simple style and should thus prove interesting as well as instructive to those for whom it is intended.

SHALINICHI NIVDAK PATREU : *By Govind Balwant Makode, B.A. Published by Keshav Bhikaji Dhavale, Girgaum, Bombay. Crown size. Pp. 143. Price annas twelve.*

Social, political, ethical and other questions of the day, interspersed in an epistolary literary form and handled by an observant mind find readier acceptance from the reading public than when they are offered in the usual discoursive method and the letters contained in this book are an example in point. Though nowhere near their eminent precursor *Vatsala Vahinichi Patre* which appeared over nearly two decades ago either in form, grace or merit, the present collection makes good reading by its easy and unaffected style and introduces to the readers some of the questions and personalities of the day in their unconventional form. The letters create in particular a homely atmosphere such as one would expect by their domestic setting and makes one live in their spirit for the time being.

D. N. Apte

MALAYALAM

JEAN VAL JEAN : *By Vidwan K. Prakasam. Publishers—A. R. P. Press, Kunnumkulam. Crown size. Pp. vii+220. Kunnumkulam, 1112. Price Re. 1.*

This book is a condensed version of the well-known work of Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables*. There have been already one or two versions of the book in the Malayalam language of which Nalappad Narayana Menon's *Pavangal* is a literal translation in three volumes consisting of 3,000 parts and covering several hundreds of pages. This monumental work has been found to be not easily procurable by readers of poor financial resources, so the author at the instance of some of his friends has condensed *Pavangal* to a handy manual so that it may come within easy reach of all. The title of the result of his labours is *Jean Val Jean*, after the name of the most important character in the original work.

The author is well-known as a modern Malayalam writer and a novelist who has earned some reputation by his literary work. He therefore needs no introduction. The book is written in good Malayalam and the author has taken special care not to spoil the trend of the story in the abridgment. One who has read the English version of *Les Miserables* can see that *Jean Val Jean* is a faithful summary of the original work. "Few, save the poor, feel for the poor." Unhappily the author has introduced a note of *sringaram* on page 195, which is uncalled for as unwholesome in a popular work of this character and which has given a superficial touch to the conversation between the grandfather and his grandson. Nonetheless, the author deserves the hearty congratulation on his production of a book which will undoubtedly prove a valuable additional contribution to Malayalam literature.

P. O. Matthai

KANNADA

KAVI KANAKADASARU : *By Sheshacharya Katti, B.A., LL.B., Pleader from Anantshain-galli, Belgaum. Crown 8vo. Pp. 12+258. Price Re. 1-8.*

In this book, the writer has discussed the life and works of Kanaka Das—a lyrical poet of 16th century. He was a contemporary of the Great Krishna-Devaraya of Vijayanagara—the famous patron of Art and Letters. His benevolent reign was the source of many a cultural activity in Karnataka. Sjt. Katti has endeavoured in a small compass to throw a flood of light on the cultural and religious movements of Kanakadasa's times. The treatment of the subject is scholarly and the style limpid, attractive and popular. This book opens out new vistas of knowledge regarding the political and cultural life of those times. He has delved deep in the works of Kanakadas to trace the influence of contemporary political activities on his writings, and has collated and adduced many thoughtful evidence in this behalf. A cursory glance at the contents of the book will convince the reader of the writer's genuine scientific and critical insight into the subject. In the first 44 pages he has taken a bird's eye view of the contemporary life—social—religious and political. In the pages following he has reviewed the poetical works of Kanakadas and has incidentally pointed out the fountain from where the poet has freely drawn his inspiration. The chapters on Kanakadasa's special features are eminently readable. The Bombay University has patronised the publication of this book and this fact alone is an eloquent testimony of the scholarly and critical character of the book. An alphabetical index at the end is highly useful.

Sjt. Katti deserves all credit for his silent and unaustentatious study of the subject. The book merits a thoughtful reading.

V. B. Naik

TELUGU

RAMYALOKAM : *By Rayaprolu Subbarao. Published by Navya Sahitya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 39. Price annas eight.*

THRUNA KAUKAUAM : *By R. Subbarao. Published by Navya Sahitya Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 38. Price annas eight.*

These two poetical works by this well-known Andhra poet will certainly add to the fame he had already achieved by his noteworthy contributions to Telugu Literature. The author is blessed with a glowing imagery and a sense of beauty which give a brilliant colouring to his ideas. The language is gorgeous with illuminating phrases which almost smack of the classical. One can always bank on him for real poetry.

A. K. Row.

GUJARATI

RAG MANJUSHA : *By Kumar Shri Mangalsinghji of Lathi (Kathiawad). Printed at the Swadhin*

Printing Press, Rangpur and Colour Blocks at the Prabasi Press, Calcutta. 1941. Pp. 14. Price Rs. 5.

Kumar Shri belongs to the family of Kalapi—the Prince-poet of Lathi, who has left a name in Gujarati literature as a poet and a writer of renown. The cultural side of the activities of this literary princely family and their alliance with Fine Arts,—specially printing—has been given a material form in this portfolio of eight beautiful pictures of the following Ragas in Indian Music: (1) Bhairav, (2) Todi, (3) Hindol, (4) Malhar, (5) Shree, (6) Bageshree, (7) Bihag and (8) Malkosh. Rajput and other schools of Indian Painting have also painted pictures of Indian Ragas but in modern times very few attempts have been made in this direction. The painter has caught the spirit underlying the function of the particular Raga and tried to reproduce it with his brush. Verses by Poet Lalit describe the symbolic significance of the pictures and a very learned Preface by Harkaul Shukla fully sets out the history of the painting of the Ragas and their significance. He has studied his topic extremely well. The Prabasi Press has turned out the pictures beautifully.

RUPMATI: *By Chunilal V. Shah. Printed at the Prajabandhu Press, Ahmedabad. 1941. Thick cardboard. Pp. 336. Price Rs. 2.*

The practised pen of Mr. Shah has endowed the romantic love episode of Baz Bahadur of Mandu and Rupamati—the daughter of a Hindu Gosain Vaishanav with the halo of Sufistic *'Ishk*. The end was tragic, and in spite of many other episodes woven into the narration, the dominating note of love and tragedy affects the reader. Mr. Shah has been at pains to find out how much historical truth is there in this popular love story. He has tried to describe the Sufi's Material and Spiritual *'Ishk*, and views the episode from that point of view which, of course is the proper approach to the subject. Altogether the book furnishes pleasant reading and testifies to the labour bestowed by Mr. Shah in investigating the facts connected with this unique episode.

BHAVANI KAVYA SAMUCHCHAYA. *Published by J. B. Dave, B.A. Printed at the Dhragandhra State Printing Press. 1941. Cloth cover. Pp. 378. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a collection of poems, in the old style, written by the late Kavi Bhavani Shankar of Bhavnagar, on Vedant, Ishwar Bhakti, Cow protection, duties of Brahmans, etc. There are verses on snuff and headache, adultery and goodness of heart, etc. There are verses written in picture-*prabandhas* of intricate design. There is no special merit in the performances, which all the same is representative of a style fast disappearing.

GUL-E-POLAND: *By Umashankar Joshi. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. 1939. Paper Cover. Pp. 84. Price Re. 1.*

Mietskievitch, the poet of Poland. was expelled from Poland to Russia. On his way he wrote Crimean sonnets, which were translated into English and from English they have been translated into Gujarati. The translator has been able to preserve the spirit of the original: it could not be otherwise when a poet translates a poet. The essay on "Sonnet," its structure and its history is a detailed one and comprises each and every question related to this rather technical branch of poetry.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Neem Tree: By Bhagirath Mehta. N. M. Thakkar and Company. Pp. 23. Contains sonnets on diverse subjects.

Peeps into Practical Drafting and Precis Writing: By Hari Shankar Srivastava. Lakshmi Book Depot, 17, Blunt Square, Lucknow. Pp. 133. Price annas twelve. For candidates preparing for competitive examinations for recruitment to ministerial and other services of Government.

Legend of Lost Ring and other Poems: *By B.* Rama Rao, M.A., F.G.S., "Srivilas," Visveswarapur, Bangalore City. Pp. 59. Contains poems on different topics.

Our Immediate Step: By S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Retired Advocate-General of Madras. Pp. 10. Puts forward a scheme to end the communal problem.

Britain Will Win: By J. T. Fernandez. Pp. 84. Price annas eight. States various facts and figures in support of the author's contention.

World Peace and How to Establish It: By D. N. Deb. Published by the author from P. O. Jagatsi, Dt. Sylhet, Assam. Pp. 21. Price annas two.

Vagrant Dwellers: By K. Srinivas, B.A. Publishers—Muthurangavas, Trichinopoly. Pp. 12. Price annas eight. Contains a poem in four cantos.

The Chirping Bird: By Madhav Prasad Shrivastava. Universal Book Depot, Sitabuldi, Nagpur. Pp. 47. Price annas six. Contains poems on diverse subjects.

Songs of Devotion: By K. Vaidyanathan, B.A. To be had of V. Gourisankaran, "Sriniketan," Kosapet, Vellore, (S. India).

Heroes and Heroines of Islam—Book III: By Mian Abdul Hakim, B.A. Published by Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London. Illustrated. Pp. 46. Price annas six.

The Coming Age: By Jagdamba Prasad Johri. Published by Shanno Devi Johri, 105/300, Srinagar, Cawnpur. Pp. 24. Price annas four.

Charka (A Poem): By I. V. Rangacharya. To be had of the author, 5, Lakshmi Vilas, Daniel Street, Thyagarayanagar, Madras. Pp. 21. Price annas four.

The War Prediction: By V. K. Satagopachariar. Published by the author from Hanuman Jothisha Ashramam, Tiruttani. Illustrated. Pp. 40. Price Inland annas twelve, Foreign 1s. 6d.

The Flute of Consciousness: By Jagannath. Pp. 7. A philosophical treatise.

An Elementary Study of First Aid: By M. L. Bose, Bidyabinode, F.F.T. Com. (Lond.), L.D.O., H. & S. (Lond.), Ambulance Officer, etc., etc. Published by Profulla Chandra Ghosh, 46, Gouribari Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 55. Price annas eight.

TAGORE'S TIPS TO TEACHERS

By N. S. ULLAL, B.A., S.T.C.D.

The great and noble Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, who, by his departure into eternity, has left not only in India but in the whole world a void which can scarcely be filled, was a towering versatile genius and was as great a teacher as a poet, artist, patriot, philosopher and philanthropist. His book bearing the title of "My Reminiscences," which, by the way, is a mirror of his life, is full of sayings which are at once informative, critical and suggestive to us teachers and I propose, in this article, to quote some of them.

The art of a poet or painter lies in selecting and holding up for others' observation and admiration those features of human life or the world around which ordinarily escape their attention. Tagore possessed this capacity to perfection. He could give a detailed and yet humorous and attractive description of anything in life or Nature and that in dignified language. The following passage will illustrate this :

Speaking of his days of childhood he says,

"Our days were spent in the servants' quarters in the south-east corner of the outer apartments. One of our servants was Shyam, a dark chubby boy with curly locks, hailing from the District of Khulna. He would put me into a selected spot and, tracing a chalk-line all round, warn me with solemn face and uplifted finger of the perils of transgressing this ring. Whether the threatened danger was material or spiritual I never fully understood, but a great fear used to possess me. I had read in the Ramayana of the tribulations of Sita for having left the ring drawn by Lakshman, so it was not possible for me to be sceptical of its potency.

"Just below the window of this room was a tank with a flight of masonry steps leading down into the water; on the west bank, along the garden wall, an immense banyan tree; to the south a fringe of cocoanut palms. Ringed round as I was near this window, I would spend the whole day peering through the drawn venetian shutters, gazing and gazing on this scene as on a picture-book. From early morning our neighbours would drop in one by one to have their bath. I knew the time for each one to arrive. I was familiar with the peculiarity of each one's toilet. One would stop up his ears with his fingers as he took his regulation number of dips, after which he would depart. Another would not venture on a complete immersion but be content with only squeezing his wet towel repeatedly over his head. A third would carefully drive the surface impurities away from him with a rapid play of his arms, and then on a sudden impulse take his plunge. There was one who jumped in from the top-steps without any preliminaries at all. Another would walk slowly in, step by step, muttering his morning prayers the while. One was always in a hurry, hastening home as soon as he was through with his dip. Another was in no sort of hurry at all, taking his bath leisurely, followed by a good rub-down, and a change from wet bathing clothes into clean ones, including a careful adjustment of the folds of his waist-cloth, ending with a turn or two in the outer garden and the gathering of flowers, with which he would finally saunter slowly homewards, radiating the cool comfort of his refreshed body, as he went. This would go on till it was past noon. Then the bathing place would be deserted and become silent. Only the ducks remained, paddling about after water-snails, or busy preening their feathers, the livelong day."

How some people exaggerate in their description of any new thing they have seen is clearly, strikingly and humorously depicted in Tagore's account of his first Railway journey in his boyhood. The passage is given below :

"Our first halt was to be for a few days at Bolpur. Satya had been there a short time before with his parents. No self-respecting nineteenth century infant would have credited the account of his travels which he gave us on his return. Satya had told us that, unless one was very expert, getting into a railway carriage was a terribly dangerous affair—the least slip and it was all up. Then, again, a fellow had to hold on to his seat with all his might, otherwise the jolt at starting was so tremendous, there was no telling where one would get thrown off to. So when we got to the railway station I was all a-quiver. So easily did we get into our compartment, however, that I felt sure the worst was yet to come. And when, at length, we made an absurdly smooth start, without any semblance of adventure, I felt woefully disappointed."

Every teacher should cultivate this power of giving detailed and yet humorous and attractive descriptions of things, if at all he or she wishes to create interest in and arrest the attention of his or her pupils in the class-room.

How children are more likely than not to copy the evil traits in their teacher, rather than imbibe learning and wisdom from him and why, therefore, the teacher should be very careful about his behaviour with his pupils are well illustrated in the following passage :

"While at the Oriental Seminary I had discovered a way out of the degradation of being a mere pupil. I had started a class of my own in a corner of our verandah. The wooden bars of the railing were my pupils, and I would act the schoolmaster, cane in hand, seated on a chair in front of them. I had decided which were the good boys and which the bad—nay, further, I could distinguish clearly the quiet from the naughty, the clever from the stupid. The bad rails had suffered so much from my constant caning that they must have longed to give up the ghost, had they been alive. And the more scarred they got with my strokes the worse they angered me, till I knew not how to punish them enough. None remain to bear witness today how tremendously I tyrannised over that poor dumb class of mine. My

wooden pupils have since been replaced by cast-iron railings, nor have any of the new generation taken up their education in the same way—they could never have made the same impression.

"I have since realised how much easier it is to acquire the manner than the matter. Without an effort had I assimilated all the impatience, the short temper, the partiality and the injustice displayed by my teachers to the exclusion of the rest of their teaching. My only consolation is that I had not the power of venting these barbarities on any sentient creature. Nevertheless, the difference between my wooden pupils and those of the Seminary did not prevent my psychology from being identical with that of its schoolmasters."

The following passage is a witty and impressive statement of the fact that the songs which school-pupils are made to sing at the commencement of their day's work by way of invigorating and interesting them in their work defeat their very object if they are couched in a foreign tongue and a foreign tune.

"I could not have been long at the Oriental Seminary, for I was still of tender age when I joined the Normal School. The only one of its features which I remember is that before the classes began all the boys had to sit in a row in the gallery and go through some kind of singing or chanting of verses—evidently an attempt at introducing an element of cheerfulness into the daily routine.

"Unfortunately the words were English and the tune quite as foreign so that we had not the faintest notion what sort of incantation we were practising, neither did the meaningless monotony of the performance tend to make us cheerful. This failed to disturb the serene self-satisfaction of the school authorities at having provided such a treat; they deemed it superfluous to inquire into the practical effect of their bounty; they would probably have counted it a crime for the boys not to be dutifully happy. Anyhow they rested content with taking the song as they found it, words and all, from the self-same English book which had furnished the theory.

"The language into which this English resolved itself in our mouths cannot but be edifying to philologists. I can recall only one line :

'Kallokee pullokee singill mellaling mellaling mellaling.'

"After much thought I have been able to guess at the original of a part of it. Of what words Kallokee is the transformation still baffles me. The rest I think was :

'Full of glee, singing merrily, merrily, merrily !'"

The well-known truism, now generally realised, that mere book-teaching of science without observation and experiment and the handling of poetry as a means to teach grammar without its appreciation from the emotional standpoint are a sheer waste of time, is humorously and succinctly brought out in the passage that follows :

"At school we were then in the class below the highest one, at home we had advanced in Bengali much further than the subjects taught in the class. We had been through Akshay Datta's book on Popular Physics and had also finished the epic of *Meghnadvadha.* We read our physical science without any reference to physical objects and so our knowledge of the subject was correspondingly bookish. In fact the time spent on it had been thoroughly wasted; much more so to my mind than if it had been wasted in doing nothing. The *Meghnadvadha,* also, was not a thing of joy to us. The tastiest dainty may not be relished when thrown at one's head. To employ an epic to teach language is like using a sword to shave with—sad for the sword, bad for the chin. A poem should be taught from the emotional standpoint; inveigling it into service as grammar-cum-dictionary is not calculated to propitiate the divine Saraswati."

Lastly Tagore's experience of a queer private tutor, when in England for studies, described in his own inimitable way of combining lightness of manner with importance of matter shows how even a poor and needy tutor can be honest and conscientious. Here is the description :

"While living in these rooms there was one who came to teach me Latin. His gaunt figure with its worn-out clothing seemed no more able than the naked trees to withstand the winter's grip. I do not know what his age was, but he clearly looked older than his years. Some days in the course of our lessons he would suddenly be at a loss for some word, and look vacant and ashamed. His people at home counted him a crank. He had become possessed of a theory. He believed that in each age some one dominant idea is manifested in every human society in all parts of the world; and though it may take different shapes under different degrees of civilisation, it is at bottom one and the same; nor is such idea taken from one by another by any process of adoption, for this truth holds good even where there is no intercourse. His great preoccupation was the gathering and recording of facts to prove this theory. And while so engaged his home lacked food, his body clothes. His daughters had but scant respect for his theory and were perhaps constantly upbraiding him for his infatuation. Some days one could see from his face that he had lighted upon some new proof and that his thesis had correspondingly advanced. On these occasions I would broach the subject, and wax enthusiastic at his enthusiasm. On other days he would be steeped in gloom, as if his burden was too heavy to bear. Then would our lessons halt at every step; his eyes wander away into empty space, and his mind refuse to be dragged into the pages of the First Latin Grammar. I felt keenly for the poor body-starved, theory-burdened soul and though I was under no delusion as to the assistance I got in my Latin, I could not make up my mind to get rid of him. This pretence of learning Latin lasted as long as I was at these lodgings. When, on the eve of leaving them, I offered to settle his dues, he said piteously : "I have done nothing and only wasted your time, I cannot accept any payment from you." It was with great difficulty that I got him at last to take his fees."

I close this article with a fervent hope that all teachers would note and act up to the sound educational principles involved in the above quoted passages and that private tutors in particular would note the honesty and conscientious nature of Tagore's cranky tutor, who, though regular in his visits, was aware of the fact that what he had actually imparted to his pupil was not worth a fee.

"ISLAM IN DANGER"

By "YAMADATTA"

THE cry of 'Islam in danger' is often raised by the Muhammadan leaders and public men to serve their own personal ends. Mr. Fazl-ul Huq and his Muhammadan colleagues of the Ministry are adepts in this matter. Whenever they lack an argument or solid good reason for what they are going to do, they raise the cry of 'Islam in danger.' In the matter of appointments to public services, they have thrown overboard the principle of competition and of 'fair field and no favour' and that of appointing the best and fittest man, irrespective of caste, creed and religion openly with loud trumpeting. Even if a Muhammadan with the minimum or the necessary technical qualification cannot be found in Bengal, they import Muhammadans from outside. How contrary this is to the principles enunciated by the Prophet of Islam in the Koran will be evident from the following extract taken from Mill's *On Liberty* :

> "It is in the Koran, not the New Testament, that we read the maxim—
>
> **"A ruler who appoints any man to an office when there is in his dominions another man better qualified for it, sins against God and the state."**

That Mill is right in his quotation is evident from the fact that no Muhammadan has ever raised any the least objection to it, although Mill's *On Liberty* has been used as a text-book in the Colleges and Universities for over 80 years.

The fact is, neither the Muhammadan Ministers of Bengal, nor the Muhammadan public men honestly care to follow the precepts of the Koran; all that they care for is cheap notoriety and consolidation of their own positions. The reason for the clamour is purely communal self-aggrandisement without any justification, at best political job-hunting.

There is the communal electorate. To the question raised by the masses at the time of the election : What have you done for us? the Hindu candidate may answer, "I have suffered imprisonment for the political uplift of my country," or "I have been instrumental in establishing a library, getting the local school raised to the High English Standard, persuading Raja of X in establishing the charitable dispensary," or "My family or my ancestors have constructed the road to—, excavated the tank, established beds at the hospital," etc., or "Look at my moral endeavour and social service for the benefit of the nation at large," the only answer that a Muhammadan can give is that he has been instrumental in securing jobs for so many Muhammadans, which in practice means for his *own* relations. The only philosophy behind these appointments is (apart from the individual benefit of the persons thus appointed) is that they harm the Hindus, or are likely to harm them. As the Muhammadans cannot fairly compete with the Hindus, so the Hindus must be harmed otherwise; at least an attempt must be made to harm them.

In Bengal, fifty per cent of the posts under the Government are reserved for the Muhammadans. The reason is they are fifty-five per cent of the population; although there are good reasons to doubt whether they are really 55 per cent or are in majority. Let us examine the reason a little more carefully. The relative occupational distribution of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in the year 1921 were as follows:

	Hindus	Muhammadans
Total Population ..	208,09,000	254,86,000
Ordinary Cultivators ..	101,79,000	197,22,000
Field Labourers ..	19,25,000	22,10,000
Other Forms of Production of Raw Materials, Minerals, etc. ..	18,07,000	6,20,000
Trade, Industry, Transport, etc. ..	47,83,000	18,83,000
Public Administration and Liberal Arts ..	8,50,000	2,22,000
Domestic Service, Persons living on their incomes, etc.	10,44,000	6,01,000
Inmates of Jails ..	5,652	8,082
Beggars, Vagrants ..	1,84,865	2,08,865
Procurers and Prostitutes ..	31,214	11,936

We have to rely on the 1921 statistics, as similar figures were avoided in the 1931 Census Report. Why it was avoided the late Sir Abd-el-Krim Ghuznavi, who was then in charge of the census operations, could have told us and Mr. Fazl-ul-Huq can tell us.

It will be seen that out of 255 lakh Muhammadans, 219 lakhs were engaged in actual cultivation. They are the toiling masses, leaving 36 lakh Muhammadans who may be, by a little stretch of language, described as classes. This

is the upper limit. The corresponding figures for the Hindus are 121 lakhs and 87 lakhs.

If we deduct the actual toilers engaged in industry, trade and other occupations, the proportion of those who may be described as true competitors for Government service will not be very different from the proportion of persons engaged in professions and liberal arts, *viz.* 629 Hindus: 132 Muhammadans, or roughly 5 Hindus & others: 1 Muhammadan.

We are emboldened in this conclusion by the fact that the number of 'Bhadraloks' among the Hindus was 27,08,000; the corresponding class among the Muhammadans, the Sayyads, being only 74,000. Here the proportion is 37 Hindus: 1 Muhammadan. If we confine ourselves to the Brahmins alone among the Hindus, the proportion is 17 : 1.

The cry is, the Muhammadans must get 55 per cent of Government jobs; and they have been given 50 per cent only. In practice it means that the Muhammadan classes will get the jobs. Why the Muhammadan classes will get the jobs? Because 86 per cent of them are actual cultivators and field labourers. What have the Muhammadan classes done for these Muhammadan cultivators by way of social service from being instrumental in the opening of a village post office to the establishment of a High English School, or from the establishment of a charitable dispensary to the foundation of a bed in a hospital, that they claim 'proportional to population' share of services under the Government: the answer is **Silence.**

The *Dal Bhat* (bread and butter) Ministry in Bengal and its supporters are out to secure *dal bhat* for themselves and their relations by raising the false and specious cry of "Islam in Danger"; by arousing the worst communal passions and hatred in human breasts.

Since the establishment of the Fazl-ul-Huq ministry in Bengal, who raise the cry of 'Islam in danger' in season and out of season, whose only stock-in-trade seems to be this cry of 'Islam in danger' Islam has been in danger of absurd claim being put forward by its votaries in its name. An urinal is being constructed in a civil court compound; the Muhammadan in Bengal faces west at the time of his prayers; hence Islam is in danger, and the urinal must not be constructed facing west. A Hindu is worshipping the goddess Kali facing north; the feet of Siva is towards the west; which it must not do. The cry of Islam in danger is sought to be raised, and communal disturbances created. The Hindus have been worshipping Kali from time immemorial; and even that ultra-orthodox Aurangzebe, did not object. But the present day Bengali Muhammadan must raise the cry.

The number of communal riots have increased since the enthronement of the Fazl-ul-Huq ministry by 4½ times. The relevant details are given below:

Year		No. of Communal Disturbances
1935	..	5
1936	..	2
1937	..	6
Average	..	4·3
1938	..	24
1939	..	16
1940	..	21
Average	..	20·3

[See page 4 of the Report on Police Administration in Bengal outside of Calcutta and its Suburbs.]

In the matter of personal law the Muhammadans claim themselves to be very conservative and orthodox. Look at their attitude towards *wakf-al-al-auled.* In 1937 they had the Shariat Act xxvi of 1937 passed through the Central Legislature. It applies the Muslim Personal Law to a number of important matters, and operates throughout British India, excluding Frontier Province, which has a more far-reaching Act of its own. It enacts:

> "Notwithstanding any custom or usage to the contrary, in all questions (save questions relating to agricultural land) regarding intestate succession, * * * * marriage, dissolution of marriage, * * * * the rule of decision in cases where the parties are Muslims shall be the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat)."

The Shariat Law has been particularly strengthened regarding marital rights and obligations.

They are following the Shariat strictly.

The orthodox Muhammadan law on the effect of Apostacy from Islam has been stated by Sri Dinshaw Mulla (a member of the Privy Council) in his book on Muhammadan Law to be:

> "Apostacy from Islam of *either* party to a marriage operates as a complete and immediate dissolution of the marriage."

Many Hindu women, who are often kidnapped and abducted, are forcibly converted to Islam and married to Muhammadan husbands. To escape such forcible marriages the ex-Hindu women get themselves re-converted to Hinduism. Formerly such re-conversion was impossible; and there was no escape for the Hindu women once forcibly converted and married to a Muhammadan. But now thanks to the Arya Samaj and to the preachers of the Hindu Mission, re-conversion is possible and sometimes does take place.

The Muhammadans saw the danger and flaw in their armour. So the Koran or no Koran, the Shariat or no Shariat, law or no law, they raised the cry of 'Islam in danger'; for was not the numerical strength of the Muhammadans in India going to be reduced ever so slightly? And they had the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act passed in 1939; by section 4 of which "the renunciation of Islam by a married Muslim woman, or *her conversion to a faith other than Islam*, (italics ours) shall not by itself operate to dissolve her marriage."

Indeed the cry of "Islam in Danger" has become a very handy slogan and political weapon in the hands of the communalist Muhammadans.

WHAT IS GANDHISM

By SACHINDRA NATH BASU, Barrister-at-Law

As has happened to all great men who tried to shape the destinies of large masses of fellow-beings, Mr. Gandhi's methods have raised controversies and his philosophy has been misunderstood. The misunderstanding is even more rife among his followers than among his opponents. Many of these followers today swear by what they call Gandhism. "But what exactly was Gandhism," Mr. Gandhi himself asked at Malikanda in Bengal, and said that he for one did not know what it was. Evidently the principles and practices of his followers have not impressed this truthful soul with a clear picture of what they stand for. That is not to be wondered at. As Kipling put it,

> "He that hath a gospel,
> For all earth to own—
> Though he etch it on the steel,
> Or carve it on the stone—
> Not to be misdoubted
> Through the after days—
> It is his disciple
> Shall read it many ways."

Apart from the personal idiosyncracies of his disciples there is the factor of the widely differing geography and the history of the various tracts and peoples that compose India and the Indian nation. It is interesting to study the strange changes in both the philosophical and the sacramental sides of a great religious movement that proceeds to embrace in the course of its growth, varieties of race and region each of which by its own special culture and tradition influences the main stream in such a way as to produce the appearance of a fundamental modification. Look at the *Bhakti* movement in India: how in the Deccan and in Gujarat, in Maharashtra, in the Punjab and in Bengal it assumed widely different forms, so that the fighting Sikh of Amritsar and the ecstatic singer of Navadwipa could scarcely be taken to belong essentially to one and the same cult.

There is such a thing as provincial and racial temperament. When Bengal joined the Gandhi movement, it did so after some hesitation, because the note of cool calculation of the whole thing failed, until it surged up into an upheaval, to appeal to the idealism of the people from whom sprang the bomb-throwers of 1907. And Maharashtra took it as an experiment, for to the land of Shivaji and Tilak any means was worth trying for achieving India's freedom. Both Maharashtra and Bengal, comparatively speaking, lacked Gujarat's long, patient and steady application to details, and the never-flagging failing toil that lays brick upon brick. "I am a baniā," Mr. Gandhi has said more than once, and Gujarat is essentially a merchants' province.

But the real question is, if one could scrape off all the differences, would one find much the same thing at the bottom or something fundamentally so different that no close and harmonious association is possible? And if there is such a basic unity, are the differences such as tend to take the parties more and more away from the common ground? Now the curious fact about all the discordant voices that have been raised in the Congress during the last two years is that the conflicting parties all swear by Gandhi, though it is difficult to find in the practices of any of them a recognition of the great principle for which Mr. Gandhi has always stood.

When we consider Mr. Gandhi's life and teachings, one thing stands out supreme— it is India's lesson of a life-long quest of a cultural ideal with some amount of indifference to the delights of the flesh. Mr. Gandhi himself declared at Malikanda that the ideas which are

supposed to be given to the world by him were not novel, but only those which were prepared in India in ancient times. Nothing could be truer. The watchword of Indian civilization has been that the higher a person's development, the lesser should be his physical wants. Mr. Gandhi's message only reiterated the insistence of the ancient sages on this aspect of leadership. In a country where crores of human beings have to lead a life of chronic starvation, the affluent, according to Mr. Gandhi, must take to voluntary poverty if they want to lead the country to a balanced freedom. The great source of independence lies in *vivre de peu*. To live upon little is the greatest security against slavery. India's regeneration began when Mr. Gandhi and, following him, many an eminent Indian adopted a life of voluntary poverty and devoted themselves to the service of the country. For a hero of poverty is a terror to the tyrant and a champion of the oppresesd. He is not afraid of the mightiest on earth, for he has tasted of the life divine.

Speaking at the fifth annual industrial conference at Allahabad, thirty years ago, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy observed as follows :

> "We who think we are educated and progressive, we who attend Conferences and sit on Legislative Councils, who are Rulers of States, or earn more princely incomes in Courts of Law, we ourselves have despised and hated everything Indian, and it is by that hatred that we have destroyed our industries and degraded the status of our artisans. And when at last our pockets are touched—then so far from realizing what we have done, we set ourselves to form Swadeshi companies for making enamelled cuff-links (with pansies on them) and dyeing yarn (with German dyes) or making uncomfortable furniture (for Anglo-Indians). We never thought that the fault was in ourselves. We lived in caricatured English villas, and studied the latest fashion in collars and ties and sat on the verandahs of Collectors' bungalows and strove to preserve our respectability by listening to gramophone records of the London Music Halls instead of living Indian singers—we learnt to sit on chairs and eat with spoons, and to adorn our walls with German oleographs and our floors with Brussels carpets and then we thought to save our souls by taking shares in some Swadeshi company for making soap."

"True Swadeshi," Dr. Coomaraswamy went on to say,

> "is none of these things : it is a way of looking at life. It is essential sincerity. Seek first this, learn once more the *art of living*, and you will find that our ancient civilization, industrial no less than spiritual, will re-arise from the ashes of our vulgarity of parasitism of today."

To recapture this ancient art of living, which educated India was forgetting, was the essence of Mr. Gandhi's message. Why was India poor ? Because she had become spiritually and morally poor, Mr. Gandhi would say. And why was India poor morally and spiritually? Because, he answers, those who would lead the country had become blind to its traditions and were no longer inspired by the profound art of living which these traditions, shorn of their encrustations, revealed. The emphasis put on the spinning wheel and the denouncement of the machine and the revolt against the tyranny of industrialism are all expressions of the urge to reconnect Indian life and thought with its racial memory and its social heritage.

In his *Republic*, Plato says :

> "The introduction of a new style of music must be shunned as imperilling the whole State; since styles of music are never disturbed without affecting the most important political institutions. The new style gradually gaining a lodgment, quietly insinuates itself into manners and customs; and from these it issues in greater force, and makes its way into mutual compacts; and from making compacts it goes on to attack laws and constitutions, displaying the utmost impudence, until it ends by overturning everything, both in public and private."

If this is true of music, which is only one method of expression of a nation's dreams, this must also be true of the dreams themselves. Nationalist India, which dreams of a new India, crowned in glory and achievement, might well hear with patience and try to understand what the old man of Sevagram has to say.

Erratum

The Modern Review for October, 1941, page 375, last paragraph, second line : *Read* " 7 lacs, twenty thousand and fifty-one (1931 Census) " *for* " 76 lacs."

April, 1941 issue, page 377, second line of the last paragraph of the Note under the heading " Scientific And Industrial Board's Research Schemes " : *Read* ionone *for* iodine.

RUSSIA IN THE TOILS

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

For nearly four weeks now, the Russo-Axis war has been going on with a fury and strength unattained hitherto even in this "war of Dinosaurs." The assaults of the German-Italian-Rumanian confederates in the south and the Germanic-Finnish allies in the north are both being carried on at a high pressure while the Nazi thrust at Moscow is being conducted on an "all out" crescendo pitch. There is no respite for the Russian forces anywhere, no chance of diverting troops or armament from one sector to relieve or reinforce the hard-pressed defenders of any other. Terrible losses have been inflicted on the Soviets' forces, the most serious being that of armament production areas. The areas overrun by the Germanic hordes or directly subjected to their attack were those that produced nearly 60% of the Soviets' coal, 60% of iron ore, 40% of steel, 60% of pig iron, 75% of sugar and most of the aluminium produced in pre-1939 Russia. Industrially too, the destruction and loss has been awful—indeed for any other state it would be catastrophic—and almost beyond computation at present. And for the first time in these eighteen weeks of intense warfare it is apparent that the mechanised armament of the Soviets is no longer able to meet the axis challenge on terms of equality in numbers and fire-power. It is evident now that in the organisation of resources for the replacement and overhaul of war-loss and damage to mechanised equipment Germany and her confederates and subjects are better placed than the Russians.

This superiority in organising capacity has also enabled the Nazi forces to retain the initiative ever since their sudden attack was launched against the Soviets. Ever since then, they have been able to probe the defensive lines of the Soviets, determine the locii of their panzer concentrations, plan out their strategic moves in advance and to carry them out at the most favourable moment. In this way they have been able to inflict three major defeats on the Soviets' forces, as a consequence of which the Russians have undergone appalling losses in men and in armament. There is not the slightest doubt that the Nazi estimates of Russian losses are grossly exaggerated—or else a collapse of the defensive lines would have followed before now—but even after allowing for all discounts on the score of propaganda it cannot but be admitted that the Russian losses are almost too terrible for computation.

Military experts put the factor of war-wastage, in these days of mechanised warfare, at 25% per month inclusive of units immobilised through continuous use under conditions that do not permit thorough overhauls. The extremely complex organisation, that would permit replacement, temporary adjustment and tuning, field repairs and workshop overhauls, to proceed without impairing the strength of the mechanised, armoured and panzer divisions, has to be built on a foundation of vast and well-equipped engineering concerns controlled by extremely capable technicians and administrative staff at every stage. The production and supply has to be very finely adjusted with all possible allowances made for temporary failures or breakdowns. Unfortunately for the Soviets, a large percentage of such organisations came within the orbit of war within two months of the outbreak of hostilities. It is understood that a great deal of the equipment—and undoubtedly the major portion of the staff and skilled labour—have been removed to distant zones of production. But we have seen in England and in America what it means to set up new production centres and to get them to work smoothly upto capacity. In the vital matter of transport also the situation is extremely complicated, both with regard to internal supplies and external ones, now that the nerve centres at and about Moscow and Kharkov are under fire.

Thus there can be no doubt that the principal handicaps under which the Soviets' forces have been labouring for the last two months are those of adequate supplies of mechanised equipment and of transport. These difficulties are bound to increase with the progress of the Axis forces in the production areas, until such time as the new plants in the distant areas are working to capacity and the "aid to the Soviets" programme of the Anglo-Saxon democracies attain a concrete magnitude commensurate with the abstract resolutions. With regard to the latter the question of transport is bound to remain a complex one since the prime sources are many thousands of miles away from the war-areas, and the terrain over which the

supplies are to be sent are neither safe nor smooth in working. If the Soviet losses in equipment are very great no less serious has been that in trained personnel. Modern warfare at high speed and in movements of vast masses require a high degree of training for men as well as officers. Untrained soldiers are mere cannon-fodder, and half-trained officers are actual sources of danger. So there is no guarantee that the Soviets' resources in men will remain inexhaustible, if this phase of the conflict persists for any length of time. There is no doubt that Russia possesses the greatest of all assets of all nations in the shape of raw material for manpower, that is to say in the numbers of physically fit and educated men with the will to resist and to fight to the last. But these require time to be suitably equipped and to be trained in the proper use of the equipment provided. It is an open question as to how long the reserves that Russia still possesses will stand the strain that is being put on it through the enormous losses incurred in this titanic struggle. The only hope lies for the present in the reports of the vast alternative organisations nearing completion in the Ural region and further beyond. Some outside aid must also be reaching the forces of the Soviets by now.

* * * *

The position in Russia is undoubtedly serious. Resources depleted, wastage of equipment and personnel enormous, transport problems complicated beyond measure and a new menace rising in the Far-East, the Soviets are now face to face with a situation that is far more appalling than what brought France down on her knees. The Soviets are now facing unaided the maximum concentration of destructive power that the Axis could marshall in Europe. It is impossible to estimate, with any degree of accuracy, the strength of the Axis forces operating in Russia, but it can safely be assumed to be at least five times as great as those that were opposed to the allies in France and the Low-Countries in June 1940. Further the Axis forces are being supplied, maintained and led by master technicians who seem to have provided for every emergency and have drawn alternative plans for every situation, if we are to believe experts like Liddel-Hart and others. The greatest granary and the greatest industrial zones of Russia are now within the compass of enemy action and devastation followed by evacuation is all that the Soviets' have been able to do so far.

But as yet there is another side to the picture. So far the Nazi forces have not faced any natural defences or barries in the shape of great rivers or mountainous tracts, Russia in Europe being a vast plain to the larger extent. And in spite of being placed near their source of supply and the terrain being ideal for panzer operations the Nazi forces have so far failed to breakdown the Russian resistance. It has been clearly admitted by the Nazi propagandists that territorial gain is but a secondary matter in the Russian campaign. The main objective has been—and still is—the complete breaking down of the organised resistance to the Germanic forces. This objective has not only not been attained as yet, but on the contrary there is every sign that long-term preparations are being pushed on with all speed to prolong the struggle until a balance is obtained on favourable terms to the Soviets' forces.

Russian valour and Russian determination has been able, uptil now, to overcome all despair and despondency that is the inevitable consequence of major defeats in the field. Therefore it must be admitted even by the Nazis, that the much hoped for revolt of the people against the Soviets' overlords is not anywhere in sight as yet. And granted that this indomitable spirit of resistance continues, the task of the Nazi war-lords will remain as onerous as ever, if not more so than before. After Moscow comes the Volga and after the Volga the Urals, with increasing transport difficulties for the Axis and less so for the Soviets. Similarly after the Sea of Azov come the Caucasus with high mountain ridges and deep narrow gorges and valleys, where the defence have the major portion of the advantage.

He would be a bold prophet who would predict the course of a war that has confounded almost every military authority outside Germany thus far, and we do not propose to venture in our ignorance where those wise angels have slipped. But perhaps distance plus difficulties of transporting supplies and replacements under winter conditions will bring about a slackening of the pace of the blitzkrieg before long. It may be a short respite and the attack may be resumed with re-doubled fury, but still it may give the Russians the space for internal re-adjustments and for the bringing up of reserves which would again put a brake on the Germanic engine of war. Russia has faced the storm unaided up till now, and will have to do so for some time to come. She has given ground and suffered terrible losses, but history will record that Germany, in spite of all her preparations and in spite of her stupendous marshalling of armament and armed forces, had to call in the aid of the Rumanians, Hungarians and Italians to the fullest extent before the

much despised Soviets' armies could be driven back and substantially bereft of fighting resources.

Sorely pressed and grievously injured though they may be, the Soviets' forces are still fighting back with undiminished determination and gallantry. They have been promised aid and no doubt the promises have been given in all sincerity. For quite apart from the catch-phrases of the " Don and Volga are the frontiers of Britain " type, it is apparent now that the last hopes—at least for the present—of the democracies for a favourable decision within any reasonable period of time rest solely and entirely on the armed might of the U. S. S. R. With Russia beaten down on her knees, the anti-Axis world will face a situation that had best be left undescribed. As it is, the democracies would need to purge themselves of all hypocricies, all greed for profiteering and all sinful lust for the continuation of imperialism, before they can even begin the task of dislodging the Axis from the territories they have overrun and are now trying to consolidate.

Germany has employed many ultra-modern methods of warfare in this gigantic trial of strength. But her most formidable weapon has been the clock. She has had about 40,000 hours of start, and ever since the anschluss of Austria she has been straining every nerve to keep ahead of her competitors by that margin of time. How far she has succeeded in retaining it, it is for the great ones to say. We in India are neither in the know nor is it fitting for us to discuss the ways and means of ridding the rest of the world from this handicap. We do not say that we could not do much for the cause of liberty and equity. Indeed all of thinking India supports the statement of the late Dr. Tagore that if real democracy had been practised in India for the decades following the last war, then no power on earth would have dared challenge the British Empire. As matters stand, we shall content ourselves with the statement of Mr. Amery that Britain is getting all the aid she needs out of India. Judging by the reports of the ebullition of baffled desires to aid Russia and of the storm of indignant expression of national humiliation at Trafalgar Square, it is not entirely impossible that there might be some impertinent questions asked by members of a public less complacent than the majority party in the British Parliaments.

THE HINDUSTHAN CO-OPERATIVE INSURANCE SOCIETY LTD.

We have before us the Report containing the Revenue account and balance sheet of this well-established insurance society for the year 1940. It is not perhaps known to the general public that the inception of this society was under the inspiring guidance of Rabindranath Tagore. He was the founder-President of this society and it had its birth 34 years ago in one of the rooms of the Poet's own house at Jorasanko, during the stirring days of the first swadeshi movement at the beginning of the present century.

In the year under review the Society has been able to maintain almost at par the volume of business, despite the chronic upsetting of business conditions subsequent to the outbreak of war The total amount, Rs. 2 crores 83 lakhs, is only slightly lower than the normal pre-war new business figure, and thus it certifies as clearly to the enterprise of the staff, the agents and the guiding body, as to the confidence of the public in the Society.

There has been a further lowering of the ratio of expenses to premium income, which is 26·3 per cent this year. and the premium income is about Rs. 85 lakhs. The income from investments is just over Rs. 12 lakhs and thus the society is fast approaching the one crore mark in respect of total income. The Life fund has been increased by Rs. 46½ lakhs to Rs. 3,57,33,669 and the total assets of the Society now stand at Rs. 4,05,79,152 that is at well over the 4 crore mark. The financial position of the company is thus revealed to be in a very stable condition.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, to whose able piloting and enterprise the success of this Society is to be ascribed to a very large extent, has now gone to the Viceroy's Council. We hope that the Society will not lose his guidance entirely in these days of stress and strain.

INDIAN LABOUR LEGISLATION

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE, M.A. (Cantab.)

DR. Rajani Kanta Das requires no introduction to students of the Labour movement in India or elsewhere. He has been a prominent figure in the field of research in Labour history, organisation, conditions of work and living, reform and legislation for nearly a quarter of a century and his work has found appreciation all over the world. A quiet, hard-working man who has been attached to the International Labour Office in Geneva for many years, Dr. Das has hardly a rival in this field of work in India. There are symptoms that the end of this war will see great changes introduced in the social organisation of all countries and India should be no exception. A man of Dr. Das's knowledge and experience will surely be able to render invaluable service at the time when new laws are enacted to give Labour its rightful place in the cultural and economic life of the country.

A study of his latest books, *Principles and Problems of Indian Labour Legislation* (1938) and *History of Indian Labour Legislation* (1941), both published by the University of Calcutta, would show easily how deep Dr. Das has gone in his study of this subject. The contents are, in fact, his Readership lectures before the University of Calcutta; but what might have escaped one's attention while listening to lectures, stand out boldly in cold print. There is not a thing of importance to the student, the social reformer, the politician or the industrial organiser which Dr. Das has left out. One gets a complete picture of Indian Labour as it has been, as it is and as it is aiming to be, in these two books. These should therefore find a place in the book-shelves of all thoughtful men in India who have anything to do with Indian Labour.

In his *Principles and Problems of Indian Labour Legislation* the author describes in full the condition of Indian Labour from the beginning of plantations and factories in India and shows how the idea of *regulating* Labour (to the advantage of employers) slowly changed into an enlightened outlook for the betterment and humane treatment of Labour. One can see that it was a slow process and Humanity was resisted all the way by greed. One can also see that it is easier to legislate than to bring legislation into force. But the change in outlook is there now and we might expect Labour to come into its own, instead of being treated for ever like a sixth caste which has not merely no soul but also no claims to a well-looked-after body In the past Indian Labour was no better than a bond slave. His children could be made to work in factories from the age of seven, his wife could be driven to work under compulsion, he had to carry out his so-called obligations on pain of imprisonment but his rights were determined by the whims of his master. This was so even to a greater intensity when these poor people were shipped to the remote British colonies to work on the plantations there. British colonies could not get any slave labour after 1834; but they made up for their loss by importing cheap labour from India. Even now Labour is very cheap in India. How far this cheapness is due to a low cost of living and how far to a compulsorily imposed minimum standard of living is a question which can be answered fairly easily by economists. In his *Principles and Problems* Dr. Das has given a review which not only shows how things are moving; but also points out how, by subsidiary legislation, the enforcement of the principles could be made more complete.

The History of Indian Labour Legislation deals at length with the various Acts which have been or are in force in India for the control, regulation or protection of Labour. The legislation brought into force since India had contact with International Labour and the Royal Commission on Labour reported on the Indian labour question has received its full share of scrutiny from the author and all people concerned with Labour will find in this treatise a complete handbook of the Laws now in force. There are discussions which show which way the wind is blowing and a perusal of the book will greatly help to clear up doubts as to future policy and expectations. We congratulate the author on his success in the production of these two books. He has covered the ground systematically and with close attention to details. His treatment of the subject is lucid and rich with that spirit of detachment without which scholarship descends to propaganda. We can recommend these books, without hesitation, to the public as the best we have so far seen on the subject.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Hitler, Don't Do It

In the following article, originally published in the *Forum*, Johannesburg, and reproduced in the *Asiatic Digest*, Mahatma Gandhi says:

During the greater part of a life already longer than most, I have tried to hold firm to one basic belief that has been at the same time a guide and a support. It has been my conviction, growing steadily stronger as the years progressed, that of the multitude of ills attacking and separating mankind none can be eradicated for ever until man vows never to lift his hand against his brother man, never to take up the sword and wet it in the blood of another human being.

I have had some success, and I am proud to think that I have seen men unite for a prized objective and strike not one violent blow toward its attainment. Perhaps it was not much, but it was a beginning and I hope and believe that its significance as a demonstration of the practicability of the golden rule has not been lost on the Western world.

But for the one who believes and trusts in non-violence, in peace on earth and goodwill toward all men, these last few years have been sad. The present time must be the saddest, surely, in living memory. The pace of war is quickening and the field of action spreading. The skies of England, France and Germany are darkened with the roaring tides of war 'planes shattering the proud cities in smoke and fire.

With such a storm threatening each morning, when every man knows that the flowers growing outside his window today in the sunlight may tomorrow be ripped up and flung high in spouts of smoking earth, surely he must ask himself: "Who has done this? Who is responsible for the terror that has come over our lives?"

For most Europeans, and perhaps for many Germans and most Americans, the answer today takes the person of one man. On July, 23, I addressed a personal letter to him. The idea was not mine; several people had urged it upon me, in the belief that an appeal to Adolf Hitler from one who had based his public life on the principles of non-violence might conceivably have some effect and certainly could do no harm. I could not share their optimism, but neither, in such a time, could I ignore their entreaty. And so I wrote these words:

"Friends have been urging me to write to you. I have resisted their request because of the feeling that any letter from me would be an impertinence. Something tells me, however, that I must not calculate, and that I must make an appeal for whatever it may be worth.

"It is quite clear that you are today the one person in the world who can prevent a war which may reduce humanity to the savage state. Must you pay that price for any object, however worthy it may appear to you to be? Will you listen to the appeal of one who has deliberately shunned the method of war not without considerable success?

"Anyway, I anticipate your forgiveness, if I have erred in writing to you."

My letter brought no answer; it is unnecessary to add that it had no visible effect.

It shows my belief that at the final point this one man had the power, if he willed to use it, to hold humanity back from the brink.

He did not will to use it.

I have been asked where my sympathies lie. From the purely humanitatian viewpoint, certainly they are all with England. I did not wish the British to be defeated. But neither do I wish for the defeat of the German people. There will be little worth and happiness in the future for those of us in the rest of the world if whole peoples, no matter what their nationality, lie crushed, humbled, and embittered; if there is bitterness in the hearts of one people, does it not carry the black seed of future wars?

If this war is fought to a finish, however, civilization may perish in the holocaust. God grant, then, that it shall be halted in time. But can it be halted while hatred remains in the breasts of men? And if I bear hatred for one man, will not this hatred spread out its roots and grow insidiously into a hatred for all the people of his country?

Yes, there is every reason for condemning the dictator of the Third Reich. But if I wish the armies to lay down their weapons and stay the slaughter, which is the meaning and message of non-violence, I must be true to my faith; there must be no hatred in my heart for any living man. I deplore his acts, but I cannot hate Adolf Hitler.

Leviathan and Little Groups

G. D. H. Cole observes in *The Aryan Path*:

How are little men to live lives of their own amid the hugeness of modern world forces? That, as I see it, is the supreme question for all those who care for the human spirit. It is not, as some would suggest, a question of "the man *versus* the State": if it were, the individual would stand no chance in face of the modern Leviathan. It is a question of men, with their natural sociality and their social ties and powers of association, finding means of asserting the power of the human spirit over the vast mechanical forces which threaten to centralise all authority in the hands of a very few—and those few the worst.

It is vital in the after-war world, to base our new societies on groupings small enough for neighbourhood to give men—ordinary men and women—collective social strength. If the basic unit of collectivity becomes too large for the feeling of neighbourhood to work throughout its membership democracy is killed, and tyranny inevitably ensues.

The democracy of the parliamentary plebiscite—of the mass, voting as individuals in groups is much too vast for the spirit and tradition of neighbourhood to organise or control.

Our chance lies in the organisation now, while war still rages, of little groups of men and women determined to keep, amid all the turmoil, their sanity and their goodwill, and to do this, not by standing apart from the people, but by living with them, sharing in their troubles, and establishing among them a position of democratic leadership. There are men and women who are doing this now in every blitzed city, in every town and village desecrated by enemy occupation, and in every walk of life. But these, the only true builders of the new Society, are isolated one from another. The normal communications have broken down, and no new ways of communications have yet been made. Nor is it easy to make new ways; for Leviathan is ever on the watch to prevent them. Leviathan, all the world over, hates the natural leaders of the people, in their little groups, to know one another; for they are the chief enemies of Leviathan's plans for keeping the people in chains.

So, for those of us who have the art of speech by writing, the great task of today is to make these natural leaders of world democracy aware of one another by acting as intermediaries between them. We can bid them take heart, for others elsewhere are trying to do just what they are trying to do—to keep the heart and spirit of the people alive, and to preserve an essential nucleus of sanity and reasonableness in a world gone mad. What matters most now is not to make blue prints for the post-war organisation of a better world (for who knows what the material conditions of the rebuilding will be), but to *get ready groups of men and women who, when the time comes, will know how to face the situation, whatever it is*, on a firm foundation of reason and principle and with a courage based on knowing that they have the love and confidence of even a few friends with whom they have worked and suffered and won little victories as the promise of greater to come.

Napoleon's Push to Moscow and the Nazi Campaign

The New Review observes:

Many writers give way to the temptation of comparing the Nazi campaign with Napoleon's fatal push to Moscow though military and political conditions hardly authorize comparing both wars; usually their lesson on strategy ends with an ode to *General Winter* who would have vanquished Napoleon and who immobilizes to death any foreign army invading Russia. Yet history teaches that the utter want of march discipline of the French and not the climate was responsible for the disasters which befell the Great Army. Actually in 1812, winter came later than usual and frost did not set in before October 27th. The weather kept dry and bracing and not till November 8th did the cold at night become sharp. Even when the Beresina was reached on the way back on November 26th, the river was not frozen and Ebe's pioneers could work in the water throughout the hours of daytime. Napoleon's army was defeated before the retreat began in the last week of October and it was defeated in battle. That military operations are not impossible during winter could be shown from the German invasion up to Lake Peipus in February, 1918, and from the campaign of the Allied and White Russian troops in the following winter.

Up to now, Hitler has not achieved his main purpose which was to break up the Soviet army and capture its isolated elements in quick succession. Time is against him; he will no doubt reinforce his armaments and develop his sea offensive but his adversaries are making good the lagging of which they still suffer. As with economic equipment, so it is with armaments; the one who starts later is sooner equipped with improved material than the pioneer, provided defeat is not met with at the start. Moreover, all nations have a limit of endurance and from all appearances that limit will be reached sooner in Germany than in Britain or America. Our hope of a final victory, and the grounds of hoping increase everyday, does not rest on the vagaries of a capricious *General Winter* but on the resources of the British Empire and of America and on the will to win which is building up a steel wall in the East and strengthening the moat round Britain.

English Poetry between two Wars

Post-war poetry represents a complete break with the past. It is much oppressed by psychology and its methods. It is the poetry of reaction and experiment. V. M. Inamdar observes in *The Triveni Quarterly*:

Contemporary criticism is strangely divided in the matter of its judgment on post-war poetry. There are some who raise the modernist adventurers in English poetry to the heavens and hail them as the harbingers of a greater era of poetry, while there are others who cry them down as nothing more than pretentious mediocrities undeservedly much made of. Contemporary judgments have always bertayed this kind of contradiction, but what makes the present case strangely enigmatic is the fact that both the sets of critics, ranged on opposite sides in respect of contemporary poetry are strangely unanimous and appreciative in respect of Milton or Keats—a fact which is adequate assurance that both of them are perfectly conversant with the canons of poetic criticism and are in possession of a good taste necessary for the appreciation of poetry. Every reader is prepared to appreciate the comparatively relative character of the judgments passed by critics when they are not removed from the object of their criticism considerably in point of time. He knows that the sifting process of time is the best judge of literary reputations or the lasting quality of a particular literary product.

In the case of post-war poetry, the critics, strangely enough, separate themselves by a rigid line and flatly contradict one another.

Charles Williams, himself an interesting poet, who edits the "New Book of English Verse" (1935) says that during the nineties there were two poets of importance, Kipling and Yeats.

"One tended to turn from the myths, the other to translate them into his own parables. . . . Where Tennyson and even Hardy had occasionally been a little sad about their loss of simple faith, the newer poets much more healthily forgot it, the wistful atheist disappeared. Christianity became to every poet either a necessity or a nuisance, and the lesser myths . . . merely a nuisance. Elecker and Francis Thompson picturesquely delayed them a little. Eliot for a moment recovered Agememnon; Chesterton made them ceremonial with apocalypse. But in general they were done, and it was time. Pan is dead."

The divergence of critical opinion about the relative value of our moderns becomes both amusing and interesting when we compare the above finely-worded but inconclusive generalisation with what C. D. Lewis, one of the younger poets, says, succintly summing the situation:

" . . . . Then came for poetry, in spite of Hardy and de la Mare, a period of very low vitality. The Georgian poets, a sadly pedestrian rabble, flocked along the roads their fathers had built, pointing out to each other the beauty spots. . . . The winds blew, the floods came . . . . one only rode the whirl wind: Wilfrid Owen killed on the Sambre, spoke above the barrage and the gas cloud. The poetry is in the pity. When it was all over it was given to an American, T. S. Eliot, to pick up some of the fragments of civilization, place them end to end, and on that crazy pavement walk precariously through the waste-land. Post-war poetry was born amongst the ruins. Its immediate ancestors are Hopkins, Owen and Eliot and Yeats, the last in the aristocratic tradition, remains the most admired among living writers . . . . a lesson to us in integrity." There is still, concludes Lewis "a hope for poetry."

The Goergian revival in poetry by about 1912, and the Imagist movement were in fact the spiritual predecessors of the modernist movement in poetry. Then there came the war which shaped or misshaped the whole poetic consciousness of the age.

The war to end war only too completely frustrated the protestations of the optimists and the treaty makers. The "decade of despair" with its bloodless war and silent revolution only made it clear that the halycon days of tranquillity which had seemed possible in 1919 had only receded into unrealisable dreams. The prevailing spirit of general frustration and disillusionment darkened the spiritual environment of the poet and made him a bold, rebellious but soured spirit. Poetry could hardly remain cheerful and inspiring in an atmosphere impermeable to any kind of optimism or idealism. Optimism seemed impossible in the presence of the steadily deepening disillusion.

Post-war poetry was thus born amongst the ruins of the world catastrophe.

The general attitude of questioning and scepticism weakened all faith in or respect for authority of the church, state, or the family. The new-found freedom of the philosophy of free thought, the substitution of the principle of art as imitation or representation by the principle of art as communication, together with the spirit of literary individualism that had been gradually growing since the closing years of the 19th century, all contributed only to accentuate the need for renovation in poetry which the Imagists had attempted but had failed on account of their obvious misconception both as regards the matter and form of poetry. Thus, an orgy of experimentation with new words, rhythms, forms possible and impossible, followed, supported and encouraged by the audacities of the lately discovered work of G. M. Hopkins with his "sprung rhythm" and grammatical eccentricities.

Of all the influences which changed the face of post-war poetry the acceptance of the principle that art is communication instead of representation had the most far-reaching influence.

It entirely shifted the centre of activity from objective representation to the expression of subjective consciousness. The emphasis which so far rested on the "Universal" was now shifted to the "Personal." Poetry had been regarded great in so far as it had been able to embody or symbolise the universal in the parti-

cular. If the traditional poet represented his personal passion in his poetry, it was of such passion that he sang and in such manner that his readers found no difficulty in realising that what he had sung about was true of the poet's personal feeling as also of humanity as a whole. The modernist poet rejected the objective representation of his thoughts, feelings and passions but sought to communicate his own individual perception and strove to recreate for the reader the experience which he had in his own unique perception of the universe and in the *unique universe* which he had created about him, from the material out of *his own sensations*. The attempt to communicate an experience from a universe of his own creation, apart from the external world, represents in fact an infinite extension of the range of poetic consciousness. Poetry thus proceeded from the individual and particular 'worlds' of individual and particular poets. The poet became the law to himself.

Much of the obscurity, occasional incomprehensibility, the need for annotation and "literary midwifery" in modernist poetry proceeds from this pre-occupation of the poets with the movements in the obscurer regions of the human mind. There came in evidence much deliberate effort to explore the world below the surface by methods of evocation and "Free Association." One thing suggests another and the technique of evocation may bring to surface thoughts, ideas and images, between which there may not be the least logical connection or any kind of unifying community. Poetry thus came to be the image of the phantasmal shapes and shadows rising and vanishing in his mind. There can be no lyrical outburst, no narrative interest. There can neither be the rapture of joy nor the strong cry of agony.

Science and State

The following is an extract from the welcome address of Dr. S. C. Law at the sixth annual meeting of the Indian Science News Association, as published in *Science and Culture*:

Indian scientists have rightly complained that the Central Government has been too parsimonious in its help to the cause of science in this country and has not given that much-needed push and encouragement to the organisation of scientific societies through the efforts of which alone fundamental and basic sciences are advanced. We may refer, for instance, to the case of the National Institute of Sciences, a representative body of the senior scientists in India, corresponding to the Royal Society of Great Britain. This body receives an annual grant of Rs. 7,000 from the Government of India. Compare this to the support given to the Royal Society in England, which gets from the British Government, for its publications alone, £8,000, not to speak of the number of Trusts which the Government has asked it to administer. Further, the Royal Society is liberally represented on such Government organisations as the National Physical Laboratory and the various Research Councils. Ours is not. The other all-India societies, such as the Indian Science Congress Association, the Indian Chemical Society, the Indian Physical Society, the Indian Botanical Society and others, which have been organised through private efforts, have all the same story to tell. They are all languishing for lack of adequate financial resources. May we not hope that the Government of India will give up its apathy towards science and scientific institutions.

Why Nerves Crack

W. W. Frank writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

The nervous system constitutes the telephone system of the body. The brain is the central station. Sensory impulses come from the various parts of the body over the nerve fibres, up through the spinal cord, to the brain. So sensations from the body areas reach the level of consciousness. The motor impulses then go from the brain down through the spinal cord and the nerve fibres, to the part to be moved, and cause motion to occur. Thus we have the so-called "voluntary nervous system."

In addition there is the sympathetic, or involuntary, nervous system. Impulses arise from the various internal organs, some of which reach the level of consciousness, but many of which remain unnoticed. Other impulses are sent out from the brain to control the internal organs. No doubt it is a wise provision of nature that we are not permitted to control these organs.

There are various centres in the brain. The cerebrum contains the motor area, the sensory area, the visual centre, the centre of smell, the centre of hearing, and centres for reason, association, and memory. There are also what are termed "silent" areas, about which we know very little or nothing. The cerebellum has to do with our sense of balance and co-ordination of movements.

The involuntary and voluntary nervous systems have a marked effect on each other.

One system cannot be depressed without the other's being depressed to a certain textent. Neither can one be stimulated without the other. This is demonstrated by the fact that worry will alter the process of digestion. Worry may cause us to have a "sour stomach," or hyper-acidity; and conversely, hyper-acidity may cause us to worry.

We have grim evidence all around us that nerves do crack, and in studying the question of why this occurs, and why we develop various types of neurosis, one point to be considered is the factor of our heredity and early training. It is well for those contemplating marriage to look into the background of the intended individual to ascertain that there is no insanity or marked tendency toward neurosis. This will aid in ensuring mutual happiness, and will also improve the future generation.

However, inherited tendencies can frequently be overcome by early training. When we see fond relatives romp and play with babies and young children, exciting their nervous systems, we can be sure that there is being laid a background for a present and future nervous individual. If we dangle too many bright things before a baby's eyes, make too many noises to entertain him, throw him up into the air and catch him, the baby will become nervous, and an unstable foundation will be laid for the future man.

There are certain instincts and emotions which are inherent in the race.

The emotions of love, joy, faith, hope, and peace, build up our sense of well-being and make us quite composed and comfortable. On the other hand, the instincts of hate, anger, jealousy, and remorse tear down our sense of well-being and make us very irritable and nervous, and it is difficult for people to get along with us. There is a reaction on our physical body as well, so that the physiological functions of the heart and stomach, for example, are not maintained at their normal efficiency.

Family troubles, wherein there are small constant

irritations, bring about a state of dissatisfaction and a sense of depression. Worry over financial and economic matters, over the rearing of children, or the loss of a loved one—these are examples of domestic disturbances which are causing many cases of "cracked nerves."

Some of us have an inferiority complex; others, a superiority complex. This interferes with the question of the ego, the all-important "I," and will cause us to be different from the usual members of the herd. This also helps to unbalance our nervous poise.

During the past ten years we have seen vivid illustrations of events and circumstances which cause people to become nervous. Business executives, people in responsible political positions, and salesmen in highly competitive fields, have had a very difficult time. There is a great tendency for them to become neurotic and to have a "nervous breakdown." This is an exhaustion of the nervous system. School teachers and medical workers of various types, because of the stress and strain and the excessive stimulation of the emotions, are very prone to have exhausted nerves, functional disturbances, insomnia, and, in general, a disordered physiology.

Our speed of living also helps to cause the restlessness which is characteristic of this generation. Of course, along with these inventions come the accidents and the head injuries which contribute to serious neuroses.

During the stress of battle, men develop peculiar symptoms. They may become dizzy, and men have been known to lose their speech. Military men call this "shell shock," but it is a condition in which the nervous system has been overstimulated and the emotions have helped to cause the nervous "crack up."

Cultural Unity in Ancient India

All foreigners of the ancient period fell victims to one faith or another as soon as they entered India. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar observes in the course of an article on the above subject in the *Current Affairs* :

It is scarcely necessary for me here to repeat what we already know that up till the advent of the Muhammedans every foreign tribe that entered into India became completely Hinduised. It is not simply the Sakas, Palhavas, Hunas and other barbarian hordes but also the civilized Yavanas or Greeks who succumbed to the charm of Hindu culture and religion. They not only adopted one Hindu faith or another, but in most cases Hindu names also. We will take only two instances. There is a pillar inscription of about the second century B.C. found at Besnagar in the Gwalior Territory in Malwa. It records the erection of a *Garudadhvaja* in honour of Vasudeva, god of gods, by Heliodorus, son of Dion, who had come from Taxila and from the Court of King Antalikita (Antalkidas) to the Court of King Bhagabhadra. Heliodorus has been called Yavana-duta, "a Greek Ambassador," and his father's names, *viz.*, Heliodora and Diya doubtless corespond to the Greek "Heliodoros" and "Dion." He was thus a Greek by extraction. Nevertheless, the fact that he erected a Garuda column in honour of Vasudeva shows that though a Greek, he had become a Hindu and a Vaishnava. If any doubt is still entertained, it is completely set at rest by the fact that he is actually styled Bhagavata in the inscription. We will now take up the second instance. One of the southern Kshatrapa families was ruling over the Dekkan, the most prominent member of which was Nahapana. Inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadata (Rishabhadatta) are found in the Buddhist caves at Nasik and Karli. His wife's name, we find, was Samghamitra. Both Rishabhadatta and Samghamitra are indisputably Hindu names. But in one Nasik inscription we are distinctly told that he was a Saka. His foreign origin is also indicated by the name of his father and father-in-law, namely, Dinika and Nahapana, neither of which is an Indian or Hindu name. Nahapana, again, has been styled a Kshatrapa and is said to belong to the Kshaharata family. Kshaharata is a non-Hindu name. Kshatrapa also is not a Sanskrit word but is an abbreviation of the old Persian title Kshathrapavan, which has been anglicised into Satrap. All these things unmistakably point to the alien origin of Rhishabhadatta, and, in particular, to his having been a Saka, though his and his wife's names are distinctly Hindu. Now, in one inscription Rishabhadatta is called *trigosatasahe rada*, "the giver of three hundred thousand kine" He is further spoken of as having granted sixteen villages to the gods and Brahmans. He is also stated to have provided eight Brahmans with the means of marriage at the holy place of Prabhasa, that is, Somnath Pattan in Kathiawar; in other words, he earned the merit of accomplishing eight Brahman marriages. And to crown the whole, he is *anuvarsham Brahmana-satasahasribhojapayita*, that is, to have said to have annually fed one hundred thousand Brahmans. These charities undoubtedly stamp Rishabhadatta as a very staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion. Yet in origin he was a Saka, and, therefore, a foreigner!

The Hindu Method of Tribal Absorption

Nirmal Kumar Bose concludes his article on the Hindu method of tribal absorption in *Science and Culture* with the following remarks :

Once a tribe came under the influence of the Brahminical people and was converted into a caste enjoying monopoly in a particular occupation, a strong tendency was set up within it to remodel its culture more and more closely in conformity with the Branminical way of life, as we have already seen in connection with the *Muchi* or leather-working caste of Birbhum in Bengal. But the unfortunate part of it was that whereas the Soviet Union directly encourages such change and absolutely brooks no inequality on account of race or creed, the Brahmins very often put a stop to such progress on the part of the subjugated peoples towards higher and higher lives. In the Ramayana, we are told Rama had to kill Sambuka, the Sudra who aspired to Brahminhood. The cultural progress inevitable among subjugated tribes was thus arrested in ancient India, most probably for the preservation of the vested interests of the upper castes, who formed one class by themselves.

There was however one matter in which the Brahmins showed a large measure of catholicity. Whereas the social scientist in the Soviet Union looks upon tribal, religious and social cultures as so many unnecessary survivals from the past, the Brahmin believed in the permanent necessity of many forms of culture fitted to different stages of mental development. He was like a pantheist in his social idealism. But whether this catholicity sprang from a genuine sense of human love, or whether the priestly class fashioned it and stuck to it in order to prevent "low" castes from rising high in the social scale, we cannot say accurately at this distance of time. The chances are that both the motives operated in society at the same time. Some idealists like Shankara or, in more recent times, like Ramkrishna Paramhansa, seem to have desired the progress of the low castes in mental development, while others surely wanted to keep them in their old place for purposes of enjoying their own ill-gotten privileges

One very important thing emerges from all that has been said above; namely the large part which is played by economic matters even in the sphere of social and cultural relations. Culture, as we have already indicated, flows from a politically dominant to a politically subservient group. In social matters also, the former occupies higher status and the latter a lower one.

From this we may vetnure to say with regard to current problems in our national life, that if we wish to set the Juang, the Munda or the so-called untouchable castes shoulder to shoulder with ourselves in a democratically organized society, we must make sure of economic reorganization if we want to have the social reorganization on a permanent basis. Various attempts have already been made to set social relationship right, to make the untouchables equal to the touchables in all respects. Mahatma Gandhi's Harijan Movement did succeed in focussing the attention of the public on the wrongs suffered by the suppresed classes under Hinduism. It has already succeeded in bringing about a psychological revolution with respect to the attitude of the two classes towards one another. But unless this movement is backed by a revolutionary change in economic organization also, it will not succeed in undoing the social wronge permanently. The *inertia* of the present productive forces will, once more, set the suppressed classes back in their old place; and thus undo the good which has been achieved in the psychological field of social relationship.

The Wardha Scheme of Education

The twin fundamental principles of the system were, that it made education self-supporting and some manual craft or other was to be the basis of all teaching. The history of this scheme illustrates the unwisdom of linking education to politics and of the interference of amateurs without much of knowledge and experience in work which is that of highly specialised experts. Principal P. Seshadri observes in *The Indian Review* :

There is ample evidence that the scheme is crumbling down, and it will not be long before there will even be more complete disillusionment. The Madras Presidency, in spite of the initial advantage of a powerful Congress ministry and the enthusiastic exposition of its education-minitser, was quite lukewarm about it from the very beginning and the scheme has not found any popular suppert. In fact, it was even whispered that the leading members of the Cabinet did not believe in it and were only obeying the Congress mandate in trying to enforce it. The confession was made at a public meeting recently, that no system of education could get on without popular support,- not Government encouragement, let it be remembered, which was apparently not lacking. The Central Provinces found that the schools were expensive and have closed the Basic Training school in spite of the headquarters of the Hindusthani Talimi Sangha being at Wardha in the same administrative area. Orissa is now sadder and wiser, as the result of the experiments it has carried on in spite of its slender resources. It is difficult to say what success it has attained in Bihar. Bengal, the Punjab and Assam have not even found it worth experimenting on it. Bombay did not give much encouragement even in the days of the Congress Ministry and now there is no chance of its revival. Curiously enough, hardly a single Indian State with the exception of Kashmir where the direction of education is in the hands of one of the leading exponents of the scheme has thought it proper to introduce it, though the scheme might have been expected to find a congenial soil in them, particularly in view of its professed solution of the financial obligations involved. The United Provinces are about the only area out of the extensive Indian continent, where it is said to be a sucess. It is somewhat puzzling that the experience of the Provinces should be so different from that of other parts of India, and one can only wait for further developments and clearer light The disillusionment, however, is more or less complete and it will not be long before it is as dead as Queen Anne.

The dangers of mixing up politics with education and of allowing amateurs to interfere in the sphere of experts are, however, not the only lessons to be learnt from the failure of this scheme. It has at least served the useful purpose of drawing attention to the need for vocational education and the danger of pursuing a purely literary course, though industrial advancement is not entirely a matter of education and needs many other factors for its fulfilment. It has emphasised the need for universal education of a high standard for every citizen in the country, though the scheme has not provided a miraculous means as was fondly imagined. This had also led to a re-examination of the foundation of the Indian educational system and it is refreshing for those engaged in the work that nothing is seriously wrong with it though improvements are possible and desirable in many directions as in all human institutions.

The Dramatic Literature of Orissa

Prof. Priya Ranjan Sen writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

Radhanath, Madhusudan, Phakirmohan, the three pioneers of Modern Oriya literature, had opened up new forms of literature, the lyric, the epic, the novel, but one important form was still left unexplored by them, and that was drama. There was no dramatic literature in ancient Oriya in the modern sense. Even though Orissa was guided very strongly by Sanskrit traditions, there was not even an attempt at translating Sanskrit dramas that we know of. As in many other countries the tentative efforts towards dramatic performances were associated in Oriya with religion; the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the story of Krishna—these have furnished topics for Lila of which both the time of composition and the composer were unknown. Only in the *Ramlilas* of certain districts do we come across the name of a Brahmin called Sadashiva. It is not difficult to speculate that this Ramlila was a gift of the north where Rama has always been a favoured deity.

Suang is something different from Lila, conceived not with any educational purpose, but purely with the idea of amusement. It has more of the humorous side and little or nothing of the religious. The Lila or religious element and the Suang or Pantomime element, synthetised into the Jatra form, but there the dance of the Suang is more popular. In the petty politics of the village, the Suang has a special importance and exerts a practical "influence," because its hits seldom miss their effect. There is another sort of dramatic representation, *Gotipua nata*, got up by a *solo* artist, a boy dressed as a girl, who begins to dance, singing some *champadi* or other of the Bhanja school of poets. In practice the number of the artists sometimes increases to two and the performance ceases to be confined to the usual solo performance.

Some of the Suangs have been printed and are available. A few of them may be mentioned here as well. Vaishnava Pani is an author of some such Suangs. His *Daksha-Yajna Suang* was written in songs and rhymed conversations. There is another Suang in which we are treated to an account of the quarrel between Durga and Ganga.

In a later work, *Vidya-Sundar Gitavinaya*, Pani begins by making the Nata and the Nati talk, but this talk is no longer in mere rhymed verse, but in prose sentences. The Suangs are then not independent of Sanskrit tradition, but they effectively reflected that tradition which is at the same time in exact accordance with their community.

Things were pretty well like this in the early years of the nineteenth century, and they had not changed even by the eighties. The art was enviable, but difficult to copy. It was the sight of a Bengali play on the stage of Cuttack that first turned the attention of Ramsankar Ray to the new literary medium that it revealed. He turned at once to the medium and all through his life the composition of dramatic literature absorbed much of his time; thus he wrote *Kanchikaveri* (1880), *Banabala* (1882), *Kalikal* (1883), *Ram Banabas* (1891), *Budhabar* (1892), *Kamsabadh* (1896), *Vishamodak* (1900), *Jugudharma* (1902), *Kanchanamali* (1904), *Chaitanyalila* (1906), *Lilavati* was composed and staged in 1912, *Buraloka* (1917). Ramsankar and Girishchandra, the Bengali dramatist, were thus contemporaries.

Improved Ghee-Making for Villagers

Y. M. Parnerkar of Sevagram, Wardha, writes in *Indian Farming*:

The profits in the manufacture of ghee on a commercial scale depend to a large extent upon the degree of recovery of ghee from butter during the process of ghee-boiling. An investigation was undertaken with a view to finding a process which would give a higher yield of ghee and reduce the time of boiling and fuel consumption. The economic condition of the small ghee-maker in villages was kept in mind.

The usual method of ghee-making by villagers is to boil the butter in an open earthen or brass vessel on a cowdung fire for more than an hour until the crackling noise ceases and the curd is cleared. The vessel is then taken off the fire and the contents are strained through cotton cloth into another vessel and stored in a cool place.

In the present experiment the butter was melted by heating at 60°C., transferred to a vessel having a small hole at the bottom plugged with a bamboo peg and hung up in a cool open place overnight. Next morning, by removing the peg, the water and a part of the curds were run off, since the butter had solidified in the meantime. The whole was then transferred to another container and boiled gently to remove traces of moisture and precipitate the curd. From this point the process was the same as in the usual villagers' method.

Comparative trials yielded the following results:

Method	Butter (tolas)	Time to boil (mins.)	Fuel consumption (tolas)
Desi	120	39	7
Improved	120	26	3

Method	Water and curds drained off (tolas)	Ghee yield (tolas)	Per cent of ghee from butter
Desi	—	90	75·0
Improved	15	100	83·3

In both cases the boiling was done on a kerosene stove using ordinary kerosene and the time and fuel in the improved method include that required for first heating. The quality of the product was practically the same in both cases.

It was observed that a clear solution was obtained during the draining when the atmospheric temperature was low.

There is a decided saving of time and fuel by using the improved method and about 8 per cent more ghee is obtained. The method is simple enough to be used in the small-scale manufacture of ghee and to replace the *desi* method without extra trouble or expense except for the vessel with a hole in the bottom which should preferably be made from tinned brass.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India's Aid to Britain

In course of a letter published in *The Spectator*, Sir Hari Singh Gour writes :

In your issue of the 13th instant, I have given historical retrospect of the events that culminated in the final settlement made on April 16th, 1917. I have shown how that settlement was implemented in the case of the Colonies but completely ignored in the case of India. I wish to add that on October 24th, 1933, I had drawn the attention of Mr. Winston Churchill, then a witness before the Joint Committee of Parliament, to these facts. He observed that my statement of the constitutional position of India was "lucid" and promised me his co-operation. (*Proceedings*, II. C. p. 1828). As Sir Austen Chamberlain was a member of that Committee and had pledged his word, as the Secretary of State for India, that the pledge of 1917 would be promptly carried out, I naturally recalled his words and read to the Committee his statement to the House of Commons.

Sir Hari Singh Gour was reassured by Sir Austen Chamberlain and was told that his pledge was genuine.

As a matter of fact it was never made good, and what is worse, the Act of 1919 was enacted and a preamble added thereto, which directly contradicted it.

After that renewal of his pledge, I was surprised to find that Parliament enacted another Act in 1935, which is as reactionary as its predecessor, and what is worse still, in all the published reports of the discussions of the Committee and debates of the House, not a single word occurs about this settlement or about any questions relating thereto.

The reason is not far to seek. The settlement was forced upon the British Government by the exigency of the war. They had profited by it and as soon as the war was over, they gave it the quietus, hoping that nothing more would be said about it. But they overlooked the fact that the First Great War had owed its inception to England's possession of India, which is described as the finest jewel in the British Crown. Others besides England were anxious to possess it, and the war that ensued released forces that began to foregather to seize it. We had in the first instance the birth of the Bolshevik movement and the growth of the Third International, which soon became a world-menace and a world-power by its rousing the working people all over the world to unite and establish for themselves dictatorships of the proletariat. All oppressed countries were exploited and India was one of them.

In the next place there grew the Nazi, Fascist and the Pan-Asiatic Movement led by Japan, which owes its religion and culture to India. The unification of all Asia to drive Europeans out of it is Japan's declared policy and Japan is a great power in alliance with Germany and Italy. She is exercising pressure upon all Mongolian races to boycott the white man, and regards India as her holy land, the birthplace of Gautama Buddha, founder of Buddhism, the dominant religion of the whole of Asia, east of Iran.

Add to these two forces the miserable poverty of the people of India, whose population, risen from 353 to 400 millions within the last decade (1931-41), presents another problem of dire distress, against which there is no escape in the migration of the Indians to the sparsely populated continents of Australia or South Africa which bar their entry, though their nationals are free to exploit India. This one-sided citizenship of the British Commonwealth is strongly resented in India and indeed in this she is warmly supported by Japan.

We have been struggling to industrialise our country, and the Joint Committee on the Bill that became the Act of 1919 strongly recommended that India should have fiscal autonomy, but India never had it and when I claimed it on behalf of the elected majority of the House of the Central Assembly, I was told that so long as the Government was a dependency of Whitehall, its policy must continue to be dictated by Whitehall.

I mention these few, very few, facts to illustrate my meaning. I claim dominion-status for India, both because England is pledged to it as also because it is in her interest to give it. If she persists in being the dog in the manger, she cannot avert a succession of wars, one more destructive than the other. Her own self-preservation dictates the course that is both righteous and profitable to her, for strong India, if free, would be a tower of strength to her, and with her man-power and materials, her newly mobilised and organised industries and war-productions, no power on earth can attack England if she is made conscious that India freely stands by her side in the first line of battle.

America asks every Englishman who goes there for help, that if England is fighting for freedom, why does she deny it to India ? England is about to establish a common citizenship with America. Will that great democracy ever join hands with England so long as England continues her domination of India ?

The only course open to England is to set India free and the only course that India would then take is to see that England is then truly secure. Modern educated Indians treat England as their spiritual home. India is the product of English education and all their love for England is as great as that of the white Dominions, and if India is treated alike, India will be as much the bulwark of the British Commonwealth as are her other Dominions.

The Muslims in Poland

Very little is known to the outside world about the Tatars of Poland, usually called "Linthuanian," as they established themselves in the country known as Lithuania, which in the fourteenth century extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and as far as the Oka in the east. The following excerpt reproduced from an article by C. Bohdanowicz in *The Asiatic Review* will be found interesting.

These Tatars were the descendants of the old Turco-Mongols who so often plundered Poland in the latter

part of the Middle Ages, advancing as far as the walls of Cracow in 1241. Nevertheless, as observed by the writer of an article in a Wilno paper, "It is on the breast of our ancestors that the invading waves of the Tatars broke, and at the same time we consider the descendants of these same Tatars as our dearest brothers."

It is impossible to fix the exact date of the first appearance of the Tartars in Lithuania. But I believe that it is very probable that the first colonies appeared in Lithuania by 1350.

History shows that the Lithuanian Tatars are the descendants of the representatives of several tribes of the Golden Horde who immigrated into Lithuania, and besides, they have inter-married with Lithuanians and afterwards with Poles. This explains the fact that these Tatars have formed a separate ethnic group, different from the other Turco-Tatar groups. This also explains why the Lithuanian Tatars are of no particularly pronounced type, but exhibit a great variety of features, ranging from Slav to Mongol, with the latter predominating, as mixed marriages were at first not allowed.

The Lithuanian Tatars reached their zenith towards the middle of the sixteenth century. It is rather difficult to determine their number at that time as authors disagree on the point. Their figures vary from 40,000 to 200,000, a discrepancy which is difficult to explain.

The Tatars had almost all the rights of the other classes of the nobility or even had the privilege, which was extraordinary at that period, of marrying Christian wives without changing their religion.

Professor Talko-Tryncewicz, of Cracow University, who has written much concerning the Lithuanian Tatars, in his work *The Muslims* says: "The fidelity of the Tatars to Poland amounted to heroism."

The Tatars did not let an opportunity pass to prove their loyalty to Poland in that epoch of perpetual wars which Poland was waging against Moscow, the Ukrainian Cossacks, Sweden, etc. In the war annals one meets again and again the names of the valiant Tatar officers so eloquently described by Sienkiewicz in his trilogy.

It seems that the division of Poland did not bring great changes in the situation of Lithuanian Tatars. Catherine the Great, by the Ukase of October 20, 1794, confirmed their rights, while leaving them freedom of worship, and, to a great extent, opened up to them access to civil and military service. Owing to their small number there was no disadvantage in giving them preference over the Poles, so as to be able to use them against the latter. In 1797, Paul I formed a cavalry regiment composed solely of Lithuanian Tatars.

After the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw in 1807, the Tatars obtained political rights and had seats in Parliament. Many Tatars fought in the armies of the Grand Duchy until Napoleon's abdication. After the occupation of Wilno by the Grande Armee, the Emperor, by the decree of August, 1812, ordered the formation of a squadron of Lithuanian Tatars, which was later attached to the Imperial Guard and had a uniform recalling that of the Mamelukes.

Although the persecutions against the Poles did not specially concern the Tatars, they did not stay aloof from the efforts of the Polish Patriots who, under Marshal Pilsudski, struggled for the independence of their country. One of the Marshal's first followers, Alexander Sulkiewicz, a Tatar, played an active part in the party's committee. It was Sulkiewicz who organized the Marshal's flight from St. Petersburg in 1900. During the war, he enrolled as a simple soldier in the Marshal's Legion and was killed in battle in 1916. In proportion to their number, the part taken by the Tatars in the Great War was considerable.

After the war the Tatars were divided between the three States. The greater part remained in Poland, 1,500 came to Lithuania, and 4,000 to U. S. S. R.

For the Polish Government and people did not withhold expressions of sympathy with the Tatars: they enjoyed all civil and political rights, and took an active part in the reorganization of the re-born State.

The Polish Government has made a point of encouraging their cultural and religious aspirations—for example, the creation of the Muftiate upon which the rights of the Autonomous Church were conferred. This has given a strong impulse to the religious life of the Tatars by co-ordinating and strengthening it.

As the Lithuanian Tatars live chiefly in the region of Wilno, the Muftiate was established in that town, together with the head offices of the cultural organizations.

The number of Lithuanian Tatars in Warsaw is relatively small; but there are many Mussulmans, composed of emigrants from Soviet Russia, Tatars of Crimea, of Kazan, and representatives of various tribes of Northern Caucasus; there are also many Mussulmans from beyond Europe; Persians, Turks, etc., who are for the most part tradesmen.

There never has been polygamy; in society, Tatar women are in no way distinguishable from Polish women of their class. Of course, according to Muslim rites, they are separated from men in the hour of prayer in the mosque.

As the land inhabited by the Lithuanian Tatars was part of the Russian Empire, the Russian Civil Law still applied there (Polish Civil Law not being yet unified). By the Russian law, the Tatars kept their personal statute, *i.e.*, they were governed by their Mussulman law, *Shari'at*.

Although they have forgotten their tongue, the Lithuanian Tatars are strongly attached to their religion—the only feature which distinguishes them from the Christian population. This is why a Tatar who

changes his religion ceases at once to be a part of the Tatar community. It is also for this reason that mixed marriages are discouraged.

As we have said before, the cultural movement was almost non-existent just before the last war. But the Government and intellectual circles encouraged the cultural aspirations of the Tatars.

With the German and Russian invasions of Poland in 1939 most of the Muslim activities in that country came to an end. Some of the leaders, as Arslan Kryczynski, have been executed by the Germans, others, as his brother Leon, have been deported by the Russians to Siberia.

X-ray and its Industrial Application

In a lecture to the Royal Society of Arts Sir Richard Gregory, Bt., F.R.S. narated the story of the development of X-ray and its subsequent uses in industry. The following excerpt is reproduced from the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

The means of producing X-rays existed many years before Rontgen observed their effects and investigated their properties in 1895. Hittorf described in 1869, the fluorescence produced on the glass walls of a vacuum tube through which an electric discharge was passing, by rays proceeding from the negative electrode, or cathode. Sir William Crookes spent ten years in the investigation of the nature and properties of these rays inside vacuum tubes, and every one of these tubes was producing X-rays before Rontgen discovered their effects. He covered a Crookes' tube with a shield of black paper in a completely darkened room, and proved that when an electric discharge was passing through the very highly attenuated gas in the tube, fluorescent substances outside the tube glowed brightly. Further investigations showed that the rays could penetrate many materials opaque to ordinary rays of light, and also affect photographic plates or films.

From this discovery, not accidental but incidental, all the valuable medical and industrial applications of X-rays have been developed. The primary object of the experiments made by Crookes, Lenard, Rontgen and others was not the invention of something of practical value, but to inquire into the nature of the electric discharge of gases, and of the rays emitted from electrodes in vacuum tubes. Crookes showed that the cathode rays sent out from the negative electrode of an electrified vacuum tube consist of steams of material molecules moving at very great speed. Sir Joseph Thomson afterwards proved, by a series of brilliant experiments carried out in the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, that these particles, for which the name electron was adopted, were disembodied atoms of negative electricity. Radio-telephony and broadcasting became possible when means were discovered of controlling the emission of these electrons by particular inventions.

The practical value of X-rays in surgery and medicine was recognised as soon as their discovery was announced.

The industrial use of shadow pictures, or radiographs, shown on fluorescent screens or photographed, for examining internal structures and detecting flaws developed very rapidly. Among early applications of this kind were the examination of parcel post packages, welded metal, interior of bombs, and the separation of real from artificial gems.

With increased knowledge of the nature of X-rays, and means of producing them with increased penetrative power, industrial applications of very many kinds have since been introduced.

The welding of parts of aeroplanes, testing of the contents of cartridges, inspection of shell fuses, and examination of foreign ammunition of unknown construction, are examples of uses of X-rays in ordnance industries; and there are many other practical applications of a like kind, such as the examination of electrical insulating materials, wireless valves and golf balls, to discover defects of constitution or construction.

Sir William Bragg and his son, now Sir Lawrence Bragg, then took up the subject of X-ray crystal analysis and became the most renowned authorities upon it by their work. They devised and used in many investigations of crystal structure an X-ray spectrometer by which the patterns from any planes of the crystal target could be photographed, the instrument acting as a reflection, and not a transmission, grating. Later, it was discovered that when the primary X-ray beam was reflected from the substance under examination a more powerful means of analysis became available. The spectrum thus obtained shows characteristic lines of the constituents in the material of the target, and also distinguishes between perfect crystals and a mosaic of small crystallites. By this secondary emission method, a thin layer of powder can be used for analysis, instead of a sinble crystal, and it can reveal characteristics which are beyond the power of an optical miscroscope. It thus enables a spectrum analysis to be made without using up any of the substance under examination, or changing its form.

X-rays analysis has contributed very greatly to the advancement of scientific knowledge by revealing how the atoms of different substances are bonded together in the structure of molecules of organic as well as inorganic substances. It was soon applied to metallurgy, by providing a ready means of distinguishing between the arrangement of atoms in iron at ordinary temperatures and iron which has been raised to a high temperature, the two types being known respectively as alpha and gamma irons. The relative proportions of the two types of the metal in a specimen can, therefore, be readily found by X-ray spectrometry. Similarly, the effects of rolling or straining metals upon the size and arrangement of their crystals can be examined without using up any of the metal. This *inside* knowledge can be obtained in no other way, and it throws light upon types of structure produced by different processes and operations, and required for different purposes.

Unexpected practical applications of X-ray spectrometry have come from the light it has thrown upon the molecular structure of cellulose, which is the framework of plants and is extensively used in the manufacture of paper, celluloid films, gun-cotton, artificial silk, and many other fabrics.

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NOTES

Is India's Unity A Gift of Britain?

On the 19th November last at Manchester Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India delivered a speech which is a glorification of what Britain has done for India and an exposition, defence and glorification of last year's 'August offer.' *It is a study in why India ought not to have self-rule as also in how she may be prevented from having it.* He began by greatly magnifying the difficulty of framing a constitution for India which will work and ended also by dwelling on the difficulties of the Indian problem. He and other British politicians should bear in mind that Britain has had a very long time to solve the Indian problem,—she has not been confronted with it suddenly during war time and that the difficulty of the problem has been not a little aggravated by Britain's own selfish policy.

He boasts that Britain has given India "unity and peace within her borders and an all-pervading reign of the impartial law." As regards India's unity, Mr. Amery has said in another part of his speech :

> Beneath all differences of religion, culture, race and political structure, there is an underlying unity. There is the fundamental geographical unity which has walled off India from the outside world, while, at the same time, erecting no serious internal barriers. There is broad unity of race which makes Indians as a whole, whatever the differences among themselves, a distinctive type among the main races of mankind. There is the political unity which she has enjoyed from time to time in her history and which we have confirmed in a far stronger fashion than any of our predecessors in the unity of the administration of law, economic development and of communications.

The fundamental geographical unity of India existed before the first Englishman set foot on this country. Our broad unity of race, too, is not a British creation or manufacture. Political unity, also, according to Mr. Amery, "India has enjoyed from time to time in her history." What Britain has done is to confirm this unity "in a far stronger fashion than any of our predecessors in the unity of the administration of law, economic development and of communications." So after all India is indebted to Britain only to a small extent for her fundamental unity, according to Mr. Amery's own admission. Let us now look at the other side of the picture.

Mr. Amery is not the first Britisher to boast that Britain has given India unity. The Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform did so in their Report. Volume I (Part I), 1934. But after boasting of it, they proceeded to observe in paragraph 26 of that report :

> "We have spoken of unity as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India; but in transferring so many of the powers of Government to the Provinces, and in encouraging them to develop a vigorous and independent political life of their own, **we have been** running the inevitable risk of **weakening or even destroying that unity.**"

It was a wrong use of words to say that the Committee *ran any "risk"* or that the "*risk*" was "*inevitable.*" On the contrary, they appear to have undertaken with alacrity the task of devising a constitution which would destroy India's political unity, so far as that was compatible with keeping Britain's unitary

hold on India. The constitution—the present one—based on the principles of the Communal Decision, which the Government of India Act of 1935 has conferred on India, has effectively set community against community, class against class, province against province, linguistic group against linguistic group, ... Communal "riots" have also become rife. This was or is not the only possible constitution for India and hence *not* "inevitable."

As regards the unity of the administrative system, the Mughal system of administration was substantially uniform throughout the length and breadth of the vast Mughal empire and was copied even in those states which did not owe allegiance to Mughal rule. Perhaps Mughal rule established as much uniformity of administration as could be found in any similar large area anywhere else in the world *in those days*. It is wrong to compare India's achievement in any previous century with Britain's achievement here in the 20th century.

In the field of economic development, some Asiatic countries, *e.g.*, Japan, the Philippines, are industrially and commercially better developed than India of today. What economic development has taken place or has been allowed to take place in India, has been mainly in British interests and no development under indigenous auspices has been helped by the State which would fundamentally and in all respects go against British interests. Here we are to bear in mind that medieval India was economically not less developed than medieval Britain and other parts of Europe. We should also bear in mind that during British rule India's *indigenous* trade and industries have been ruined or have greatly decayed.

As for communications, under Mughal rule the communications in India were as good as any in medieval Europe in any similar vast area. And today communications in India are far less satisfactory than communications, say, in Japan. British capitalist interests promote or stand in the way of communications in different areas of India. For example, East Bengal is not as easy of access from West Bengal as the Panjab is from Calcutta, though the distance in the former case is much less than in the latter.

Whatever degree or extent of unity in India in whatever direction has been promoted by Britishers, has been mainly, if not entirely, in British interests. It is not, has never been, a gift. It was a virtue of necessity if British rule and British exploitation of India were to be practicable and profitable.

"Peace Within Her Borders"

Mr. Amery claims that Britain has given India peace within her borders. This is true in the sense that for decades past there have been no wars between different parts of the country. But it does not mean that we have had peace in any comprehensive sense. Communal conflicts go on multiplying, and for such strife, often sanguinary, British policy is not a little responsible.

"An All-pervading Reign of the Impartial Law"

Another claim of Mr. Amery is that there is in India "an all-pervading reign of the impartial law." What of the "lawless laws"? We do not refer to the Defence of India Act and the Rules made under it, but to arbitrary legislation in previous years and decades and to the ordinances issued in pre-war peace times.

The law is impartial when imperial interests are not involved. But when such interests are involved it is not impartial. In numerous criminal cases in which Britishers were accused of murdering Indians, the law was not impartially administered.

"The Rights of the Individual Under the Law"

Mr. Amery asserts that "what the Magna Charta won for us (Britishers) in the rights of the individual under the law that we have given to India." This is not correct. For long years, decades and generations India has known numerous State Prisoners, Deportees, Internees and Detenus. Are there such persons in the British Isles? The very word detenu is not English but French, showing that detention of men without trial is against the spirit of the British constitution and British ideals of individual liberty. The existence of the Civil Liberties Union is a proof that civil liberty in the British sense is non-existent in India.

"Need For Goodwill Among Indians Themselves"

According to the Secretary of State for India, "Above all there is need for goodwill among Indians themselves." Undoubtedly. But thanks to the long-standing British policy of which the Communal Decision, the Government of India Act of 1935 and various Government resolutions, rules and regulations of the same sort are the outcome, goodwill among Indians themselves has been a diminishing factor in our national life. Mr. Amery thinks that "no less

essential than goodwill is the intellectual honesty of facing the facts as they are." True.

There are numerous Indians who have the intellectual honesty of facing the facts. Their conviction is that the "facts" which in the opinion of British imperialists stand in the way of India's attainment of Swaraj cannot disappear so long as the country is under British domination, as that domination is greatly responsible for the origin or emergence of these facts.

"*The Problem of India Is Not Solved By Catch Phrases*"

Mr. Amery is right when he says that the problem of India is not solved by catch phrases. And among these "catch phrases" are "agreed demand," "Dominion Status is the highest status in the world" (which India is to have in the Greek Calends), "principal elements in India's national life" (Britain being and remaining the ultimate authority to determine which are the principal elements), "the fulfilment of the pre-existing obligations" of the British Government —"catch phrases" which owe their currency not a little to Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow.

Dominion Status "the Highest Status in the World"

Not only according to Mr. Amery but according to many other British politicians also Dominion Status is "the highest status in the world"; "it is the status of this country" (Britain). Therefore it is that Britain is condescending to cringe to the United States of America to have its help! Perhaps President Roosevelt has secretly sent a humble petition to the British Parliament to make the U. S. A. a British Dominion, penitentially confessing that the ancestors of present-day Americans made a mistake in rebelling against Britain and making themselves independent!

If Dominion Status be the highest status in the world, why has Eire shaken it off almost entirely, why is a strong party in South Africa trying to follow suit, why has Canada been straining at the leash?

India's Defence Necessitates British Domination!

Though India possesses an unsurpassed reserve of man-power, which Britain has deliberately chosen not to draw upon for the formation of an adequate Indian army, for fear of India making a bid for independence; though India possesses the men and the materials for a strong navy, instead of which she has a toy navy; and though our country has also the men and the materials for a large air force; Mr. Amery felt no delicacy in uttering the following sentences:

> Of somewhat different character is continuing the responsibility of His Majesty's Government for the defence of India until India is in a position to take over the burden unaided. So long as the defence of India requires the permanent presence—as distinguished from help in a great emergency—of British forces, it is obvious that a Government which provides those forces is entitled to retain a measure of control on their employment in peace, as well as on the external policy in war. That is not derogation of status but a concession to the facts of a particular situation. That situation will be modified on the one hand by the growth of India's own military resources—and they are growing day by day.

Is there any Dominion which could defend itself unaided at the time when it was admitted to dominion status? Is there any even now which can defend itself unaided? There was none and there is none. But Britain did not and does not keep any army of occupation, or any garrison, in any Dominion on the plea of defending it against foreign foes; nor does Britain "retain a measure of control on their employment in peace as well as on the external policy in war."

"*Principal Elements in India's National Life*"

Mr. Amery professes to name the "principal elements in India's national life" which are to make an "*agreed* demand." But his enumeration is neither exhaustive nor well-defined. It will always be possible for the British Government at a pinch to find some sections or other of Hindus or Muslims or Christians or the Aborigines who will agree to be tools in the hands of their foreign masters, and to say to the Indian people, "your agreed demand is not an agreed demand, as *this* or *that* principal element in India's national life does not agree."

It is to be noted that in mentioning the principal elements Mr. Amery says:

> There are, secondly, great religious and cultural communities, above all the two main ones, Hinduism and Islam, with a third, that of the so-called scheduled castes, numbering perhaps 40 millions or more, but unorganised and only gradually acquiring collective consciousness.

Do the scheduled castes constitute a religious and cultural community separate from the Hindus? What is their religion if not Hinduism? What is their culture if not Hindu culture? The grouping of the "scheduled" castes as a separate community, *against the strong protest of many of these castes*, is a British achievement. British politicians profess to want "an agreed demand" of the various communities, but

at the same time they effect divisions and foment disagreement !

It may be considered impertinence on the part of those whose mother tongue is not English to pick holes in Mr. Amery's language. Nevertheless it may be asked whether Hinduism and Islam are religious and cultural communities or they are the names of religions ?

" What Is Meant By Agreement "

"You may ask what is meant by agreement ? Does it mean that the attainment of full Indian self-government can be indefinitely held up by the veto of some extreme section over some issue of detail ? Obviously not. It means a substantial agreement by the main elements on the main principles of the constitution."

Thanks for this elucidation, if it may be called such. At the risk of being considered over-critical, one may ask who will determine what is a substantial agreement, who are the main elements, and what are the main principles of the constitution. It is necessary to ask such questions as Mr. Amery says :

This insistence on the necessity of agreement rules out, naturally, any constitution decided by a mere majority vote.

Constituent Assembly " An Impossible Demand "

In the opinion of Mr. Amery the Congress demand " that India's future constitution should be settled by a constituent assembly elected by universal adult suffrage over the whole of India," is " an impossible demand and yet a natural and an intelligible one." So a natural and intelligible demand not only may be but actually is an impossible demand ! Why impossible, pray ? Because the Congress will " sweep most of the Hindu constituencies " and the Hindu constituencies form the vast majority of constituencies in the country ? So, the British imperialist objection comes to this that the Congress, of which the majority of members are naturally Hindus, and the Hindus must not be allowed to frame the constitution, even though the Congress leaders have repeatedly observed that in the Constituent Assembly the minorities will themselves formulate their safeguards. This anti-Congress and anti-Hindu attitude of the British authorities " is a natural and an intelligible one," for it is they who have been endeavouring most earnestly to win Purna Swaraj and end British domination.

Neither Mr. Amery nor any other British politician has said by what body the future constitution of India is to be settled, if it is not to be done by a constituent assembly. It is characteristic of them. If not a constituent assembly, will the elected Indian members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures be allowed to do it ? If not, why not ?

No Imposing of Constitution on Dissentients

By repeatedly saying that no constitution should be imposed on those who do not accept it, the British authorities have been encouraging and promoting disagreement. Yet they themselves have imposed an unwanted, unacceptable and unaccepted constitution on India by the Government of India Act of 1935. Mr. Amery says, " No constitution is likely to work when imposed on those who don't believe in it." But is the present " imposed " constitution of India working or not working ? Are not its provisions being enforced ?

" Moral Authority " of Congress Majorities

We have commented upon detached expressions, sentences and passages in Mr. Amery's speech, but have not criticized it as a whole. That would have required more space and involved the expenditure of more time than we can command. Moreover, that would have been as infructuous as previous elaborate criticisms of some of Mr. Amery's previous statements and utterances, and as the present piecemeal criticism is sure to be.

We conclude with a brief comment on one more passage, which is quoted below.

It (the Congress) has yet to learn that conditions under which it can exercise its influence and fulfil its ideals in a self-governing India have yet to be agreed upon with other elements which are not prepared to consider Congress majorities as having a moral authority over them, or another material sanction than that of the existing British authorities.

It is true that there is not yet " another material sanction than that of the existing British authorities." The reason is obvious. If endeavours were made to bring into existence " another material sanction," it would be at once declared unlawful. Under the circumstances no material sanction, parallel or opposed to the British, can come into existence unless the latter ceases to exist. But the British authorities say that they will not allow any constitution voted by the majority to come into force unless there is material sanction behind it.

It is a sort of vicious circle.

Speaking of " moral authority," what moral authority, apart from its " material sanction," does the British Government possess in India *at present*, seeing that its largest and most representative political organization is in non-

violent revolt and all other political parties in the country are intensely discontented at the Government's defiance of their demands?

How To Promote Or How To Prevent Swaraj?

That the British rulers of India try above all to discover the reasons why India should not have self-rule and to discover and devise the means and methods of preventing her from attaining it, it both "natural and intelligible." But it would have been juster and more humane, as well as more beneficial to both Britain and India if they had devoted themselves to the discovery of the reasons why this country should have self-rule and to working out the methods of assisting her to attain it.

Annual Report of the Committee of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce

The Annual Report of the Committee of the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, for the year 1940, which has just been published, makes impressive reading. During the year under review the Chamber sent opinions on several Bills sponsored by Government or individual members of both the Central and Provincial Legislatures, and also exchanged communications with Railway, Customs, Marine, Port, Municipal, Posts and Telegraphs and Police authorities. Lesides taking a keen interest in the development of jute, cotton, rice, handloom products, match, mica, ground mica and other industries.

During the year under report the Chamber had also arranged interviews and meetings with several officials of the Government of India, such as, Mr. J. H. F. Raper, Member, Transportation, Railway Board; Sir James B. Taylor, Governor, Reserve Bank; Mr. J. F. Sheehy, Member, Central Board of Revenue; Sir Alexander Roger, Leader of the Ministry of Supply Mission; Mr. E. S. Krishnamurthy, Indian Government Trade Commissioner for Japan; and the Hon'ble Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member for Commerce and Labour, Government of India; and discussed with them problems connected with the trade and industry of the province of Bengal.

Seth Mangturam Jaipuria, who made an able speech at the Chamber's annual meeting, and Mr. Kishorilal Dhandhania, President and Honorary Secretary respectively, of the Chamber are to be highly praised for their keen and lively interest in the affairs of the Chamber.

"The Kerala Tagore Academy"

An All-Kerala Memorial to Poet Rabindranath Tagore has been founded in the shape of the Kerala Tagore Academy in Trivandrum with Dewan Bahadur V. S. Subramania Iyer, ex-Dewan of Travancore as its President. Over fifty leading figures in the literary and cultural life of Kerala responded to the invitation issued by Mr. G. Ramachandran, an old student of the Visva-bharati and have become members of the first Governing Body of the Tagore Academy. These include Poets Vallathol and Sankara Kurup, Prof. P. Sankaran Nambiar, Prof. Joseph Mundasserry, the famous linguist, Sri Seshadri Iyer and R. Narayana Panikkar, and well-known dramatists like Kanikkara Padmanabha Pillai and K. Ramakrishna Pillai. At the first meeting of the Governing Body held on 25th October at the Y. M. C. A., Trivandrum, a translation sub-committee, a drama and arts sub-committee and library and study class sub-committee were formed. It was also decided that the Academy will build up a library of Tagore literature, organise study classes, lectures and art exhibitions, arrange the staging of Tagore's dramas and the translation of his works, and open classes in the Bengali language and in Tagore's songs. The Academy will generally strive to inspire the men and women of Kerala to study the art, philosophy, life and work of Rabindranath Tagore and thus become a living and growing memorial to India's great poet, philosopher and ambassador of human unity.

Rabindranath Tagore's Bengali Songs

We are glad to publish the following communication, received from Mr. N. M. Dave of Bombay:

"*Wider dissemination of Rabindranath's songs.*

"Most people who are familiar with Tagore's songs will share your view that 'no other gift of his to the people is more precious than his songs' (*Vide* p. 223 of your September editorial notes).

"With a view to make this gift more widely appreciated and enjoyed by our countrymen outside Bengal, may I, through the columns of your paper, appeal to the Visva-bharati authorities to make the songs available to the non-Bengali-speaking public by publishing their musical notations (svaralipi) in the Devnagari script. (In your September issue you very considerately printed two of his poems and a song in Devnagari).

"Apart from Hindi and Marathi languages which of course are written in Devnagari, a

large majority of those literate in Gujarati are also conversant with the Devnagari script. As Bengali is comparatively rich in unadulterated Sanskrit words non-Bengali friends find it comparatively easy to follow it, once the barrier of the script is broken down.

"I believe the scheme would be economically feasible. As a first step in this direction the music of, say, fifty best known songs carefully selected from the several parts of Svara-Bitān and Gita-Panchāsikā may be published in Devnagari in book form, and the publication suitably advertised in the press of the respective provinces.

"If this is done, I believe it will do a great service to lovers and students of music all over India; it will strengthen the cultural ties of Bengal with other provinces and might even be instrumental in attracting more non-Bengalis to take up the study of Bengali literature.

"By some such effort as the above and the powerful aid of radio (the Calcutta Station regularly broadcasts authentic renderings of Tagore's music), we can contribute to make the rich heritage of Rabindranath's songs accessible to all who care to share it.

"I shall be obliged if you will give publication to the above views in your other two periodicals also, *Prabāsi and Vishāl Bhārat*."

President Roosevelt's Tall Talk

We admire the people of the United States of America for their love of their own freedom, for winning which they fought their war of independence and for keeping which they are ready to fight again. We praise them also for the help which they have already given and which they will give in future to Britain and Russia for the defence of those countries against Nazi aggression. We praise them also for their intention to liberate the European countries conquered by the Nazis, after victory has been won. We admire and praise President Roosevelt, the leader and spokesman of the Americans, for all these things.

But why does he indulge in tall talk, as he has often done? Like Britishers and some British politicians, he has often told the world that this war against Germany is for the establishment of democracy all over the world and for the freedom of all mankind. It is nothing of the kind. India furnishes the acid test. President Roosevelt and the American nation have done nothing for the freedom of India, where dwell one-fifth of the human race. And yet they talk of the freedom of *all* men.

The latest sample of President Roosevelt's tall talk is to be found in the following telegram:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11.

"We know it was in literal truth to make the world safe for democracy that we took up arms in 1917. It was in simple truth and in literal fact to make the world habitable for decent self-respected men that those whom we know and remember gave their lives.

"And if by some fault of ours who live beyond the war its safety has again been threatened, then the obligation and duty are ours. It is in our charge now, as it was in America's charge after the Civil War to see to it that those dead shall not have died in vain."

This was the inspiring message that the President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt, delivered yesterday (Tuesday) at the observance of the Armistice Day in Washington.

President Roosevelt concluded by declaring, "the people of America believe that Liberty is worth fighting for, and if they are obliged to fight, they will fight eternally to hold it."—*Reuter*.

So far as the last world war was concerned, it is true that President Wilson and the American nation took up arms in 1917 "to make the world safe for democracy." It was no fault of theirs that that war made the world "safe" for imperialism. It was no fault of those Americans who gave their lives in that war that the world did not then and has not yet become habitable for decent self-respecting men, but remains habitable for dictators, fascists, Nazis and imperialists.

President Roosevelt says, "if by some fault of ours who live beyond the [last world] war **its** safety has **again** been threatened, then the obligation and duty are ours. **It** is in our charge now, as **it** was in America's charge after the Civil War to see to it that those dead shall not have died in vain." Why does he say that the world's safety has *again* been threatened? So far as India and other dependent countries are concerned, the last war did not make them safe for democracy. They continue to be in bondage It may be that the obligation and duty to make the world safe for democracy is the American Nation's; it may be that "it", that is to say, the world, is in their charge. But what does this "it," this world mean? Only the white peoples? If the world includes India, why has not President Roosevelt protested against Mr. Churchill's interpretation of the Atlantic Charter?

The President asserts that liberty is worth fighting for, dying for. Whose liberty? Not of *all* men, but only of white men, including *white* imperialists.

Another Prophet of India's Future

NEW YORK, Nov. 13.

At a meeting held in New York, which was addressed by Dr. Henry H. Meyer, Dean of Boston University, Sir Louis Beale, former Commissioner-General for the British Government at the New York World's Fair,

declared that after the war "India will become a full member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. She will be bound by a special tie to three of the Dominions —New Zealand, Australia and South Africa," he said.

Sir Louis predicted that co-operation in the war would "point the way to a new type of co-operation in peace."

He cited as an example India, "the sixth industrial country in the world which has thrown herself heart and soul (?) into this great struggle.

"With a million Indian troops in the country, she is also producing 400 separate munitions of war in vast quantities."—*Reuter*.

Who own most of the factories which produce these munitions? Not Indians. Geographically India may be the sixth industrial country in the world. But most of the industrial concerns in it are owned and managed by foreigners.

New danger may lurk in the words, "She [India] will be bound by a special tie to three of the Dominions—New Zealand, Australia and South Africa," a danger whose shadow has been cast by the appointment of Australian officers for Indian troops. Are the colonials to lord it over India as the agents and representatives of Britain? India may become a "full member of the *British* Commonwealth of Nations" in the same sense in which poor relations are full members of rich men's households.

Indians far outnumber all the other peoples who inhabit the British Empire, including the British Isles and Dominions. So, if there is to be a federation of all these peoples and countries, that federation cannot be logically called the *British* Commonwealth of Nations. It ought rather to be called the *Indo*-British Commonwealth of Nations. We do not think there is nothing in a name.

We want independence and full freedom to federate, if necessary, with whatever country we like. The ultimate goal is world-federation.

Luxuries (!) For Deoli Detenus

The men who are kept confined in Deoli detention camp are not convicts. They were not brought to trial and sentenced to imprisonment but are detained by the Executive on suspicion. It stands to reason, therefore, that their standard of living at Deoli would be substantially that to which they were accustomed at home. Mr. N. M. Joshi holds that their present ration allowance was not adequate. At the Central Assembly Sir Reginald Maxwell recently tried to prove that Mr. Joshi was mistaken. *Forward* writes:

In trying to refute the contention of Mr. Joshi that the present ration allowance was insufficient for the purpose, the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, asserted that on the contrary "the allowance was sufficient to provide the prisoners with many luxuries. For instance, in September alone these luxuries supplied to them included 36 tins of preserved pineapple, 19 bottles of Australian honey, 403 apples, 827 bananas, 14 srs. of almond." As Mr. Jamnadas Mehta pointed out that "even if 1,500 bananas were supplied to them in a month it would come to 50 bananas a day. Divided among 200 prisoners it meant ¼ of a banana each. Did the Home Member call it a luxury? These 19 tins of honey for a month divided among 200 prisoners would be enough to wet their teeth and there would be nothing to go down their throat. I think it is a cruel joke to describe these as luxuries. To say that to people of high status accustomed to a better standard of living, ¼ of a banana is a luxury is to practise a joke on their susceptibilities" An analysis of the figures quoted will be illuminating. Only it will be tragic and not funny. As the number of bananas actually supplied was 827, the portion that fell to individual prisoner was approximately ⅛ and not ¼. As regards the apples or pineapples, it probably means that some 14 to 20 of the 208 detenus have been ill enough to require special nourishment. And why was the month of September favoured for citation? Probably because the prisoners prefer to enjoy some special dishes on the Durga Puja and Ramnavami days, even if they have to live on half-rations for most of the preceding and succeeding days. While the British knight cynically admitted that the prisoners "were endangering their own lives," our Anglo-Indian Knight Henry Gidney could view it only as a "pastime." However, we cannot, but admit in this connection that the Home Member had indeed some justification on his side for what he said. As a representative of the British Indian Government he knows only too well that to an Indian, after 200 years of the white man's burden, ⅛ of a banana a day was a luxury indeed. We are sure steps will be taken to prevent this testimony of the benefit of British rule in India from falling in the hands of meddlesome Americans or the lying Dr. Goebbels. Since the H. M. has done so much in lifting the veil over life inside the Deoli Camps, we think it will not be discourteous to ask him to throw some light on the standard of living of the men of his own ilk as well—for instance, the expenses on their mess charge or wine bill or tailor's bill.

C Class Jail Diet Defective, Coarse, Monotonous

A note has been issued, signed by several eminent medical men, including retired I.M.S. officers, from all over India, in connection with jail dietary for the C. Class prisoners in Nagpur Jail, about which there was a controversy some time ago.

The signatures include Drs B. C. Roy, Jivraj Mehta, G. V. Deshmukh, K. S. Ray, D. P. Goil, P. C. Bharucha, B. N. Vyas, Hakumat Rai, Mangaldas V. Mehta, K. G. Pandalai, Maharaj Kishan Kapur, S R. Moolgavkar, A. S. Erulkar, T. S. Tirumurthi, R. N. Cooper, Vishwa Nath, Nihalchand Sikri, Bhupal Singh, P. B. Mukerji, M. R. Guruswami, H. R. Wadhwani, B. Borooah, M. R. Cholkar, Raghunath Saran, N. C. Joshie and Chamanlal M. Mehta.

The signatories observe in the course of their elaborate note:

"To state, as the Chief Secretary to the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar has been reported to have said, that the C. P. Jail Diet was quite enough to maintain the health and strength of the prisoners is entirely falacious and misleading. It is

possible that a number of ordinary criminals, who generally live in a state of chronic sub-nutrition before going to jail, put on weight on the jail diet, it being superior to what they may have been accustomed to outside, but to regulate the jail dietary on such basis amounts to inhumanity; the more so in the case of political prisoners who usually have a better standard of life or whose diet at home is much better in quality and variety even though they may be poor."

What these distinguished medical men have stated is substantially true of the diet of C Class prisoners throughout India.

Inter-University Aquatic Tournament

ALLAHABAD, Nov. 9.

The first All-India Inter-University Aquatic Tournament, held at the Allahabad University in accordance with the decision of the Inter-University Board, concluded this evening.

The Calcutta University annexed the first Inter-University Championship, the Calcutta competitors being the winners in all the events except one, namely the free style 800 metres race in which the Punjab University was the first. In the Medley race, the Calcutta and the Punjab were bracketted for the first position.

The University-wise points given as the results of all the events were Calcutta 79, Punjab 22, Allahabad 5 and Lucknow 1. The points were allotted at the rate of 5 for the first, 3 for the second and one for the third position.

After the sports the teams were entertained to tea, on behalf of the Allahabad University Athletic Association. After tea, Mr. P. P. Singhal, the aquatic Captain of the Allahabad University, suitably thanked the visitors, on behalf of the Allahabad University, for contributing to the success of the tournament. The Calcutta team Captain thanking the Allahabad University for the hospitality, and for undertaking the responsibility for holding the first Inter-University Aquatic Tournament, expressed his high appreciation of the newly constructed Allahabad University Tank. He remarked that the Allahabad University Tank was the first of its kind in the Indian Universities, it being of the standard length. On behalf of the Punjab team, Mr. T. Bakshi, and on behalf of the Lucknow team, Dr. R. S. Varma, suitably thanked the hosts.

Thus concluded the activities in connection with the first Inter-University Aquatic Tournament, the success of which was largely due to the untiring efforts of Mr. S. C. Verma, the President, Aquatic Committee, who was ably assisted by the Aquatic Captain, Mr. P. P. Singhal and the University Physical Instructor, Mr. H. H. Dube, among other members of the Aquatic Committee of the University.—*The Leader.*

Savarkar on Need of Military Training

On his way to Assam Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, passed through Calcutta, where he had an enthusiastic reception, and delivered two addresses at two meetings.

At both these meetings Veer Savarkar spoke on the need of militarisation of the country. He said that what counted most in the world today so far as the political sphere was concerned was military strength. He advised young men to take full advantage of the opportunity offered by the war for getting military training by joining the army, navy and the air force in large number.

"Vast Majority of Indians Intensely Loyal to The King-Emperor"

LONDON, Nov. 19.

"Two million Indians are serving in the army and India is providing about 25% of the whole of the mercantile marine personnel," said the Duke of Devonshire, Under-Secretary for India, speaking at the Devonshire Club on Wednesday. Although Britain has difficulties in India, the Duke said, the vast majority of Indians are intensely loyal to the King-Emperor.—*Reuter.*

We are not in a position either to corroborate or to contradict the statement that "the vast majority of Indians are *intensely* loyal to the King-Emperor," as no census has been taken to ascertain the number of the loyal and the disloyal. Such a census again,, if taken, would not be reliable, as loyalty pays and disloyalty is penalized—particularly if either the one or the other is intense.

The Duke of Devonshire is under-Secretary for India, yet he does not know that the number of Indians serving in the army is not yet even one million !

Sir P. C. Ray Condemns Both Fascism and Imperialism

Sir P. C. Ray, the eminent Indian scientist, teacher, philanthropist and industrialist, has addressed the following open letter to Sir Richard Gregory, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science :

"Dear Sir Richard,

Indian scientists have noted with appreciation the general views on the subject of the social relations of science expressed at the recent meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held in London. They also fully endorse the Charter of Scientific Principles adopted at the meeting, where scientists of some other countries had also gathered. The trend of thought and discussion at this important meeting of the British Association has no doubt been prompted by the rise of bellicose Fascism in Europe during recent years and by the moral, social and intellectual malaise resulting from it.

OBJECT FRUSTRATED BY FASCISM AND IMPERIALISM

Indian scientists would, however, take this opportunity to point out to the scientists of Britain and of other countries that the object of science for the promotion of human welfare is frustrated not only by Fascism but also by Imperialism, as it operates, for instance, in India and in other dependencies of Britain. Industrialisation, which is essential for the prosperity and strength of a nation in the modern age, has been persistently opposed, and even recently the Government of India has refused to support the growth of the automobile industry in India and the Secretary of State for India has spoken in Parliament against the manufactures of internal combustion engines in this country.

BRITISH PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE

The British Prime Minister's message to the recent meeting of the British Association is nobly worded. But his categorical pronouncement that the Atlantic Charter applies only to countries suffering from German aggress-

ion and not to territories acquired by British aggression in the past, shows that the future of mankind is far from hopeful in spite of the sacrifices of untold millions for freedom and a just world order.

We, Indian scientists, urge other scientists all over the world to assert that the question of scientific reconstruction of society on the principles of freedom and justice for all should not have geographical limitations.

We are convinced, as we hope you are, that the problem of freedom, progress and happiness of mankind is indivisible in the modern world."—*A. P.*

Not only Indian scientists but other Indians also think that the reconstruction of society on the principles of freedom and justice for all should not have geographical limitations.

Undeveloped Indian Fisheries

The current issue of *Indian Farming* (issued by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, India,) contains an interesting article on "Indian Fisheries and the War." Taking as his text President Roosevelt's remark that "food is a weapon against Hitlerism just as much as munitions", the writer develops his thesis that "in view of its situation and resources, India is particularly suited to meet the food requirements of the Empire and the various theatres of war in the Middle East and elsewhere." That is to say, starving and half-fed India can feed other countries. He draws attention to the value of fish as an article of diet, its animal protein contents and its richness in Vitamin A.

The writer proceeds to remark that

"though inland estuarine and coastal waters up to a distance of 10 to 15 miles and a depth of 5 to 10 fathoms are being exploited to a limited extent, with antiquated appliances and with an almost total disregard of the perishable nature of the commodity, the shore areas beyond a depth of 10 fathoms or so are at present receiving no attention."

Further on it is observed that

"with the full development of the shore fisheries India will not only be able to supply all the fish and fish-oil needs for the war, but also to feed properly the teeming millions of the country. The development of the fish industry will also lead to the establishment of a large series of industries connected with the utilisation of fish wastes, such as maws, bones, scales, bladders, etc., and thus provide avenues of employment for a large number of people, both skilled and unskilled."

The article ends with an expression of regret that

"considerable development of the industry can also be effected in India by the adoption of up-to-date methods of transport and preservation of the surplus quantities available by smoking, salting, canning, etc. Other countries realised fairly early that the fullest and most economical use of the fishery resources is made only when waste is eliminated, but in India unfortunately the waste in the quantity of fish caught at present is so considerable that its stoppage alone by introducing improved methods of preservation, storage and transport will perhaps supply a great proportion of the food needed to meet our present requirements."

We agree with the writer that all this is most unfortunate. Although at present unable to control our own destinies, we Indians are not totally ignorant of the economic development of all natural resources in other parts of the world more fortunately circumstanced. None feels more keenly than we do that the teeming millions of this country of whom the writer speaks are ill-clad and half-fed. But it is not the condition of these unfortunate beings that has drawn attention to the undeveloped condition of Indian fisheries. It is the war needs of imperial Britain which have drawn attention to this industry as to many other industries. However, if owing to the exigencies of the war, the attention of those who rule our destinies is drawn to the need of development in various directions, if development takes place under Indian ownership and control, and if the industries concerned continue to flourish after the war, it will only prove the old adage that "out of evil cometh good."

Allahabad Municipal Chairman Rules Out Motion For War Contribution

ALLAHABAD, Nov. 21.

Mr. R. N. Basu, Chairman, disallowed a resolution tabled in the Allahabad Municipal Board for a contribution of a sum of rupees fifteen thousand towards the War Purposes Fund as he found that free expression of view on the resolution was not permissible.

It will be recalled that the resolution was moved in the Board in May last when a member raised a point of order asking for the ruling of the Chairman on the question whether members would be permitted free expression of their views and whether they would be protected from the operation of the Defence of India Rules. The Chairman then postponed giving his ruling declaring that he would first consult the U. P. Government.

GOVERNMENT LETTER

The Chairman yesterday placed before the Board the following letter received from the Secretary to the Government conveying the view of the Government on the point.

"With reference to your letter dated the June 23, 1941 enquiring whether a member of the Board opposing a resolution for contribution to the War Purposes will be protected by virtue of his office from the operation of the Defence of India Rules. I am directed to say that Government do not find themselves in a position to offer any advice in a matter like this as an action under the Defence of India Rules will depend on the circumstances of each case, nor are Government able to say how the law might be interpreted by the Court or applied by the District Magistrate who is responsible for administering it. I may add that as the law stands, members of local bodies do not enjoy any special protection in the matter of speeches delivered by them in the meetings of the Board. If you feel further difficulty in the matter, I would suggest that you discuss it with the District Magistrate, Allahabad.

CHAIRMAN'S RULING

Mr. Basu, the Chairman, after reading the Government letter gave the following ruling disallowing the war contribution resolution of Rai Sahib Shyam Lal :

"I have given careful consideration in the matter and I find that free discussion is not permissible. As members opposing the resolution will not be protected from the operation of the Defence of India Rules, a free discussion will not be permissible when the matter comes up for discussion. As this amounts to a denial of the elementary rights of members to express their opinion freely, I consider that this matter cannot be considered in a democratic institution.

I therefore rule the resolution out of order.—*A. P.*

Both the procedure adopted by the chairman of the Allahabad Municipality and his ruling are correct.

British Women Clerks in India's "Defence" Department

Sir Gurunath Bewoor has stated in the Central Assembly that in the Indian "Defence" Department there are 278 women clerks, of whom 211 are Britishers, 63 Anglo-Indians and four Indians. We do not object to women getting appointments in public services for which they are fit, and they can do clerical work. But nobody has explained why of all departments the "Defence" department should require so many women clerks. Do military secrets pass through the hands of these clerks? And are women conspicuously more famous for keeping secrets than men? Probably, British women can be trusted most to keep Imperial Britain's military secrets and so most of these women clerks are British. In trustworthiness Anglo-Indian women rank just below—though at a great distance, British women! And four Indian women may have been thrown in to show that there is no colour bar.

Perhaps as Soviet Russia is now Britain's comrade in arms, Britain wishes to show that as in Russia so in the British Empire women have equal rights with men, and as there is greater military rapprochement between Britain and Russia, Britain has made a beginning in the military department in the matter of the equality of the sexes.

Or perhaps male Britons are no longer able to carry the whole of the White Man's Burden; so female Britons have been called in to help them. The military department shoulders most of this Burden (which blasphemers call Booty), hence some of it must become White Women's Burden. Anglo-Indian women have been called in to assist as poor relations. The four Indian women may have been given jobs, as said above, to prove that there is no colour bar.

The White Women's Burden theory receives some support from the fact that Mr. Williams stated in the Central Council of State in reply to Mr. Kunzru's questions that 70 of the British women clerks are relations of army or secretariat officers.

But doubters may still persist in asking why in this land where male clerks abound, particularly in the regions inhabited by the so-called "unwar-like races," the "Defence" bosses should fail to find a sufficient supply of them and be compelled to employ women clerks.

Have these clerks to do any work which women alone can do? Have housekeeper's duties also to be done by them? Possibly, if there be a large or an appreciable proportion of spinsters among these British and Anglo-Indian women clerks, they may have matrimonial prospects, too—particularly if bachelors preponderate in the Defence department.

But no communique has yet been issued from New Delhi stating that the Defence department has, in part, become a matrimonial bureau.

Defence and "Defence"

The Defence departments of free and independent countries are intended to safeguard their freedom and independence. As India has no freedom and independence, the "Defence" department of this country is maintained to perpetuate or at least to prolong indefinitely the British proprietorship of India.

Congress and Pro-Pakistan Compromise

On the 21st November last, addressing the Hindus of Gauhati, President V. D. Savarkar said that "he suspected that there was a move on the part of the Congress to compromise on the Pakistan issue." There is no doubt that the attitude of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders *re* Pakistan is not as unyielding and firm as that of the Hindu Mahasabha, for example. But no information is yet available to the public relating to the "move" suspected by president Savarkar. If he has any, fit for publication, it should be published.

The Congress stands for the freedom and independence of India. It has become her greatest and most powerful organization mainly on the strength of that stand. If India be vivisected into two or more parts, freedom can neither be achieved nor kept. So, if the Congress works for and accepts a compromise on the Pakistan issue, it will dig its own grave.

Those Muslims who are for freedom and independence should know—perhaps they know it without anybody telling it to them—that the British Government may as an extreme step agree to give effect to the Pakistan plan, but it will do so on the clear understanding that both Pakistan and "Hindu-sthan" are to remain un-

der British subjection. The British Government cannot tolerate even the idea—not to speak of the actuality—of an independent integral India or of an independent Hindu-sthān and an independent Pakistan. Muslims in India may be very strong—at any rate in their own estimation. But they are not strong enough to make Pakistan an actuality by their own unaided efforts Pakistan with British aid is a possibility, but it must be a British dependency. So, those Muslims who want freedom and independence should give a wide berth to the Pakistan fantasy and collaborate with the Hindus, Sikhs, Christians for the freedom of India. To win independence is difficult; but the difficulty will be minimized to the greatest extent if all these communities unite. Of course, it is possible, though very difficult, for the Hindus alone to make India free, provided they be united.

P. E. N. Brochures on Indian Literatures

We are glad to learn from *The Indian P. E. N.* that

The P. E. N. All-India Centre is sponsoring the publication of a series of brochures on Indian Literatures, the first of which is now issued—*Assamese Literature* by Birinchi Kumar Barua. No systematic attempt has been made to popularize the story of the numerous literatures now flowering on the soil of India very quickly, or to present in English translation blooms from their masterpieces to the general public. This is now being attempted by the P. E. N. All-India Centre; there will be about a dozen volumes in all, to be edited by Sophia Wadia, and they are to be published, as far as possible, in alphabetical order; the first, therefore, to appear deals with the little known literature of Assam. The book is divided in three parts—(1) History; (2) The Modern Period; (3) Anthology.

We have received a copy of this book for review. It has been given to an Assamese scholar for that purpose. It is available for Re. 1-8 from the International Book House. Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay.

The next book, in alphabetical order, is to be on Bengali literature. Its writer, Sjt. Annadā-Sankar Rāy, is a distinguished author of the younger generation. The other literatures on which books are to be published, are Gujarati, Hindi, "Indo-Anglian," Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu.

Perhaps it is possible to write a book on Panjabi literature, too. We have no firsthand acquaintance with it; but we know of some very attractive and interesting Panjabi folk-tales and folk-songs from translations. We do not know how large the *written* Panjabi literature is, but we know there are some books in Panjabi. According to the Census of 1931—the linguistic figures for the recent census are not yet available, the number of speakers of Panjabi and Lahnda was 24,660,000; that of Assamese, 1,999,000; of Oriya, 11,194,000; of Malayalam, 9,137,000; and so on. The people whose mother-tongue is Panjabi may not have yet produced a great literature but is certainly capable of producing one. It is generally, but quite wrongly, thought that either Urdu or Hindi is the mother-tongue of Panjabis. We have ourselves heard even Panjabi Mussalmans speaking among themselves in a language which is neither Hindi nor Urdu (nor Pasthu).

Population of India

The following is part of a press communique:

The All-India population discovered at the recent Census was 388·8 millions as on 1st March, 1941 figure for the corresponding year was 338·1 millions, epresenting an increase of 15 per cent. The level of increase in British India is 15·2 per cent. and in the States and Agencies 14·3 per cent. The picture is one of general increase, rather higher in British India than in the States and only in part of Baluchistan and a few minor States is a decrease recorded.

The rate of increase is particularly marked in cities, *i.e.*, towns with not less than 100,000 inhabitants. The number of such towns has appreciably increased from 1931, while the individual increase rates vary from just below 11 per cent. to almost a 100 in the case of Cawnpore, which has nearly doubled itself in the decade.

The North-West Frontier Province among the major provinces records the largest increase of population, namely, 25 per cent. while Bengal which has the next largest increase, namely, 20 per cent. also has the largest number of literates, namely 9,720,000.

Madras has the next largest number of literates, namely, 6,420,000.

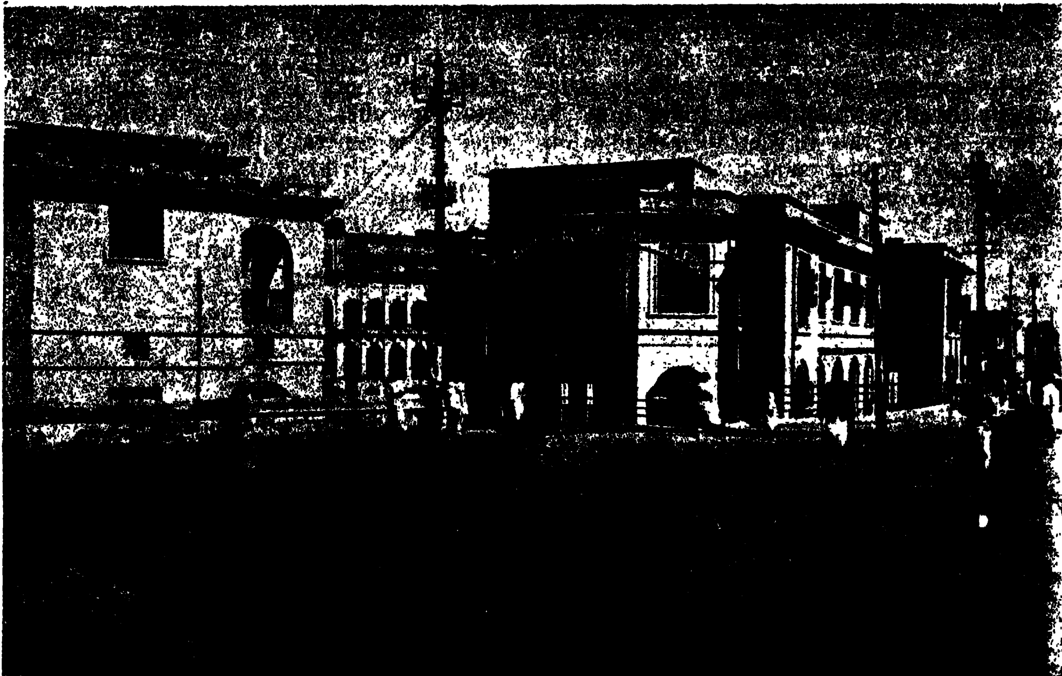
The Andaman and Nicobar islands have the smallest number of literates, namely, 6,000.

Delhi, India's capital and a Chief Commissioner's Province, registers an increase of population of 44 per cent.

That among the major provinces of India Bengal shows the highest rate of increase of population, namely, 20 per cent., can not but cause some anxiety, so far as the permanent inhabitants of the province are concerned. The census of 1931 showed that here the density of population per square mile was 621, the highest among the provinces. That density has increased still further in ten years. That there has been a 25 per cent. increase of population in the North-West Frontier Province need not cause any anxiety, for in 1931 its density of population per square mile was only 62.

Unless the permanent inhabitants of Bengal are able to devote themselves to industrial and commercial avocations to a very much greater extent than they have hitherto done, their standard of living cannot but grow lower, affecting their health and reducing their vitality.

That Bengal has the largest number of



Carmichael Medical College, main entrance

literates among the Provinces is mainly because it has the largest population, not because its percentage of literacy is highest. Among the Provinces Bombay stands higher in literacy. Bengal could have shown a higher literacy figure than it does if the Muslims here had been less illiterate than they are. The large immigrant illiterate non-Bengali labour population is also responsible for Bengal's comparatively low place in the table of literacy, from which some figures are given below.

That Travancore leads the rest of India in literacy, has been revealed by recent census figures.

From the point of view of literacy, Travancore takes the highest place in India the figures being 47·88 per cent., Cochin coming next with 35·43; Delhi 25·7, and Baroda 23·01.

Among the provinces, Madras, Bombay and Bengal have percentages of 13·01, 19·5, and 16·12 respectively.

The figure relating to literacy among women, that is 36 per cent. is even more striking, and Travancore has a higher relative place among the provinces and states; in comparison even with literacy among men.

Carmichael Medical College Silver Jubilee

The Carmichael Medical College, Calcutta, was established 25 years ago to meet the growing needs of the country for properly trained medical practitioners.

The College stands as a monument to non-official efforts for the advancement of higher medical education in Bengal. From a very small beginning the College has now grown to an institution of immense dimensions, offering medical training and succour to thousands.

The history of the progress of the College and its attached hospitals show an unbroken record of growing popularity and continued expansion. In 1916, when the College received affiliation from the University, it had property worth about seven lakhs.

The institution now possesses land valued at Rs. 11,00,000 and buildings at Rs. 14,01,000. while the value of the equipment of the laboratories, hospital wards, library and museums is estimated at over Rs. 15,00,000. Compared with 1916, the College and Hospitals are now richer by over 16,00,000 in the shape of endowments and other investments.

The record of its public welfare and health services for the last 25 years is impressive. We are proud of this achievement, but further progress and expansion are desired.

We are glad to announce that the authorities of the College will celebrate its Silver Jubilee this month. We cannot do better than quote from Rabindranath Tagore's message of goodwill: "We desire further expansion of medical knowledge and curative work so urgently needed in our country where poverty allied with low resistance and widespread disease has assumed

alarming proportions. Let me hope that the Silver Jubilee of the Carmichael Medical College and Hospitals will attract generous help from our public and that these institutions will be an inspiration for similar endeavour all over our country."

A Solitary Indian Secretary to Government of India

In the Central Legislative Assembly Sir A. H. Ghaznavi said only one of the 17 Secretaries to the departments of the Government of India was an Indian and asked if the Government contemplated any steps to remedy this so as to improve the proportion of Indians to Europeans.

Sir Reginald Maxwell referred the questioner to a debate in the Council of State in 1937 and pointed out that the chances of selection for a particular vacancy must depend on the material available in the service group in question, in which he said there were 269 Europeans and 13 Indians.

That the "service groups" do not contain sufficient Indian material is not an accident. It must be the case that Indians are not allowed to enter these groups as a rule, the solitary Indian secretary being the exception which 'proves the rule.'

"A Pilgrimage to Nankana Saheb"

We call attention to Mr. K. M. Munshi's article, "A Pilgrimage to Nankana Saheb," in *Social Welfare* of the 20th November last, wherein he says: "The Sikhs are few; 40 lakhs in this country of 40 crores. But they form the best organised group in the country, with a well-knit life, a simple faith and a heroic tradition." If the Hindus want to be well organized, they must have a simple faith. The whole article should be read.

About Subhas Chandra Bose

New Delhi, Nov. 10.

"It has been common talk in certain quarters in this country for some time that Subhas Chandra Bose is either in Rome or in Berlin and has entered into a pact with the Axis powers to assist by Fifth Column methods any German invasion of India. Leaflets to this effect have made their appearance in this country and leave no doubt that he has gone over to the enemy," said Mr. E. Conran Smith, Secretary, Home Department, replying to a question in the Council of State by the Hon'ble Raja Yuvaraj Dutta Singh as to whether there was any information in the possession of Government concerning the whereabouts of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and his actitivies.

Replying to supplementaries by Mr. Rajnarain Mahta, Mr. Conran Smith said that the Government's source of information was certain leaflets which had appeared in this country. They were too long to be read out, but he gave short extracts from two of them. These extracts were (1) "The day has arrived for rebellion in India. A pact has been signed at a Conference in Berlin. The revolutionary Subhas Bose was also present."

(2) He (Subhas Bose) is now in a European country and is maintaining close contact with the revolutionary party in India. He has already issued a statement signed by his own hand. He is busy with certain foreign powers."

Mr. Conran Smith added that the Government had no information as to how Mr. Bose was able to reach Berlin or Rome.—*Associated Press.*

The Government's source of information is certain leaflets. Were they printed in India? If so, why could not the Government find out which press printed them? If they came from abroad, how could they "appear in this country," evading the vigilance of the censor and the police? Or perhaps the only existing copies are in the possession of the Government and the rest have been destroyed. We know nothing about them.

Mr. Conran Smith did not read out the whole of the leaflets on the ground of their length. Was that the only ground? Or did they contain any indictment of British rule in India? If they did, are we to take it that it is only the news about Subhas Chandra Bose contained in them which is true and the rest false? Does the Governement believe that anonymous leaflets contain truth? Why not then allow them to be circulated? Is the Government sure that the leaflets in question were not circulated by Subhas Babu's enemies? Or by German emissaries in order to deceive the people of India?

The allegation against Subhas Chandra Bose is that he "is either in Rome or in Berlin and has entered into a pact with the Axis powers to assist by Fifth Column methods any German invasion of India," and that he "is maintaining close contact with the revolutionary party in India."

Whatever Subhas Babu's enemies may think and say of him, they know that he is neither an ignoramus nor a fool. Assuming but not admitting that he desires to assist Germany by Fifth Column methods, he knows that he must be in India at the head of the Column, figuratively speaking, or he must send directions to the members of the Column from abroad, if he be in any foreign country. If he be abroad, he knows he cannot reach India either by any land-route or by any sea-route or by any air route; and even if reached India in some mysterious way, he would be interned; and he knows he cannot communicate with his adherents either by letters or by telegrams, or even by the radio, without his communications coming first into the hands of the Government.

Hence even if he wanted to pursue Fifth Column methods, he knows he would be foiled. Therefore, all talk of his pursuing Fifth Column methods from abroad is sheer bunkum.

The allegation that he is maintaining close contact with the revolutionary party in India, is also bunkum, pure and simple, for the reasons stated above.

There has been much speculation as to where Subhas Babu is. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to evade the vigilance of the police. Therefore, many people think that he may be somewhere in Calcutta, or, considering his early proclivities to a life of meditation as a sannyāsi, that he is somewhere in the Himalayas. As regards foreign countries, it is not Italy and Germany alone which have been talked of as his probable place of refuge, Japan and Russia also have been mentioned. But Japan is not yet an enemy country and Russia is an ally of Britain. Hence perhaps the "leaflets" do not mention either of these countries as his place of refuge.

Subhas Chandra Bose has been throughout his political career endeavouring to make India free and independent. He knows Hitler is not out to make any country free;—the Nazi chief wants to dominate wherever he goes. Subhas Babu must be a greater ignoramus and fool than even his enemies think he is if he were to fancy helping a Nazi invasion of India;—for if the invasion were successful, it would not make India free but would bring her under Nazi heels, which is worse than the British yoke.

After the questions and answers in the Council of State on the 10th November last the following appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and perhaps in some other dailies also :

(FROM OUR LONDON OFFICE)

TUESDAY, Nov. 11.

A sensation has been caused in the political circles here by the statement of Mr. Conran Smith, Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, in the Council of State, yesterday that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has gone over to the enemy.

Practically every newspaper has given prominence to the news under headlines such as, "India has a Quisling," "Indian Traitor Flees to the Axis," "Indian Leaders Pact with the Axis" and "Indian Leader is Axis Agent."

The *Daily Express* has even unearthed a picture of Mr. Bose strolling in the Berlin Zoo in 1934 and smilingly meeting a Nazi policeman on duty.

The *Dail Mail* has published a picture of Mr. Bose under the heading "The Indian Leftwing Political Leader is India's Quisling No. 1." The *Mail*, however, adds : "People in London in close touch with Indian affairs do not attach much importance to the pact by Mr. Bose with the Axis. Mr. Bose has a comparatively small following in India and the news cannot be regarded as serious. Mr. Gandhi, who is definitely anti-Nazi, has dissociated himself from Mr. Bose."

I understand that the matter is likely to be raised in Parliament to elucidate the information as to how Mr. Bose made his escape when under the war regulations there are so many restrictions on the movement of individuals in India. What is puzzling many here is how Mr. Bose despite his infirm health could make the journey abroad unnoticed by the eyes of the law.

The description by newspapers of Mr. Bose as a Quisling has its humorous side in London Indian circles They are now gossipping, "Perhaps the Fuehrer convinced Mr. Bose that with the increase in her population, India also needs a living space and Mr. Bose may possibly be working out a plan for securing Colonies under Axis directions."

The late Mr. Neville Chamberlain must have smilingly greeted the Nazi chief Hitler—not to speak of greeting Nazi policemen—many a time during his "appeasement" visits to Germany. That did not make him a Quisling.

It is quite incorrect, if not worse, to call Subhas Babu a Quisling. To make our meaning clear, let us give a few relevant details about the original and real Quisling.

Norwegian by birth, Quisling bears the full name of Vidkum Abraham Lauritz Quisling. He was an army officer in his country. He was at Norwegian Legation in Moscow, 1927-29, and looked after British interests during that time and obtained British decorations. In May, 1933, he founded a Fascist party in Norway under the name of Nasjonal Samling. In the present war he conspired with Germany to prepare the seizure of Norway by the Germans, and was appointed head of the puppet government set up by Hitler after the capture of Oslo, Norway's capital, on April 10, 1940. Quisling was at once denounced by King Haakon, and as his administration found no support with the population he had soon to resign. His name has since become a byword for treachery and for the methods adopted by the Nazis for the corruption of foreign countries. Thus *The Penguin Political Dictionary.*

Quisling conspired with Germany to bring his motherland, a free and independent country, under the rule of the Nazis. India is not a free country, but is subject to Britain. In the future India may continue to be under British rule, or it may be free, or it may fall under the subjection of some other power than Britain. It has never been the object of Subhas Babu and his party to replace British rule by some other foreign rule. Their aim has all along been to make subject India free. Quisling's object was to make his free motherland a subject country. Therefore Subhas Babu's object has been all along diametrically opposed in character to that of Quisling. So he cannot be called a Quisling. Even if Subhas Babu were misguided and foolish

enough to seek Nazi help for the liberation of India, which we do not think he is or would be, he could not be correctly called a Quisling; for even then his object, entirely opposite to that of Quisling, would be the liberation of his country, though his method would be extremely foolish and worthy of strong condemnation. He has not been, he is not, and he would not be a traitor to his motherland as Quisling was. Nor can he be called a traitor to Britain, whose salt he never ate and whose trust he cannot be said to have betrayed, for her trust was never reposed in him. We have never belonged to Subhas Babu's political party—or for that matter to any political party. We have, in fact, been strongly opposed to the latter-day developmnets of his politics and have been the *bete noire* of his brother Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose and the Boscite party and organs. But the truth, as we know and understand it, must be told—a fellow-countryman must not be allowed to be falsely maligned. Of course, he has been a rebel, and if the British Government can catch him, they know what to do with him and have the power to do so. But, we say again, *he* does not bear any affinity to Quisling. Rather are they the intellectual and moral kindred of Quisling who would knowingly seek to prolong or perpetuate the enslaved condition of their country.

In the dailies of the 18th November last, we read :

> NEW DELHI, Nov. 17.
>
> Axis broadcasts, it is learned here, have confirmed the Home Secretary's statement in the Council of State last week on the whereabouts of Mr. Subhas Bose.
>
> On November 12, an Italian broadcast in Hindustani said : "The German radio has announced the presence of Mr. Bose in Germany. Indians are anxiously and eagerly awaiting Babu Subhas Chandra's speech. We have every hope that the Berlin radio will provide him with an opportunity to speak to his countrymen."
>
> On the same date a Japanese broadcast in Hindustani said : "Rashbehari Bose, President of the Indian Independent League in Japan, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Subhas Bose on his safe arrival in Germany. Now it has been learned that he has reached Germany and has signed a pact with Germany for sending an army to free India.—*A. P.*

We do not listen to Italian, German, or Japanese radio broadcasts, as like all other war propaganda they are believed to be full of lies and half-truths. But, if the Government-subsidized Associated Press of India assures the public that these foreign broadcasts contain the quintessence of truth not only in the matter of Subhas Babu but as regards anti-British information, too, and if the A.P. publishes the testimony of some well-known public men who have heard the Italian, German, and Tokio broadcasts relating to Subhas Babu, then hereafter we may endeavour to derive correct information from those sources.

"A pact with Germany for sending an army to free India" ! Whose army ? Subhas Babu has no army here or abroad, nor can he have any. As for sending a German army, Hitler can send it without a permissive pact with Subhas Babu !

According to a special message published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 25th ultimo, the British paper *Empire News* is responsible for the story that Subhas Babu was smuggled out of Calcutta disguised as a woman and, passing through Afghanistan, Syria, etc., with the help of Axis agents, reached Rome. But as the transmitters there were not as powerful as those of Berlin he went thence to Berlin "to become Indian Lord Haw Haw for Hitler's anti-British propaganda in India."

We need not discuss how Subhas Babu could foil the vigiliance of the police in Calcutta and of the sentry at Khyber Pass.

If he be in Berlin and if his object is to avail himself of the powerful German transmitters, why has he not communicated his messages to Indians in India, who are said to be "anxiously and eagerly awaiting (his) speech"—why has not even the A. P. caught any broadcast of *his* ? Berlin transmitters may be more powerful than those of Rome, but the A. P. message of the 17th November last says that an Italian broadcast in Hindustani was heard at New Delhi on the 12th ultimo. If so, it is plain that some Italian transmitters can transmit Hindustani talks as far at least as New Delhi. Why did not Subhas Babu then avail himself of them but made a move to Berlin ?

In the Central Legislative Assembly on the 18th ultimo during the debate on Mr. N. M. Joshi's resolution recommending the release of politicals, Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member, said in the course of his speech in reply :

> "If there was any doubt, the revelation now made about Subhas Bose should convince every one that Government had to take every precaution against Fifth Column activity in this country."

We have already shown how impracticable it would be for Subhas Babu to carry on Fifth Column activity in India from abroad, even if he wanted to do so.

This talk about a Fifth Column in India seems to have affected the brains of the British authorities here. On the 3rd September last, when Sir Reginald Maxwell had not found Subhas Babu in Berlin, the Viceroy said in the course of his broadcast talk :

"Do not, I beg of you, let this insidious Fifth Column eat like dry rot into the fabric of your determination."

Commenting on this sentence in the Viceroy's broadcast, the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, which is an independent organ, not the mouthpiece of any party, observed in its issue of September 6 last: *"There is no 'fifth column'* in India and there is not likely to be one."*

The following passage from Mr. N. M. Joshi's speech in reply to that of Sir Reginald Maxwell indirectly refutes the Fifth Column insinuation:

> The Home Member's speech disappointed him, especially as regards those who were called communists and revolutionaries. He felt that the Home Member had not appreciated the difference between putting a man in prison or imposing restrictions on him without trial and doing so after trial. As a close observer of happenings in India, said Mr. Joshi, he had not seen or heard of any rebellion or riots taking place on account of the writings which the Home Member had quoted. Strikes had taken place but if the object of a strike was to get fair wages that was what mattered. The fact that those who promoted the strike were communists did not matter. He referred to instances of persons like Mr. Nimbkar, who though they were opposed to communism, had still been imprisoned.

Englishmen are justly proud that their motherland has been in the past the temporary or permanent home of many a political refugee, famous like Mazzini and Kossuth, and of many others unknown or less known to fame. England at present shelters several crowned heads, generals, etc., of conquered foreign lands. Englishmen do not call these past and present refugees traitors or Quislings, or malign them in any other way. If Subhas Chandra Bose is in any foreign country inimical to Britain, he is a political refugee. For India is a subject country, *not* a free country—subjection to Britain is not synonymous with or equivalent to independence and freedom. Those who seek such independence and freedom may under certain circumstances have to leave the country and seek shelter elsewhere. They are rebels. But rebels are not necessarily traitors and Quislings. We mean no comparison between Mazzini and Subhas Chandra Bose. But if Mazzini was not a traitor and a Quisling for fleeing from Austrian tyranny, neither is Subhas Babu a traitor and a Quisling for depriving himself of the blessings inherent in British benevolent despotism.

* Though the expression 'Fifth Column' is in frequent use, many readers may not be aware of its origin and full import. For their information we extract the following passage from *The Penguin Political Dictionary*.

"**Fifth Column,** a term originating from the Spanish War 1936-1939, when the Nationalists under General Franco attacked the Republicans in four columns from the outside, while their adherents organised uprisings, espionage and sabotage within the Republican ranks. These secret fighters behind the front were called the 'Fifth Column.' The use which the Germans made of Nazi Agents in Norway, Holland and Belgium has led to the frequent employment of the term to cover those individuals and organizations within a country who are prepared to give active help to an enemy or potential enemy."

Leftists in India, of whom Subhas Babu was one when here, are publicly signifying their preparedness to help not the Nazis but Soviet Russia, an ally of Britain, and enemy of the Nazis. EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

A Chapter of Accidents

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose naturally has more friends and opponents in Bengal than elsewhere. There is naturally more anxiety and curiosity in Bengal about his whereabouts than elsewhere. But accidentally an Honourable M.L.C. (Central) hailing from outside Bengal felt more anxiety and curiosity about him than any M.L.C. or M.L.A. from Bengal. Accidentally some anonymous leaflets had fallen into the hands of Mr. Conran Smith containing references to Subhas Babu's whereabouts and activities or supposed activities abroad, and so he was able to relieve the anxiety and satisfy the curiosity of the Honourable M.L.C. These accidental happenings gave London papers an opportunity to inveigh against imaginary Quislings in India. Accidentally some employees, friends or acquaintances of the "A. P." in New Delhi heard about Subhas Babu in radio broadcasts from Rome, Berlin and Tokio just at the nick of time to confirm the statements made by Mr. Conran Smith in the Council of State. How relieved Sir Reginald Maxwell must have felt that these accidental happenings had furnished him with a plea or an excuse for not releasing politicals, as contained in his reply to Mr. N. M. Joshi's speech on his resolution recommending their release.

Accidents unconnected with one another certainly do happen. And it is not impossible for them to happen, properly arranged in a series.

The Alleged Jai Prakash Narain Letter

The story does not require to be repeated in detail how Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, a Congress Socialist leader detained in Deoli detention camp, tried to hand a letter of his to his wife during her interview with him in the presence of a Government official watching them how the officer snatched the letter from his hands. Though the Government gave the dailies a summary of the letter (with occasional interpretations interpolated), the full text of the

letter and photographic facsimiles of it, doubts were entertained regarding its authenticity. One reason for these doubts was that the letter contained statements to the effect that the detenus' grievances were non-existent or almost so; but the public prefer to believe Mr. N. M. Joshi, who has said after enquiry on the spot that they have real grievances. Then again what was said in the letter against communists smelt like inspired propaganda at a time when there is so much sympathy openly expressed with Russia, now Britain's ally, but her erstwhile rival for generations.

As doubts had been expressed about the letter in question, the Government issued a communique stating how the letter was seized. The following is a relevant passage from the communique:

> "The papers were actually seized from Mr. Jai Prakash Narain's own hands when he attempted to pass them surreptitiously to his wife in the course of the interview. They were not taken from his pocket by some one who knew previously that they were there, much less were they *intercepted* in course of transmission without his knowledge. What actually happened was that he handed to the official present at the interview a sheet of paper containing the measurement of his foot and asked him to pass it to his wife so that she could get a pair of shoes made for him. As the official was taking the paper to comply with his request, he noticed Mr. Jai Prakash Narain extracting with his other hand something which had been tucked under his *dhoti* and *langota* at the back and attempting to pass it to his wife. The official asked him to hand it over—it turned out to be a roli of papers tied together—but he refused to do so and tried to destroy the papers. A scuffle ensued in the course of which the official received some slight scratches, but the papers were recovered intact and taken straight to the Superintendent.
>
> The Superintendent then saw Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, who begged him to destroy the papers. He was subsequently punished by the Superintendent for a breach of the camp rules by being deprived for two months (which have since expired) of the privilege of writing or receiving letters or having interviews."

The story would have been more credible if it had been said that the papers "were taken from his pocket by some one who knew previously that they were there," or that they were "*intercepted* in course of transmission without his knowledge."

If the story as actually told is to be believed the word "surreptitiously" sounds quite ludicrous and out of place. We have never read or heard of a plotter or conspirator so foolish or careless as Mr. Jai Prakash Narain has been represented to be. In broad daylight in the presence of a Government official watching him, he gives a paper to the official with one hand and with another extracts other papers behind his back to "surreptitiously" (!) hand them over to his wife! What superb surreptitiousness! Did he think the measurement of his foot would be as absorbing a study for the official as a love letter so that he (the official) would pore intently over its contents, completely oblivious of his surroundings, the while he (Mr. Jai Prakash Narain) was busy extracting the papers from behind his back and handing them over to his wife?

We do not know either Mr. Jai Prakash Narain or the Government official. We are very unwilling to be unfair to either. But we must say the story can be believed only on one of two hypotheses: first, that Mr. Jai Prakash Narain is an extraordinarily careless and foolish plotter and quite inexperienced in the art; second, that he has allowed himself to be made a tool in the hands of others, for what reasons we cannot definitely conjecture, and may have thereby laid himself open to the suspicion of collusion. Considering the gravely illegal character of the contents of his alleged letter, the Government ought to have brought him to open trial and given him an opportunity to clear himself of all suspicion. He may and should be yet given such an opportunity. By his activities in the cause of the country he earned the confidence and respect of thousands of his countrymen. We hope when he is brought to trial or set free, he will be able to retain both.

Nilmani Chakrabarti, Apostle to the Khasis

The venerable Babu Nilmani Chakrabarti, missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj,



Nilmani Chakrabarti

breathed his last at Cherrapoonjee in the Khasi Hills in Assam on the 30th of October last. He was 82 at the time of his death.

He left Calcutta for the Khasi Hills in

1889 and had been engaged in elevating the condition of the Khasis in all directions ever since, for more than half a century, with examplary devotion and single-mindedness. He lived and died a bachelor.

He evidently deserved the description "Apostle to the Khasis" for what he did for the spiritual and moral uplift of the Khasi



His last sleep

people. But that was not his only achievement. He did much for the education of the Khasis. He himself enriched their literature and encouraged and helped others to do so. He introduced social reforms in their midst, raising their ideal of marriage. Temperance work was another field in which he worked with great devotion and signal success. The gambling habit introduced among the Khasis by Sepoys he fought with success. He was also a physician, being the first to introduce medical treatment there, and treated thousands of patients year after year, supplying them with medicine and, in the case of those who were poor, with proper diet also. He had to treat patients sometimes till a late hour in the day and at night. For the economic improvement also of the Khasis he laboured zealously, advising and helping them to take to the cultivation of new and profitable crops. He taught them proper sanitation. He took up the cause of people who were subjected to official tyranny. British exploiters of the natural resources of the Khasi Hills district found in him a stout defender of the interests of the children of the soil. In one word, he was the father of his adopted people.

His Autobiography in Bengali, available at the Sadharan Brāhmo Samāj Office (211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) for Re. 1-8 per copy, gives an account of his struggles with poverty and his many-sided activities upto about fifteen years ago. *The Modern Review* for February, March and April, 1915, contained a profusely illustrated article on "Twenty-five Years of Work in the Khasi Hills." It filled 34 pages of the *Review*. After giving an account of the Khasi people—their religious beliefs and superstitions, their social and economic condition, their manners, customs and dress, etc., it described what Nilmani Babu had done for them.

In the Khasi Hills he established Brāhmo Samājes and constructed houses of worship in many places. Besides Cherrapoonjee—noted for its record rainfall, his headquarters, he established Samājes at Monggri, Mowlong, Nongwar, Laitkynsew, Nongrum (Shella) Mawblei, Nongthymei (Mawsmai), Twa (Cherra), etc. Regular religious ministration is still going on in these places. There are branches at Sohlap (Shella) and Siej (Nongwar). He learnt the Khasi language for effective religious ministration, translated Bengali hymns into Khasi and composed hymns in that language, setting them to music himself.

It is not possible in the course of a brief note to give an idea of the various kinds of pioneering which he had to do. The following extract from our 1915 article on him (April, 1915) gives a glimpse of the kind of life he led :

"At first Babu Nilmani Chakrabarty had to cook for himself. He then taught his people to cook.

"There are no washermen and barbers among the Khasis, and there were at first no cobblers and shoemakers. He had at first to be his own washerman, barber and cobbler. In the earlier years of his career he had to try to economize by doing the work of carpenters and masons himself."

"Now people deposit money with him instead of with their relatives. Husband and wife refer their private quarrels, which cannot be confided to others, to him for settlement."

So he had to be a people's Banker, and a sort of Father Confessor, too.

Deoli Detenus Give Up Hunger-strike

We are glad the Deoli detenus have given up their hungerstrike. If the headline in some papers that they have done so on receiving certain assurances from the Government be true, the authorities should hasten to fulfil their promises.

Question of Release of Political Prisoners

The question of the release of political prisoners has received wide attention in this country, and some attention in Britain, too. There the *Daily Herald* and even *The Times* have advocated their release.

There can be no question that persons detained without trial should be released. The very fact that they were not brought to trial shows *prima facie* that there is little or no proof that they had committed any offence.

Many were convicted after trial. But the offences of which they were held guilty were merely technical ones, not involving moral turpitude. Such persons should also be released. Among them may be mentioned those who gave notice to the local Magistrate of their intention to offer Satyagraha by shouting some slogan and the like. The Allahabad High Court having recently held that the giving of notice of such intention is no offence, many such prisoners have been released in the United Provinces. In other provinces, too, prisoners held guilty of similar technical "offences" should be forthwith released.

There are examples in history of the release of political prisoners guilty of offences which, if committed with non-political objects, too, would be considered criminal, conciliation having been the object in view. Such a measure of conciliation would be highly appreciated at the present juncture.

Utility of Expanded Viceregal Council

The expanded Executive Council of the Governor-General has at present a majority of Indian members. Some at any rate of the public men who accepted membership of the Council hoped, if not expected, to be of greater national service than the British members and give the central cabinet the appearance in part of a national cabinet. These Indian members may ask themselves how far their anticipations have corresponded to the actuality. The outside public do not seem to be satisfied that the expanded Council is appreciably more national than its predecessors, so far as actual achievement goes. But the new members have not had a sufficiently long trial.

Mr. M. S. Aney had greater trouble with his questioners than the other new members. In fact, he alone had trouble so to say.* Let us hope his experience will benefit the other new members as well as himself.

Formation of a Ministry in Orissa

Provincial M.L.C.s and M.L.A.s have a right to form a provincial Ministry if they can command a mojority in the provincial legislature. So in theory the right of those who have formed a ministry in Orissa cannot be challenged. But whether they have a majority cannot be tested until the Orissa Assembly meets and Congress members attend it and vote. It is not known whether the Assam tactics of not convening a meeting of the Assembly for a long time will be followed in Orissa.

There is one thing objectionable in the personnel of the new Orissa ministry. The Congress ministers in all the Congress majority provinces tendered their resignation simultaneously. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress high command have not removed the ban on the acceptance of office by Congressmen. So, if in any province a new ministry is formed, no Congressman can honourably become a member of it, unless he has sought election after giving up his Congress membership and been re-elected. This honorable course has not been followed in Orissa.

Time will show whether the new Orissa ministry will be of any appreciable service to the province. That its work will not bring nearer All-India Purna Swaraj which is the main objective of the Congress, may be taken as a foregone conclusion from what the provincial Congress ministries were able to do in the provinces governed by them.

Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha

In Mahāmahopadhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha India has lost a great scholar, a distinguished educationist and an erudite author of many works. His achievements in the fields of scholarship, education and literature and the many honours which he received at the hands of learned societies in India and abroad and of the Government may lead one to think that he died full of both years and honours. But the fact that he died when he was only 63 shows that his death was untimely, considering particularly that he led the simple, tranquil life of a scholar. Had he lived longer, the world would have got more works from his pen, for he was busy till the last.

The office of librarian of the Darbhanga Raj library which he held in youth gave him the opportunity, which he fully utilized, of acquiring scholarship. Sanskrit philosophy was his special province. While yet a young man he was joint editor of *Indian Thought* with the late Dr. G Thibaut, then principal of the Muir Central College at Allahabad. Both as professor and principal Dr. Jha achieved distinction. He was elected Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University for three terms in succession.

Golden Jubilee of the Maha Bodhi Society of India

The Golden Jubilee Celebration of the Maha Bodhi Society of India will take place at

Buddha-Gaya on the 24th December, Sarnath —26th, 27th and 28th December and Calcutta on the 29th, 30th, 31st December, 1941, and 1st January, 1942. The Society has been doing religious, social and educational work of great value during the last 50 years. A strong Committee with Sir M. N. Mukherji as president, Dr. Kalidas Nag as its Honorary General Secretary, and Mr. D. Valisinha, as its Honorary Treasurer, has been formed to celebrate the event in a befitting manner.

In war time, when mankind is torn asunder by hatred, this Golden Jubilee will proclaim a message of universal love, goodwill and peace.

In broad outline its programme consists of the following main items :

1. The publication of a commemoration volume.
2. World peace congress in Calcutta.
3. An exhibition in Calcutta of Buddhist arts, crafts and architectural objects from different Buddhist countries of Asia.
4. Tours to Buddhist historical places in India, Burma and Ceylon.

The detailed programme in Calcutta, Buddha-Gaya and Sarnath will be published in the dailies in due course.

The Buddha was the earliest and greatest teacher of universal love by both precept and example. His *maitri* embraced not only all men but all other living beings also. The Golden Jubilee of a society which derives its inspiration from him is an unique occasion. All men and women, whatever their creed, can and ought to take part in it.

The Buddhist revival has done great things, *e.g.*, in Ceylon. There numerous persons had become so thoroughly denationalized that even their names were foreign. This revival re-nationalized them and taught them to value the spirituality and culture of their own motherland.

Congress Candidate Elected at Amraoti

AMRAOTI, Nov. 23.

Mr. Wamanrao Joshi (Congress), ex-President of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, who is now in Nagpur Jail, was declared elected to the Central Assembly seat caused vacant by the appointment of Mr. Aney to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Mr. Joshi polled 3,963 votes while his rival candidates, Mr. Kanitkar (Hindu Mahasabha) polled 1,775 votes and Dr. S. G. Patwardhan (Forward Bloc) 627.—*A. P. I.*

Mr. Attlee and the Atlantic Charter

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT)

BOMBAY, Nov. 23.

According to private advices received here it appears Mr. Attlee put up a strong fight in the British Cabinet for the acceptance of his views to the effect that the Atlantic Charter should be applied to India. It is said that the Labour and Liberal parties in Britain were generally in favour of Mr. Attlee's proposition. Some Conservative members of Parliament also supported Mr. Attlee's stand. But the Conservative Ministers generally supported Mr. Amery, who is reported to have led the opposition. The Labour and Liberal parties, however, did not like to press their views to the breaking point on this issue. The Conservative opposition, therefore, prevailed, but it is said Mr. Attlee felt that he had been let down as he had given a different interpretation to the Charter. But the battle for the application of the Atlantic Charter to India is not yet over in Britain and it is said some of the acutest thinkers in Great Britain are not satisfied with the position taken up by Mr. Churchill.—*The Tribune.*

Unfairness in Wagon Control

We have received the following communication from Sjt. Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya of Howrah :

"The sharp rise in the price of soft coke necessary for cooking food is one example of the effect of callousness on the part of the Government to the sufferings of the poor and middle classes, easily preventible by a little adjustment and courage to face the cry of big business, chiefly European. The system of supply of wagons by Railways to the collieries has been arbitrary and its prevalence for a number of years cannot take away its unreasonable character. Any differentiation in the supply of wagons is prohibited under the Indian Railways Act. The Indian Coal Grading Act has one provision for preferential supply for coal to be shipped abroad. But as a matter of fact the Government has been following for years an elaborate system of supply of wagons in priority in the following order :

'Railways, Government requirements including Military, Public Utility Concerns such as Municipalities, Gas Works, Electric Supply Corporations, Water Works and Iron & Steel Works.'

"If the Government had taken the trouble of placing the matter before the legislature, it would surely have been impressed with the volume of public opinion that soft coke used in preparing food could under no consideration be classed as less important than steam coal consumed in, say, Electricity Plants. People can do without electric light and can use kerosene or castor oil instead, but cannot do without fuel necessary for cooking food in big cities. There cannot be two opinions regarding the importance of coal used in the manufacture of war materials required for the defence of India. But it should be seen that the privilege is not abused, as during similar shortage of coal wagons immediately after the declaration of War, the jute mills (mostly British-managed) were having a

preferential supply of wagons not only for the supply of sand-bags but also for their normal business. Tea gardens, which again are under British management, had also a preferential supply. No word is too strong in condemning such measures augmenting the wealth of the rich and producing endless suffering to our poor countrymen already hit hard by high prices. The only remedy for the prevention of such iniquity is to class soft coke immediately among fuel for public utility concerns so that it may not have to take its chance under Public Supply of wagons after the claims of the concerns mentioned above have been met. By the operations of the Soft Coke Cess Committee the Government has for years been discouraging the use of wood for fuel all over the country and so its responsibility in the matter is all the greater. Owing to high prices of soft coke people are having recourse to the unhealthy practice of cooking food once a day and eating it in the morning and at night. Privations which are unavoidable in time of war can be endured by the public but not those which are the result of unjust and wrong working of the administrative machinery."

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh On Basic Education

Mr. E. W. Aryanayakam, secretary to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, has sent us the following account of the half-yearly meeting of the Hisdustani Talimi Sangh, held on the 6th and 7th November, 1941, at Sevagram :

"The Hindustani Talimi Sangh held its half-yearly meeting at Sevagram on the 6th and 7th November, under the presidentship of Dr. Zakir Husain. This was the first meeting of the Sangh after the Basic National Education Conference held at Delhi in April, and reports on the working of basic education in the various provinces were considered.

"In Orissa, the Government had issued orders for winding up the experiment in basic education from the 1st March 1941. Sjt. Gapabandhu Choudhury, Acharya Hari Har Das and other workers in the province had been so encouraged by the attitude of the villagers that they had decided to take up the challenge, and the Sangh had offered them whole-hearted support in their resolve to carry on the experiment independently of the government. The report now submitted by the Basic Education Board, Utkal, fully justified the confidence of the Sangh in the workers of Orissa and in the appeal basic education made to the imagination of the people. The Sangh decided to place on record its appreciation of the work done in the Orissa Basic schools and to conduct them as experimental schools under its direct supervision. Arrangements were also made to furnish them with the necessary funds.

"In complete contrast with Orissa, Bihar presented an example of the most fruitful co-operation between a provincial government and the Sangh. It was, therefore, resolved to communicate to the Bihar Government that the Sangh was gratified to find that the government had taken up basic education in the proper spirit and that their survey of the work for the year 1940-41 contained in the Government press note left nothing to be desired in comprehensiveness and critical appreciation of the results achieved. The Sangh also expressed its satisfaction at the realistic attitude and earnestness of the Education Department of Bihar and its confidence that if the experiment in basic education continued to be as efficiently conducted as hitherto, it would serve as a stimulus and an example to other governments.

"The Secretary of the Sangh, Sjt. E. W. Aryanayakam presented a report covering the whole period of three years during which the work of basic education had been carried on. The report contains an assessment of the results of the experiments conducted by the official and non-official agencies all over the country. The Sangh was pleased to find that the standard of attainment in the craft as well as the correlated academic subjects was satisfactory and promised soon to reach the level required by the framers of basic education syllabus.

"It was decided to hold the third Basic National Education Conference in Bihar in November 1942."

Mr. Amery Has No Definite Information About Subhas Babu

LONDON, Nov. 27.

Replying to a Commons question as to the whereabouts of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, late leader of the Congress Party, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, said, "According to recent statements by the Government of India leaflets which made their appearance in India left no doubt that he had gone over to the enemy and was either in Rome or Berlin."

Mr. Amery added that he had no definite information.—*Reuter.*

Protest Against Bengal Sales Tax

"Over ten thousand people irrespective of parties and communities and classes assembled on the 27th November, 1941, at Shraddhananda Park, Calcutta, to record their emphatic protest against the Bengal Sales Tax Act. Mr. P. N. Brahma, Mayor, took the Chair.

"The meeting held out a threat that unless the Act was repealed by the end of December,

continuous hartal would be started from the 1st of January, 1942.

"With a few exceptions, traders and shopkeepers of the city observed complete hartal yesterday as a mark of protest against the Act.

"The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the meeting:

"This meeting of the citizens and traders of Calcutta records its emphatic protest against the Bengal Sales Tax Act inasmuch as the said act is inopportune, ill-timed and ill-conceived in its principles and ill-drafted as regards its provisions.

"The meeting further demands immediate repeal of the Act in view of its baneful effects on the tradesmen and the public at large at this critical time of high prices and economic distress prevailing in the country.

"The meeting further exhorts and calls upon the traders and the people of Bengal to present a united front to effectively voice their protest and to exert pressure on the Bengal Government till the repeal of the Act be an accomplished fact.

"If this is not done by 31st December, 1941, we, the traders and public men, call for a continuous hartal throughout the province from the 1st of January, 1942."

"By another resolution the meeting requested the Congress, Bengal Hindu and Moslem Societies, Students Associations, Labour Unions and Ward Associations of Calcutta and all other organisations in the entire province to extend their wholehearted support in the struggle against the Bengal Sales Tax Act."

Bengal Assembly Adjourns After Briefest Sitting

The Bengal Legislative Assembly which met for its Autumn session on the 27th November, 1941, adjourned till December 8 next without transacting any business on the opening day of the session. The House was adjourned on the suggestion of Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister and Leader of the House, who asked for the adjournment in order to enable different parties and groups to resume the efforts that were made last session to arrive at a settlement over the Secondary Education Bill.

The Hon'ble Speaker (Sir M. Azizul Haque) said that he understood that the question of adjournment of the House had been discussed with the party leaders, and he, therefore, adjourned the Assembly till the date mentioned above.

It is understood that it has been agreed between different party leaders who assembled in the Speaker's room that the no-confidence motions against two Ministers, of which notices have been given by the Krishak Proja Party, will come up for discussion on December 10, and that any longer time will not be asked for the discussion of those motions.

It is said the entire proceedings of the Assembly on this opening day of the session did not occupy more than three minutes.

"According to information gathered in the lobby the adjournment of the House on the plea of resumption of talk for an agreed settlement on the Secondary Education Bill issue was only a smokescreen, the real intention being to gain time for the purpose of further consolidating the forces for a final show down or for a solution of the Cabinet crisis, if possible."

American Paper on Freedom for India

NEW YORK, Nov. 27.

A leading article in the *New York Times* on Monday says, "Freedom for India is not easy to win or to keep."

"Yet it undoubtedly is part of that indivisible freedom for which Britain is fighting and to which the United States is committed."—*Reuter.*

Yes, but what has the U. S. A. ever done or will do in the future to promote the cause of India's freedom?

Proclamation of the Independence of Lebanon

BEIRUT, Nov. 26.

Lebanon was proclaimed an independent sovereign state by General Catroux, the Free French Delegate General in Syria, at a solemn ceremony in the palace here today (Wednesday). For the duration of the war the defence of the country will be undertaken by the Allies, states the proclamation, and the Lebanese national forces will be at the disposal of the Allied command to co-operate in the defence of the territory.

Alfred Maccache, head of Lebanese Government since April this year, becomes President of the new Republic.—*Reuter.*

The proclamation of the independence of Syria already stands to the credit of Free France. By the proclamation of Lebanese independence she has added to her claim to the respect of freedom-loving persons all over the world.

When the news of the success of the cause of freedom in the Spanish colonies in South America reached Calcutta, Raja Rammohun Roy celebrated the occasion by illuminations, by a dinner to about sixty Europeans and by a speech in English at his house in Calcutta. Had he been living now, he would have celebrated the occasions of the attainment of independence by Syria and Lebanon in a similar manner.

The Plight of Frontier Hindus

Kidnapping and plundering raids, in which the Hindus are the victims and sufferers, have been going on for years in the N.-W. F. Province. Recently also such raids have taken place. For years the Frontier Hindus have been living in constant dread of attacks on their lives and limbs and property and the honour of their women. They recall how when one Miss Ellis was kidnapped by some trans-Frontier persons, there was indignation among Englishmen and women wherever they were, and they knew no peace until she was rescued. Have the Hindus of India been similarly affected? What have they felt or done for the Frontier Hindus? What has the Government done?

A Plea For Mulberry Tree Cultivation in Bengal

Sjt. R. M. Datta, M.Sc., Botanical Officer of the Industries Department of the Government of Bengal, has contributed to *Science and Culture* a useful article advocating the extension of the mulberry tree cultivation in the forests and districts of Bengal. He describes its use in sericulture in feeding the mulberry silk-worms, and as cattle fodder, as a vegetable, as medicine, as material for paper-making, as a fruit-tree, as yielding timber for various purposes, and as fuel. He observes :

"In view of the economic aspects of the Mulberry plant as outlined above, efforts should be directed towards more extensive cultivation of the plant. The forest department can extend its cultivation in course of their reforestation policy and thereby help in the development of many industries as mentioned above.

"Of the 28 districts, Bankura, Bogra, Dinajpur, Murshidabad, Malda, Midnapur, Pabna and Rajshahi are known as "Silk districts" according to L. Liotard ("Memorandum of Silk in India," 1883). Here Mulberry plantations are already in existence and a drive is only needed to extend the acreage. In this work public bodies like municipalities and district boards and the public works department of the Government can help a good deal.

"The district boards, the municipalities and the public works department spend large sums of money in course of their remunerative arboricultural operations by planting economic trees on the roadside and embankments. These trees fetch a good revenue to them in return, besides giving cooling shade to the weary travellers and protecting the roads and *bands* from erosion by means of the net work of roots in the soil. These bodies and the public works department can easily plant Mulberry trees by the roadside and embankments. And, when the people will be aware of its utilities, the cultivation will surely be extended to their open lands for their own benefit. In the non-silkgrowing districts the people may take to sericulture and the problem of cattle fodder may also be partially solved."

We learn from the article that in the Panjab there is already a drive afoot for mulberry cultivation.

"The Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement"

Mr. S. Satyamurti, as president of the Indian Overseas Central Association, New Delhi, has rendered real service both to Burma and India, by publishing in book form all relevant documents relating to the so-called Indo-Burma Agreement. The book bears on its cover the following expressions and sentences from Gandhiji's statement on the subject :

"An Unhappy Agreement," "Panicky and Penal," "Sprung upon an Unsuspecting Public." An Undeserved Slur both on India and Burma," "A Brutal Reminder that both India and Burma are under the British Heel," "It Breaks every Canon of International Propriety." "It becomes less defensible in that an Indian instead of an Englishman, was sent to negotiate the Agreement. It is an old and familiar trick, that of putting up an Indian to perform a disagreeable task." "The Agreement is an Insult to the whole Nation."

In his own Foreword Mr. Satyamurti states with what object he has published the book :

"Knowledge is strength." I am, therefore, publishing, this series of documents in connection with the so-called Indo-Burma "Agreement" with a view to inform all those concerned, and particularly the members of the Government of India and of the Indian Legislatures, and of the Burma Government and Burma Legislatures, not only of the strong feeling in India on this matter, but also of the powerful, and in my judgment irresistible arguments against the acceptance of this "Agreement" by the Government of India, if it is at all to act reasonably and on behalf of the people of India and of Indians in Burma.

Is British Domination In India Defensible Because It Is Better than Nazi Tyranny ?

In course of the debate in the British House of Commons on the Address to the King's speech, which by the by did not even mention India, the British Government was subjected to severe criticism by some M. P.s. Mr. MacGovern, an Independent Labour Member, moved an amendment to the Address, which was rejected by 326 votes to 2, and the Address was unanimously adopted. We are not concerned here with the criticisms of the M. P.s on other matters, but the unanimous adoption of the Address shows that the House was satisfied that Mr. MacGovern's criticism of British rule in India was entirely wrong. The inference is, therefore, justifiable that in the opinion of the House no change is required in the political situation in India. Yet various British journalists and other writers and various British speakers have been informing the Indian public that never was there in Britain greater sympathy with Indian aspirations than now !

Let us here confine ourselves to what Mr. MacGovern said with reference only to British rule in India and what Mr. Eden said in reply thereto. Mr. MacGovern said :

"On February 24, 1933, Mr. Churchill had said that British interests required them to keep out of the quarrel which had broken out in the Far East and not wantonly throw away their old and valued friendship with Japan and it was in the interest of the whole world that law and order should be established in the northern part of China because China was in the same state that India would fall into if the guiding hand of England was withdrawn. The Prime Minister was both self-confessed advocate of aggression and a defender of Fascist aggression."

Mr. MacGovern continued :

"In my estimation the Atlantic Charter was one of the grossest pieces of deceit in modern times. I have

ever seen. It is to be applied to nations that have been overrun by Hitler while independent government which it proposes to give them is denied to territories that have been overrun in the past by Britain herself."

Regarding India Mr. Churchill had said (according to Mr. MacGovern) that he was convinced that Indian political parties were not going to be given Dominion Status or responsible Government for all India in any period which it was worth while to consider now.

The Prime Minister, asserted Mr. MacGovern, was a self-confessed opponent even of Dominion Status for those colonial territories which were occupied by Britain.

Mr. Eden, replying for Government, said :

"Mr. MacGovern drew a parallel between our rule in India, where, he said, people were condemned to slavery, and the German rule in Europe. I cannot think he believes that is a true parallel. In India today there are several hundred millions of people. There are a handful of White officials. There are states where the White man is scarcely seen. Ninety per cent. of matters which affect the people of India are dealt with now in provincial bodies, where Indians can and do exercise authority.

"The Hon'ble Member is fully entitled to make his criticisms of the Government of India and the way our rule in India is administered, but I wonder why he did not put anything on the other side of the balance sheet. Why did he not tell us that there are seventy million people living in Indian States who have been in the Indian States for a long period and that there is no great movement of the population from British India into those States. Why not ? Because one of the fundemental problems in India is that many Indians do not wish to be ruled by certain other Indians. These are all problems which must be faced if the case is to be stated fairly. Why did he not tell us of the five or six or whatever the number may be Indian divisions of all volunteers who have been fighting with such magnificent galantry in the last few weeks ? If his parallel were true, Hitler would have beside him now Polish divisions, Czech divisions, Norwegian divisions and Dutch divisions, whereas he cannot raise a single platoon among them and he never will (cheers) because his rule is tyranny. It is an absurdity to draw a parallel between our administration in India and Hitler's rule."

Our brief reply in one sentence, to Mr. Eden's defence of British rule in India is : If anybody says, "I am not like Satan, I am superior to him," that is no proof that he is an angel or even a normal human being.

British rule in India has lasted for wellnigh two centuries. There were periods when it was very much worse than it is now. German rule in Europe is only a year or two old. Therefore, for an impartial comparison of British rule with German rule, certain early and other periods of British rule would have to be taken into consideration. Present-day British rule in India is undoubtedly better than present-day German rule in Europe. But even now British rule in India is undesirable foreign domination—India is in bondage, her fetters should be broken.

It may be that 90 per cent. of matters are dealt with in provincial legislatures. But the remaining 10 per cent. in the Governor's hands are the most important and essential and the final authority is the British Government, and the most important matters—" Defence," **Finance**, Foreign Affairs, etc., of the country as a whole are entirely in the hands of the highest British authority.

The Indian States are as much under British domination as British India—perhaps more. In fact, the British authorities there oppose enlightened rule as much as they can. So, in effect, these States serve as a foil to British India. In spite of that fact, some of them—Travancore, Mysore, Baroda, etc., are superior to British India in some respects. Large movements of migration are no easy matter, many economic, social and other factors come into play. Nevertheless, only a few months ago thousands did run away from British East Bengal to the Tripura State.

It is no doubt correct to say that many Indians do not wish to be ruled by certain other Indians, just as there are many Britishers who do not wish to be ruled by Churchill Eden Amery & Co., Limited. But there has been a persistent demand and cry for complete Indianization, showing that the people of India want to be ruled by themselves. The Congress Governments in the provinces were preferred to the previous British bureaucratic governments, in spite of the serious limitations on the powers of the provincial ministries.

Mr. Eden is so well-informed that he does not know exactly how many divisions of Indian soldiers are fighting abroad for Britain ! He says they are volunteers. It is true in the sense that they are not conscripts. But it is also true that they are all fighting for money. *The New Statesman and Nation* said long ago that the masses in India are so miserably poor that plenty of men can be had to risk their lives for a pittance, and Mr. Gulshan Rai has shown in *The Tribune* that the poorest districts in the Panjab have furnished the largest number of recruits.

There may not be Polish, Czech, Norwegian and Dutch divisions in Hitler's armies, but there are Austrian, Rumanian, Italian and Hungarian soldiers fighting for him.

THE NEW REFORMS COMMISSIONER AND THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By Professor NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

While there is complete deadlock in the political situation of India, a new Reforms Commissioner has been appointed in the person of Mr. H. V. Hodson and he has been required to move about from province to province to collect data for the formulation of the basic principles of our future constitution. It should be borne in mind that apart from a vague declaration that the policy of the British Government is to raise India to the status of a Dominion, neither the present Government of His Majesty nor its predecessor has committed itself to any definite line of action as to the future governance of this country. It has in fact steadily refused to make any response to the demand of the Indian nationalists for fixing a time-limit regarding the conferment of Dominion Status. It has similarly set its face positively against the suggestion that pending the elevation of India to the full status of a Dominion a national government responsible to the legislature may be constituted at the centre without further delay. The Secretary of State, Mr. Amery, has even gone to the length of throwing doubts on the suitability and effectiveness of responsible government in this country. By way of strengthening a counterpoise to the demands of the Congress and of placating the Moslem community, he has also thrown down the dark hint that the introduction of any new constitution in India will be subject to its approval.

In view of these statements and declarations by the Secretary of State and in view of the contingent deadlock in Indian politics, the appointment of Mr. Hodson and his present activities have rather a sinister look about them. It should be known that although the office of the Reforms Commissioner has been in existence since the twenties, its duties and responsibilities were far different so long from what they appear to have become since last summer when Mr. Hodson was brought in from England to fill the post. The functions of the Reforms Commissioner during all these years were not to initiate and chalk out fundamental principles of constitutional organisation but to work out details either regarding the formulation of any principle which may have been in view or regarding the application of any principle which may have been already adopted. In other words these functions were always only administrative, not constituent. This office was part and parcel of the Home Department of the Government of India and was in charge of an administrator of the Indian Civil Service. The fact that the character of the office was undergoing a vital change and its functions were becoming more important and confidential in nature was evidenced first by its transfer from the Home Department to the portfolio of the Governor-General himself and secondly by the appointment to it for the first time of a constitutional expert from outside.

That the expert chosen would be an European is regrettable but not surprising. In fact the question if such importation from England was at all necessary and if no Indian with requisite qualifications was available is irrelevant. A tradition has already been established that all important work would be done through officers of the Indian Civil Service and if they proved unequal to any task and experts from outside were necessary, they must be brought in only from Great Britain. This policy has been followed in respect of the publicity organisation of the Government of India, in regard to the appointment of the Economic Adviser and virtually in respect of all superior appointments from outside the Services. If the tradition has been so set in regard to these posts, it was but inevitable that in the appointment of the Reforms Commissioner no thought would be given to the question of Indianisation.

But while it is regrettable though not surprising that a European was appointed to this important post without an enquiry if any Indian of suitable experience and qualifications was available, still more regrettable has been the attempt of the Hon'ble Mr. Aney to evade responsibility on the part of the Government of India for this appointment. In reply to a question put by Sardar Sant Singh in the Central Legislative Assembly Mr. Aney merely observed that the appointment of Mr. Hodson was made by the Governor-General in his discretion under Section 305 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and he as spokesman

of the Government of India could not on that account answer questions relating to this selection for the post. Was this reply really warranted by the Government of India Act or was it merely a clever evasion of responsibility? Section 305(1) lays down that

"The Governor-General and every Governor shall have his own secretarial staff to be appointed in his discretion."

Section 305(2) provides that the salaries and allowances of persons so appointed under the previous sub-section shall be determined by the Governor-General or the Governor as the case may be in his discretion and they will be charged on the revenues of the federation or the province as the case may be. Evidently the appointments provided for in section 305 are those on the secretarial staff of the Governor-General, *e.g.*, his Secretary, Assistant Secretary and their assistants. But the office of the Reforms Commissioner cannot by any stretch of imagination be included in "his own secretarial staff." It may be repeated that this office has existed since the twenties. It was so long under the administrative jurisdiction of the Home Department. From there it has only been transferred to the portfolio of the Governor-General. But it should be emphasised that it has been transferred not to the Governor-General to be administered by him in his discretion but to the Governor-General as Member of the Executive Council. As Member in charge he may be permitted by rules to make the appointment without previously consulting his colleagues but still he must have made the appointment not as Governor-General in his discretion but as Member of the Government and in consequence of this the ultimate responsibility for this appointment attaches to the Government of India. Sardar Sant Singh might have done well to insist on a more satisfactory reply to his question.

Apart from the hole and corner fashion in which the appointment was made, there is another factor in this selection which has aroused widespread suspicion as to the motive which has inspired it. There is a strange parallel between the appointment of Mr. Hodson and his activities behind the scenes and the activities during the last War of Mr. Lionel Curtis. As General Secretary of the Round Table Movement he busied himself with post-war constitutional changes in India and was responsible for initiating the scheme of dyarchy which disfigured the administrative mechanism of the Indian provinces for over fifteen years. It may not be only accidental that another Round Table enthusiast and the editor of the Round Table magazine should be called upon to help the British Government* in a more responsible and official manner in initiating basic principles of constitutional organisation after the present War.

It may be useful to give here in outline the history of the Round Table Movement and its influence upon our political destiny, as told by Lionel Curtis himself. Early in the present century there were present in South Africa certain British intellectuals. They had gone there either as military volunteers who stayed on as administrative officers after the South African War was over or went to that country later in the wake of Sir Alfred Milner. The most oustanding of the men who were in South Africa in the early years of the century were Philip Kerr (later Lord Lothian) and Lionel Curtis. Associated with them were two members of the Indian Civil Service who had been sent to that country for reorganising the civil services. Both of them rose high in later years in the administrative hierarchy of India. One was James Meston who became Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces and Finance Member of the Government of India and was the author of the Meston Award. The other was William Marris who drafted in 1918 the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and succeeded Sir Harcourt Butler as the Governor of the United Provinces.

These gentlemen took up first the study of South African problems. To this end they formed a group and helped in this manner in disseminating the idea that the four provinces of South Africa would prosper and go ahead only if they were united under one central government. In Union lay their prosperity and progress, in separation their decline. When this aim was achieved and South African Union was accomplished, the group turned to the wider question of the relations between the different parts of the British Empire and the Imperial Government. In order that the subject might be studied in all its aspects and bearings, in 1910 and 1911 a number of Round Table groups were set up in South Africa, Canada and then in Australia and New Zealand. A quarterly

*If the theory propounded by Mr. Aney in the Central Legislative Assembly is acceptable that the appointment of Mr. Hodson was made by the Governor-General in his discretion and the responsibility on that score attaches to him and not to the Government of India, the Reforms Commissioner may then be regarded not so much as an Agent of the Government of India as of the Governor-General and through him of the British Government.

magazine entitled the *Round Table* was also established so that it might enlighten public opinion on the state of things in the different parts of the Empire and on the outlook of people living in different Dominions and dependencies. During the first six years it was edited by Philip Kerr (Lord Lothian).

The sponsors of the Round Table Movement excluded India for years from its calculation. Only one Round Table group was set up in India (at Agra) and that also though it owed its inception to an Indian was soon dominated by European officers, civil and military. The sponsors themselves made no attempt to organise such groups in this country and interest Indians in this movement, although they moved about Canada, Australia and New Zealand to this end and left no stone unturned in enlisting local support and enthusiasm for groups which they set up in those countries. It should be noted that when Lionel Curtis became at last really interested in India in the second year of the War, he took counsel not with Indians but with some Britishers and particularly with officers and retired officers of the Indian Civil Service whose attitude towards Indian political aspirations is always so notorious. It was in collaboration with them that he initiated the scheme of dyarchy, which was embodied in what is known as the Duke Memorandum and submitted in secret to Lord Chelmsford, the newly appointed Governor-General. So the fact stood out that the champion of closer union among the different parts of the Empire planned behind the back of Indians a scheme for the governance of their country and kept it away from them so that the idea might mature in secret. When later Curtis came out to this country, then also his coadjutors were mostly reactionary British civilians whose hospitality he was enjoying and with whose data he was working. But anyhow his mission was successful in India. It is true that the chief purpose of the Round Table Movement became an abject failure. The Empire instead of becoming a closer union as this Movement wanted it to be became more disjointed than ever after the War. The Dominions instead of participating in the conduct of the imperial government fell increasingly apart until by the Declaration of 1926 and by the passing of the Statute of Westminster became independent sovereign states by themselves. But although the chief object in view of the Round Tablers thus fell through, their ambition to determine the constitutional organisation of India was satisfied. They succeeded in launching this country upon the leaky boat of Dyarchy.

Another Round Tabler has now taken upon himself the burden of advising the British Government as to the future system of constitutional organisation of this country. Could he be expected to lead us to fields more fruitful than his predecessor landed us in? There are men in India who welcomed his appointment on the ground that he had travelled widely in the Dominions and had acquired first-hand knoweldge of different aspects of their governmental systems. But will such knowledge and experience be of any real use in the fashioning of the next constitution for India? Extraneous issues have not only been raised but are now holding the field. In view of them it is not so much knowledge of constitutional practice abroad as attitude towards Indian aspirations which counts the most in the man who will take upon himself the role of our constitutional adviser. Now what is the attitude of Mr. Hodson towards our political aspirations? We do not know much of it except what as editor of the *Round Table* he has allowed us to deduce. Every issue of this journal contains an article on current Indian politics. It is intended to be more factual than opinionative. But the way in which the facts are marshalled, events are emphasised and details are selected or rejected leaves us in no doubt that the mind behind the articles is not much in sympathy with our nationalist forces. It seeks on the contrary to emphasise wherever possible the fissiferous tendencies. It may be pointed out that the editor is not responsible for the articles and from their trend the views of the editor should not be deduced. But is that really so? In other parts of the British Commonwealth Round Table groups may exist and they may be responsible for the papers contributed to the magazine on their respective countries. But in India there are no such groups. At least the public does not know of them. Nor are the articles signed. In view of this the responsibility certainly attaches to the editor for the facts and opinions they may contain. Should we not on this account be more beware of the activities of Mr. Hodson than we have done so far?

Besides, rumours are already current as to the lines of investigation in which he has been engaged since he joined his post as Reforms Commissioner a few months ago. We are told that he is making out in the first instance a case not only against the adoption in India of the normal system of representation which obtains in a modern democracy like that of England or the United States of America but also against the system which has been in vogue in this

country, and that he is engaged in making out a case in favour of the adoption of some kind of functional representation. Secondly, we are told that he is building up a case against the continuance in this country of the principle of ministerial responsibility to the legislature and is preparaing a thesis for an irremovable and fixed executive. Thirdly, it is said that by way of meeting the Pakistanists at least half way he is collecting materials for opposing the system of the distribution of powers between the federation and the provinces as contained in the present Government of India Act and is preparing a case for a new distribution as a result of which the federal government will be considerably weakened and provincial power considerably increased. Lastly, we are told that he is engaged also, by way of placating a sectional demand, in redrawing provincial boundaries and setting up new provinces.

It is not definitely known if the rumours on all these points are correct nor should it be thought that the examination of different principles of political organisation is by itself anything bad and harmful. It is certainly good that alternative proposals should be carefully studied and their implications evaluated, may be only for rejection and for the confirmation of our confidence in the basic principles to which we have already subscribed. But when such proposals are studied and new principles of governmental organisation are enunciated behind the back of the public by an officer of the Government with intimate affiliation to the Round Table Movement, popular suspicion may at any time be aroused and it is liable to be aroused in a more intense form at the present time when there are such acute differences among the various sections of the people regarding the future political system in this country. It is not unlikely that in course of time many of these differences will disappear and the remaining few may be satisfactorily conciliated. But if at the present moment alternative schemes of government are formulated and new principles, by way of placating sectional demands, are enunciated, it is but possible that the differences will be crystallised and the new scheme will be only the rallying ground of sectionalists. Besides, as we know it from our experience of the introduction of Dyarchy, when once a scheme is formulated to the satisfaction of the British Government, it will be a very hard and uphill work for the public to replace it by a system different from it in all essentials. By necessary manipulations this Government will see to it that with minor changes here and there this scheme is embodied in the constitution. Nothing in fact will be more effective than the presentation to the public in the nick of time of a cut and dried scheme matured in secret.

It may be pointed out in some circles that the importance attached in this article to the appointment and activities of the new Reforms Commissioner is uncalled for. We may be reminded that not only the National Congress has demanded that the future constitution of India should be framed only by a duly elected constituent assembly but the British Government also has conceded that the Indians themselves will carve out their future governmental organisation. In view of this whatever the Reforms Commissioner may do, will have little influence on the shaping of our constitutional destiny. But the problem need not be taken as so simple. It does not matter which body—a Constituent Assembly or a Round Table Conference—is actually commissioned to frame the constitution. It is but certain that it will consist of the representatives of different groups of the Indian people who may differ in essentials. A cut and dried scheme placed before them by the British Government at one stage or another of the discussions may be welcome among certain of these groups and complicate the situation further.

It is therefore time that proper attention is paid to the activities of Mr. Hodson and definite attempts are made to keep them under check. One of the ways by which they may be so checked is to bring him under the control of the expanded Executive Council. But does Mr. Aney's reply in the Assembly give us any hope in this regard ?



STUDENTS AND THE UNIVERSITY

By Prof. P. A. WADIA, M.A.

The incidents that have recently happened in Bombay in connection with the Convocation Day in August 1941 have been the immediate occasion that has prompted this present article. If my rambling reflections can help students to see things in a detached manner as outsiders would see them, they shall not have been in vain. It should be remembered that it is very difficult for us feeble men and women to look at things in which we are intimately concerned from the point of view of an outsider—do what we can, our preconceptions, our rooted prejudices, our wishful thinking will colour our attitudes and insidiously undermine the determination to be dispassionate. If, therefore, in the course of this paper at times I give expression to opinions that appear unsympathetic and harsh, it might be remembered that I have been more than 35 years associated with teaching both in the Colleges and in the University—and that it is difficult for me to get over a slowly accumulating mass of traditions partly acquired and partly inherited through institutional life.

What are the actual relations between the University students and the University in Bombay? The first reflection that occurs to us is that so far as the mass of the student body is concerned they have no direct touch with the University. The University is a body that lays down courses of study, and regulations for eligibility to various degrees, and conducts examinations which qualify students for the degrees. The direct teaching work in a few post-graduate departments that it has undertaken affects only a negligible percentage of the entire student community. The University under present conditions, therefore, does not possess those qualities which would enable it to mould the minds and the character of its alumni, to influence and guide the students in times when they need such guidance, in times of emotional upsurges such as the occasion when Sir Maurice Gwyer was to deliver his convocation address. Any defence, right or wrong, which the official head of the University, could make, any attempt at guiding and leading the students, however, sincerely made, is bound to fall flat, in the absence of that more intimate day to day contact that the class room implies. If the University is so remote from the daily life of Bombay students, it is a still greater abstraction to the students in Colleges in places like Poona, Dharwar, Rajkot and Karachi.

The executive of the University and its Vice-Chancellor have no contacts with the student population except the issuing of regulations for studies and the conduct of examinations, or perhaps an occasional visit of the Vice-Chancellor like the visit of H. E. the Viceroy to a remote part of his dominions. To the mass of the students the Syndicate of the University is as unapproachable as the executive of the Government of India; and if the oracular explanations of the Government of India in a time of political crisis fall flat on the mass of the population when they require leadership and guidance, the oracular pronouncements of the University executive, it is not unnatural, should fall equally flat on the mass of the student population when they are thrown off their normal balance by a wave of emotion like the Convocation incidents.

But it may be said in the case of our Province the Colleges can and do take the place of the University: the work of teaching is carried on in the Colleges: it is to the Colleges that is entrusted the responsible task of forming not only the bodies and minds, but the hearts of the rising generation—the task of canalising their future activities as citizens, of fostering their dreams and vision of life, so that as they go out into the world this vision may grow into a possession not only for themselves individually but for their country and for humanity.

We have frequently heard in our days a note of alarm, of criticism, sometimes a plaintive wail of despondency at the present day tendencies and attitudes of college students. We have been told the old respect—almost amounting to reverence—for the guru has completely disappeared, that the present generation of students have no ideals and no aims, that they are drifting aimlessly, much as the crowds of London and New York, rushing from the class room to the gymkhana, equally indifferent to their studies as to their play. We have been told of the spirit of insubordination, of the complete lack of a sense of discipline, manifest alike in the home and in the class room, of the ease with which their untrained emotions override the

promptings of a calculating reason, converting them at times into a horde swayed by slogans and catchwords, making them plastic material for political propaganda.

Many of these criticisms of the present day students may have a foundation in truth. We would not deliberately shut our eyes to the weaknesses that characterise the student world amongst us. It would be more profitable on our part to endeavour to face the facts and to understand the conditions that have brought about this regrettable situation, so that we may be able to plan a better student world for to-morrow.

Firstly, a world that is saturated with unrest cannot fail to affect that portion of living humanity that is most pliant and susceptible to the environmental influences. If humanity is drifting aimlessly about, pulled in opposite directions by influences which we label for the purpose of ready reference as totalitarianism, and collectivism, patriotism and humanitarianism, respect for freedom and respect for the law, will the rising generation in our educational institutions remain untouched by these influences? When to these wider world influences are added the influences that determine our public life in India, and we have been told that there is no leadership in our public life, shall we wonder if our student community suffer from the atmospheric currents in which they have been brought up? Human life cannot be broken up into water-tight compartments, so that we can shut out from our schools and colleges the happenings on the larger stage of our social and public life. The imagination and the responsiveness of the human mind in its pliant stage can more quickly be aroused by the reports of human sufferings, whether they are connected with the Spanish democrats putting up a heroic struggle against the disciplined hordes of Franco or the rumours and reports closer at hand of police subordinates mishandling their fellow students in their own city.

Secondly, what healthy correctives does the College life afford to this susceptibility on the part of the younger generation to environmental influences? If I speak on this question, it is not in a spirit of harsh judgment, but in a spirit of contrition and humiliation at the weaknesses of the profession to which I personally belong. The College in India is far from being that perfect institution where the young, pliant, responsive souls find the nourishment, intellectual and spiritual, which they so sorely need. The Colleges are divided into three categories. There are in the first instance the colleges run by our own countrymen in a missionary spirit. It may all sound well to maintain that the men who carry on the work of education in these institutions are influenced not by the profit-earning motives of a profit-making society; but when the salaries earned are not sufficient to secure the decencies of life, it is hardly possible to expect that the sordidness of the surroundings will not affect the weaknesses of the flesh. A commercialised world has profoundly influenced the academic sphere when the professor looks on his work as a return for wages, and on the class room as a place of mechanical drudgery to be escaped from for other activities which can supplement his meagre earnings. In an atmosphere like this the student can in turn only look upon the class room as an instrument for getting that amount of information by cribs and notes as would enable him to pass his examinations and obtain a degree which would have a wage-earning value.

There is another group of colleges managed and controlled by the Government, where though the salaries earned are higher there is largely the same lack of the artist's absorption in his own creative work. There is a third group—a smaller group—of colleges maintained by Christian missions, but where too the hide-bound rules of teaching for examinations, conducted by an external agency, obsess the minds of teachers and taught alike, and the pursuit of whatsoever things are beautiful and noble and of good report is subordinated to percentages of University passes and to the obtaining of numerically good results.

In an atmosphere like this if the younger generation is distracted between conflicting ideals, if they cease to have respect, much less, reverence for their teachers, if they manifest a sensitiveness and susceptibility to unrest, if they are prone to influences of an unhealthy character, need we throw the blame on them? Does not the blame rest on us who are responsible for their making? If we who are responsible for moulding their views and their outlook do not shorten the distance between what actually is happening and what is said and believed, the pressure of events around them will lead the students to rebel against values and ideals that they should earnestly cherish. It will then take a long time for them to recover these values. If we who in all humility should not fail to recognise our task as the co-operative pursuit of truth, in which we as teachers have as much to receive as to give, if we pose as mentors and oracles who have everything to give, and that too net in the values of life that matter, but on interpretations of ancient texts and details of history and logic and mathematics, unrelated to life and its pro-

blems, are we entitled to expect respect or reverence? If we who have opportunities of making the rising generation understand the problems that face the world and impart to them the will to act so that life may be made fuller and richer for humanity, if we continue to adhere to our safety first habits and leave our students for the sake of the ribbon to put on our coats, we may be regarded as sound teachers and professors by those who appoint us, but we shall not command the reverence of those amongst whom our lives are cast. If we as loyal to our bread-and-butter activities choose to remain auxiliaries of the powers that be in the field of economic or political activities, if we continue to talk about free enterprise when we are really talking about business monopoly, sing about God as King when we believe in a democratic order, and call our prophet a Lord, when he told his disciples not to call him a Lord, we may prosper as wage-earners, to use the Platonic phraseology, but we shall have forfeited our functional privilege to be the interpreters of the past and the present and the creators of the future.

What are we as teachers doing to mould the minds and hearts of the younger generation? We have to deal with such large numbers in the class room that the sense of personal responsibility fails to come home to the student. We are normally so heavily burdened with teaching work or administrative duties that we have neither the time nor the energy for the leisurely sharing of the varied life of the students that is the very essence of the value of teaching. Most of us confine our conception of the duties of a professor to the work of delivering formal lectures on academic subjects so many periods in the week. The splendid opportunities of enjoying the peace of a unified life afforded by the presence of a resident staff of teachers who can be sharers in the daily concerns of the student community, members of a single family, are lost when the sharing involves the break up of the family into compartments according to communities, and formalities of dining with the hostel superintendent once a month. "These by Thy Gods, O Israel!"

When I speak in these terms of my own profession, I speak with a sense of personal responsibility. I feel, more than others that I have myself neglected the opportunities that have come to me, forsaken my students for the sake of performing other duties that had not the same urgency; I have often been attending meetings when I should have spent all my time in understanding and sharing the lives of those entrusted to my care in the class room; I have often stood at a distance when I should have gone up to them in their difficulties. I have often been emphatic in matters where I should have confessed my ignorance. I feel no shame in confessing to this neglect of opportunities God gave unto me; and I only pray that in the years that remain to me He who can forgive so unstintingly may yet give to me fresh occasions of service.

Let me turn again to my main theme. The lack of discipline with which the present generation of students is charged also needs a little careful analysis. The desire for uniformity of procedure and for prompt external results have led teachers to forget that it is the quality of the mental process, and not results, which is the measure of educative growth. Entire surrender to the course of action demanded by others and whole-hearted co-operation in such action cannot go together. Compulsory attendance in the class room in Colleges brings about a double-mindedness which is morally harmful—as it breeds a double standard—one for our own private interests and another for public interests, and thus hampers the development of an integrated life. True discipline means the ability to endure in a deliberately chosen course in the face of distractions and confusion and difficulty. A body of students who are disciplined would find no difficulty in organising a spontaneous boycott of a function like that of the University Convocation, if they were of one mind. The necessity for picketing for such a purpose definitely assumes that the students are *not* of one mind, and therefore the use of moral or even physical coercion for the performance of an uncongenial task. Moral coercion is a contradiction in terms—for morality implies freedom and spontaneity, and coercion implies the absence of such spontaneity. But whatever may be said about the rights and wrongs of strikes and boycotts, one can unhesitatingly disapprove of the crowd psychology of which we have evidence, when students bent on carrying out what they conceive to be a good object break in into College corridors and use coercion incompatible with true discipline.

A College or a University is a body of men and women linked together in the co-operative search for truth, it is a corporation of young and old, who grow togehter in the experiences of life, making life richer for one another, it is a comradeship for teacher and taught in a life of adventure in which what we get and give are not external possessions but a widening and deepening of our conscious lives. Education is not a means to such a fuller life; it is such a life in itself.

If our College and University were corporations of this kind, students and teachers alike would be linked by ties of affection and mutual respect. But our educational system is the reflection of the socio-economic system in which we live. We are repeatedly asked to judge its efficiency by the extent to which it produces men and women who can be absorbed into this system. Why need we be surprised if the chaos that marks our socio-economic order, with its complete lack of discipline and co-operation and planning finds itself mirrored in our educational organisation? A planless socio-economic order has its counterpart in a planless educational order. You cannot have strikes in your economic order and wars in your political order without their inevitable reactions on your educational order. The intimate relationship between the educational system and the socio-economic order has at no time been so vividly realised as in these days of totalitarian philosophy when the minds of youth are to be indoctrinated with the poison of state absolutism, or the racial myth, or the worship of the Proletarian State. The revolt against reason which has been the leading feature of our age, manifested in the Barthian position in Christian Theology, in the incursions of the unconscious in the realm of psychology, in the mystic worship of the Führer or the State, cannot leave untouched the field of education. It is the tragedy of the human race that the mass mind should be so obsessed with the conviction of the outstanding importance of its own small or large group as to ignore the mind of the un verse. Can we see in the restlessness that marl our student body the same overgrown sense ‹ its own importance? "If the light that is : you be darkness, how great is the darkness !

And yet where there is the vision of you there is hope. Let us pray that as the montl and years roll humanity may renew its yout and through the workings of the unsophisticate dreaming, adventurous spirits of a new gener tion—that has not yet been trodden down b hungry generations, and that has not known tl burden of the ages, may enter on its herita of a better life. If this is ever to be accomplishe and the world to renew its life, it will not l through the ossified activities of its politicia and ecclesiastics, but through the dreams of younger generation resolved to challenge wi an ardour peculiar to youth the age-long barrie of the past. Let us also pray that when a ne life is made possible on earth, it will take i birth not through the instruments of force whic are potent only for destruction: it can on! arise out of love. The individual is symbol of the race: life and love cannot be divorce Even as the mystery of the birth of a new li can only be resolved in terms of the love i which it is grounded, so the rebirth of the huma race cannot follow upon war and the destructic that war involves, it can only be expected fro that "conversion" of the younger generatic which the process of education involves.

TO RABINDRANATH

There, as I lay sleeping,
you came and kissed my head
and uttered the mighty words:
'Come with me, lazy poet,
the mid-day sun calls—
not here, nor there, elsewhere—somewhere else.'

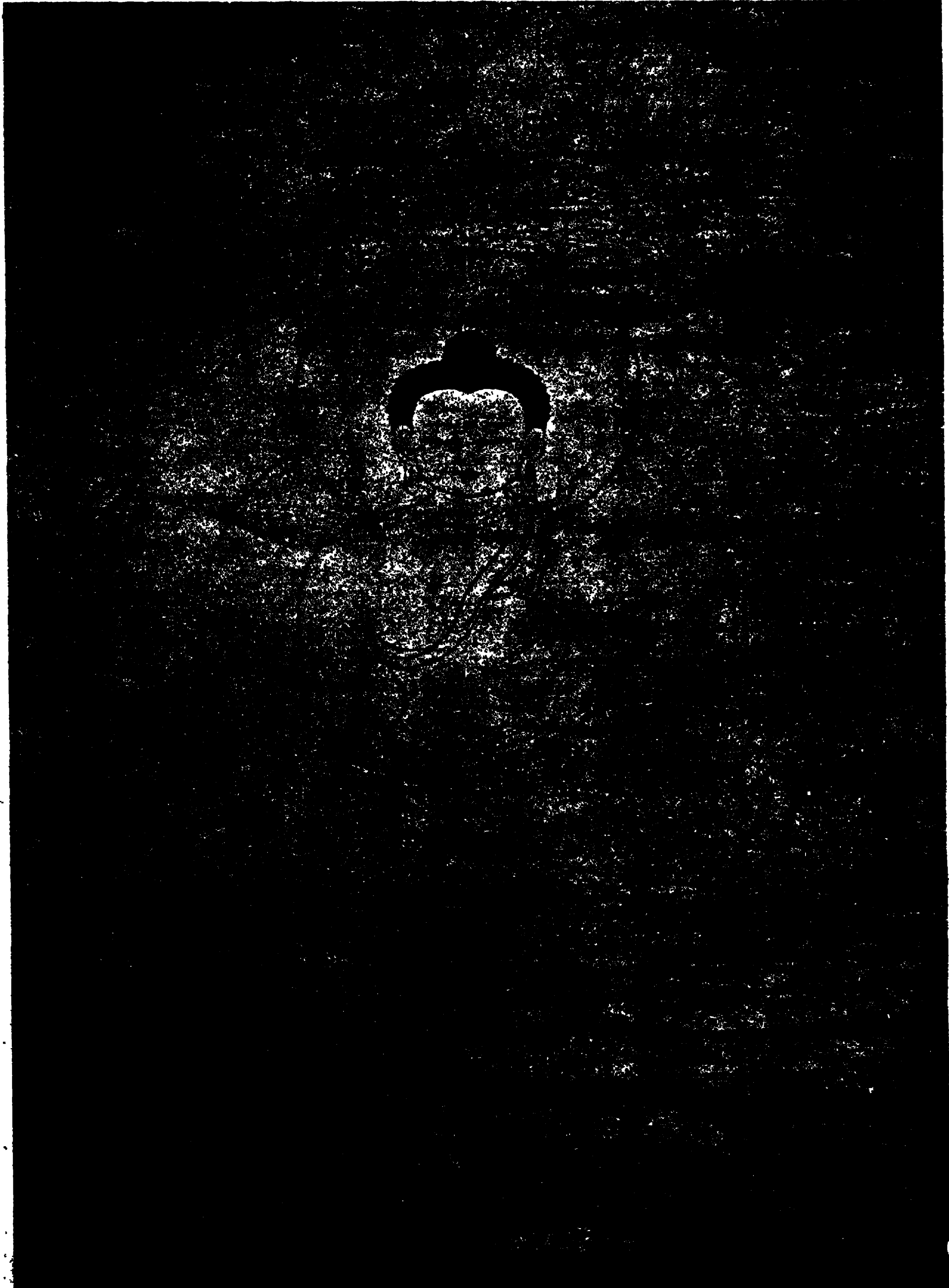
And I sat up with a start...
'To what distant bourne,' I asked,
'do you fly aloft on your eager wings,
you who are in love with death?'
Of a sudden my wings also were aflutter
and I rode with you the stormy wind
in a reckless venture.

As I soared, I found
the sun the moon and the stars
all dancing in frantic glee...
and everything coursing through the empty space,
led by the echo of your mighty song
to the infinite, immeasurable and undefined!

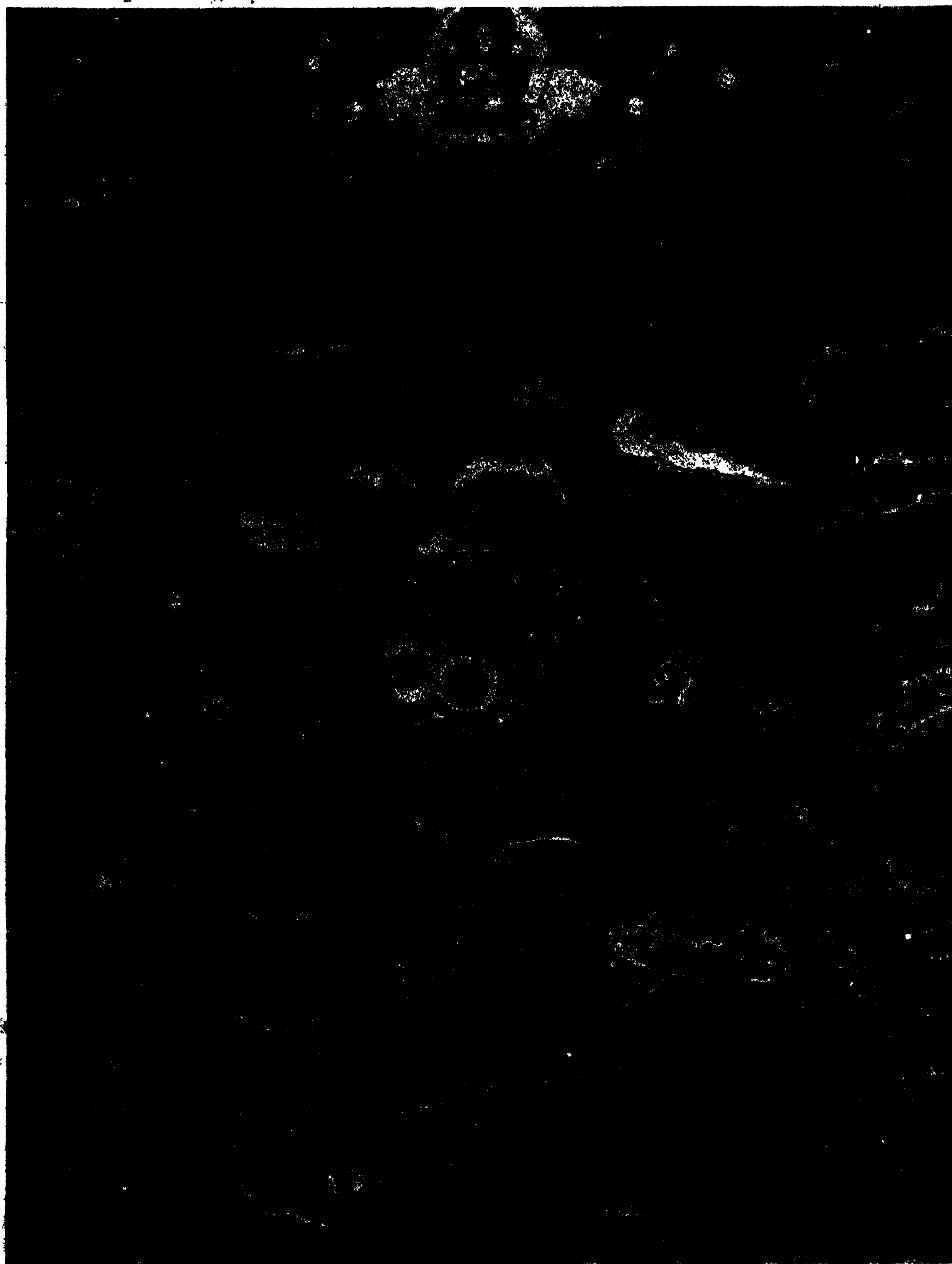
Thus did you stir me into wakefulness
and thus did I have the vision
of that molten fire of motion
which flows everywhere
and which bore me now on its relentless wave
away from my familiar shores.

Who else but you
could lead me to the vast and unconfined expanse of death,
in quest of the very temple of the Lord of gods
Who else could utter that great sigh:
'Not here, nor there, elsewhere—somewhere else.'

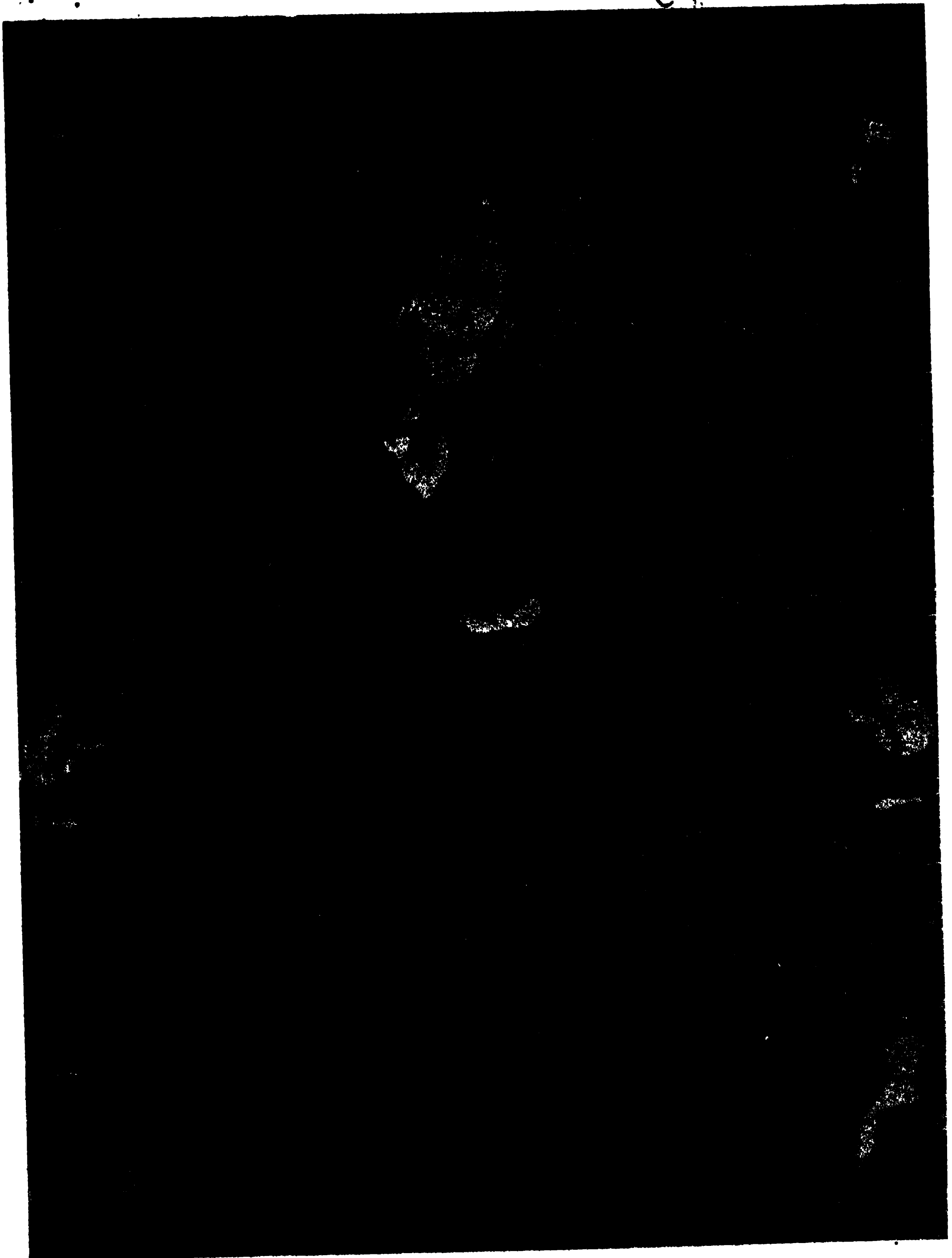
Translated by Kshitis Roy from the original Bengali poem by Achintya Sengupta.



Sakyamuni Buddha



King Sron Tsan Gampo



Padma Sambhava



Dalai Lama

TIBET AND HER ART

By SIVA NARAYANA SEN,
Nepal Museum

ONCE you have visited the snows of the Himalayas you will have to return to them time after time until you die. When away from them, all through your life you will ever see them before you in your dreams.

The scene of our inquiry is, the tableland of Tibet, set within those higher elevations of that majestic range of mountains. To any one who appreciates Nature in all its grandeur, the fascination is so great that everything else in the way of scenery sinks into perfect insignificance by their side.

The name "Tibet" which we give to the mysterious "Land of the Lamas" is an English rendering of the Tibetan sTod Bod (pro.=*Tö Bö*="High *Bod*"), although the usual native designation is *Bod* or *Bod-kyi-yul* ("Country of Bod").

This "Country of Bod" is situated at an altitude of between 12,000 to 15,000 feet above the sea-level, covering 800,000 square miles, girt on every side by gigantic mountain ranges. Being fenced round with formidable mountains, or with swamps and deserts, it is almost impossible to cross. In the extreme south lies the vast range of the Himalaya, and above this the Kailas range. Along the northern frontier stretch the Altyn Tagh and the Kuen-Lun ("Tiger-Dragon") Mountains. Behind its icy barriers, reared round it by Nature herself, and almost insurmountable, its priests guard its passes jealously against foreigners. Demons are imagined to haunt its passes, swept by icy winds, and its huge dreary plains. In its many lakes lurk terrible dragons. Like Olympus in Greek antiquity, its snow-clad mountains are the abodes of gods and goddesses. The northern parts are largely uninhabited. Uplands, covered with coarse grass and extending for thousands of square miles, are inhabited by a scanty population of seminomadic pastoral tribes called Drupa or Dok-pa (Tib=*Hbrog-pa*) ("People of the Steppe"), with their herds of sheep, goats and yaks. Drupa is a pure race. A male member of this race has a brachycephalic head, wavy hair, clear brown eyes (in some cases hazel), high cheek bones, thick nose, strong and irregular teeth, ears with tolerably large lobes, broad mouth, lips not very full, thin beard and broad shoulders with normal arms.

In those sections of the country in which there are permanent habitations, chiefly in the south where there are many smiling valleys where wheat and barley are cultivated as well as peas, radishes, potatoes and a considerable variety of fruits, live a mixed race becoming more Chinese as one goes towards China, or more Indian (Nepalese or Kashmiri) as one travels southward or westward. The total population seems to be rather less than 3,000,000.



Tara

Tibetans import all their food from India, Nepal, Kashmir and China during summer months, while the snow-passes are open, and they store it in sufficient quantities to last them all through the winter. Wheat, rice, *tsamba* (a kind of oatmeal), Gur (sweet), sugar are bartered in large quantities in exchange for borax and sheep and yak wool.

They are at all times small eaters, eating a little whenever they drink tea. They never take a hearty meal, but stave off continually the pangs of hunger.

The first two things that strike an observant traveller on entering a Tibetan encampment are that the number of children in the population is small, and that the majority of Tibetans appear middle-aged or even old and decrepit. The women manage to preserve their complexion slightly better than the men, by smearing the cheeks, nose and forehead with a black ointment. This, to a certain extent, prevents the skin chapping in the cold, but the winds in Tibet are so terrific that they are disastrous to any human sking. The intense glare of the snow-covered landscape and the extraordinary brilliancy of the atmosphere compel the natives constantly to frown in order to screen their semi-closed eyes as much as possible from the blinding light. This everlasting frown of course, covers the forehead with deep wrinkles and grooves, while "crow's feet" in continuation of the outer corners of the eyes and deep channels at both ends of the lips disfigure the faces of Tibetans at an early age. Tibetan boys and girls attain a state of maturity at a comparatively early age. Girls of fifteen or sixteen and boys of eighteen or nineteen are often noticed to be fully developed, and it is at these respective ages that men and women of Tibet frequently marry.

How to explain why one sees so few children in Tibet? It is due to the custom of polyandry prevailing in the country, which is bound to have disastrous effects upon the birth-rate of healthy, strong children, with deteriorating results upon every generation; and also undoubtedly the altitudes at which the people live limit to a great extent the increase of population The general condition of most Tibetans' blood also contributes greatly to the non-fertility of parents.

There is yet another curious fact. To an average of fifteen male children who are born and live in Tibet, only one female child is healthy enough to survive. There are various reasons for this, and it would be difficult to discover the primary one. The diet of the parents, which centainly has marked effects on the production of one sex more than another and the great mortality among the weaker female children are the two main reasons, perhaps, for the scarcity of females in Tibet. Death-rate in children under the age of two years is very great in proportion to the number of births. It is impossible to give exact statistics but from inquiry from families it is found that an average of three children out of seven born succumb before the age of five. Of these deaths, the majority would be female children.

Most of the nobles reside in Lhasa. The government is a bureaucracy in which the Buddhist hierarchy plays a predominant role.

From a book called '*Gyal-rabs sal-vai me-long*,' "Book of Kings," (Dr. Emil Schlagintweit's edition, 1886), of comparatively modern origin, we gather that in the second century A.D., charcoal was made for the first time, and iron, copper, and silver were extracted from the ore, ploughs were introduced, and the irrigation of fields made known, in the fifth century A.D., in the reign of Tri-nyan zung-tan, fields were for the first time fenced in, skin garments were made, walnut trees were planted, and reservoirs dug to supply water for irrigating the fields. In the reign of his successor the yak was crossed with the domestic cow and the valuable cross-breed called *djo* obtained. Mules were imported into the country and the people were taught how to make bundles of hay.

Francke made an elaborate study of the origin of the Tibetan alphabets. He writes: "As regards Tibetan historiography in general, there are two distinct schools of it. *viz.*, the Central Tibetan and the West Tibetan School. Thus, the records referring to the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet vary to a certain degree, according to the schools of writers.

"CENTRAL TIBETAN RECORDS.—The Petersburg *rGyal rabs gsalbai melong*, Sarat Ch. Das' The Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary, *Togbarlowa and the Bodhimor*. They all agree on the following points: King Sron btsan sgampo (c. 600-650 A.D.) sent his minister Thonmi to Hindustan, Southern Hindustan or Magadha, to learn reading and writing. He received instruction from a certain Li byin (the Lijin of the Mongals) in reading and writing, and formed the Tibetan alphabet after the Lantsha and Vartula characters, Tibetan dBu chan after Lantsha, and Tibetan dBu med after Vartula. He brought the Tibetan alphabet up to 30 characters, by taking 24 from the Indian alphabet, and inventing six new characters himself. For the expression of the Tibetan vowels he added four vowel signs.

"THE WEST TIBETAN SCHOOL states that king Sron btsan sgampo sent his minister Thonmi and 16 fellow students to Kashmir, to learn the characters. They learnt the characters from the Brahman Li byin, and Pandit Senge taught them the language (Sanskrit). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they formed 24 gSal byed and 6 rins, altogether 30 characters. (The following sentence is probably a later addition): Besides, they made them to agree with the Nagara character of Kashmir and brought them into shape.

"Looking at these two, the West Tibetan record strikes me as being the more original of the two. In the first place, the country from which the alphabet was brought to Tibet, is given here as being Kashmir. This is more in accordance with the result of Dr. Vogel's examination of the alphabet. Then, the passage about the forming of the Tibetan alphabet after the Indian Lantsha and Vartula characters, which is altogether doubtful, is omitted here. The West Tibetan account makes mention of the Indian Nagri alphabet, it is true, but this passage looks like a later interpolation."

Dr. Vogel is of the opinion that the Tibetan is derived from the Northern Indian script, which was used in the 7th century A.D. It is not based on the Sārāda, but has certain points of similarity with this script, which suggest that both were derived from the same Northern Indian character.

Francke's own view is :

"The Tibetan alphabet was quietly worked out in the ancient monasteries of Turkistan, the Tibetan Li yul and that Sron btsan sgampo's minister Thonmi reaped the fruit of such learning."

This is still a disputed point. Buddhism was introduced in Tibet by the two favourite wives of king *Sron btsan sgampo,* reigning over Tiebt in the seventh century,—one called Wench'eng, a daughter of the Chinese Emperor Taitsung of the Tang Dynasty, and Bhrikuti, a a princess of Nepal. It has not yet been ascertained beyond doubt that Bhrikuti was the daughter of King Amsuvarmana of Nepal (died c 639 A.D.). There is no doubt that she was a Nepalese princess.

Sron btsan sgampo was a king of great qualities. He was not older than nineteen when, two years after his marriage to the Nepalese princess, he was endowed with his Chinese bride, both of whom being born and bred sincerely Buddhistic converted their young husband and moved him, for the weal of Tibet, to send his Prime Minister Thonmi Sambhota and suite to India for the purpose, after studying the holy doctrine, of returning with capable Buddhist priests and the necessary holy scriptures for the conversion of the country. Not only did the King know how to maintain the power bequeathed him by his father, over various tribes of Tibet but, by his captaincy of his army, kept his people immune from invasions from surrounding kingdoms. Indeed both the princesses, of Nepal and China, were given to him by their respective royal and imperial fathers out of awe and respect. In the old Tibetan painting one sees him depicted on a white supernatural stallion, with full armour with helment and crest, a lance in his raised right hand, while he holds the reins of his horse with his left hand, thus mounted in a glowing shroud of flames, his head against a flaming halo. Eight horsemen clad and flame-enshrouded like himself, all of them also mounted upon a white supernatural war-steed, surround him cantering. Although Chinese chronicles mention him as a very bellicose prince, for Tibet, *Sron btsan sgampo's* government, with the intervention of his two favourite wives, was so salutary that his people came to regard him—and in their Buddhist church he is accepted—as an incarnation of Bodhisattva Padmapani or *Çhenresi,* as the Tibetans call him. His two wives also were incarnated. Their celestial names are the Green



A Lama
Specimen of portrait painting
Painted on silk, 2' 5½" × 1' 10"
By kind permission of the authorities of the Nepal Museum, Kathmandu, Nepal

and the White Tara; green because in Tibetan representations, this is the conventional colour for a swarthy complexion.

Under the reign of the grandson of *Sron btsan sgampo*, *Gung-srong-du-je* by name, tea was introduced into Tibet from China, and ear-

rings and new modes of hair-dressing were brought there from India.

Enough has been got from the Chinese and Tibetan sources to prove that the present civilization is entirely borrowed from China, India and possibly Turkestan and that Tibet has only contributed the simple arts of the tent-dwelling herdsman.

Lamaism is the religion of the Tibetans: it has also many adherents in Bhutan, Nepal, China, Mongolia and even in parts of Siberian Russia. It is essentially a synthesis of Asiatic religions, created by the Mongolian mind. Tibetans themselves are of Mongolo-Turki stock and the basis of their religion is the Animism and Shamanism of the Mongol races. This ineradicable substrate in Lamaism survives today, in spite of repeated efforts by the Buddhists to suppress it, in the Bon-po sect or the sect of the Black-hat sorcerers. Magic, sorcery, astrology, exorcism, and divination mark the functions of this sect, together with symbolic rites which indicate human sacrifice and ceremonial cannibalism at a remote period of their history. The Black-hats are not Buddhists, and indeed they oppose them: nevertheless, on account of their powerful magic, they are employed by the two properly called Lamaist churches, whenever the inimical forces of nature have to be coerced or expelled. In the later part of the ninth century King *Lang-dar-ma*, the friend of the Bonists, nearly extinguished Buddhism in Tibet by a violent persecution. He was assassinated by a Buddhist monk, disguised as a Bon priest, whose deed the Tibetans still celebrate in a religious dance.

Above the Bon-pos are the Red-cap sect of true Lamas, who profess a very impure form of Buddhism strongly tinged with Tantric practices and methods of Yoga derived from Shaivaitic Hinduism. This phase of Lamaism represents the unreformed Mahayana Buddhism introduced into Tibet in the 8th century by the celebrated Padma Sambhava. Little progress was made until a century after the reign of *Sron btsan sgampo*, when there arrived from India a missionary whom millions of Tibetans look on as a greater teacher than the Buddha himself. This enigmatical person was a native of the hill country now known as Swat, between Kashmir and Afghanistan. He contrived to fuse his Buddhist philosophy with many aspects of the Bon cult.

The Buddhism that was brought from India to Tibet was no longer the unalloyed, original doctrine such as that which had been proclaimed by Gautama Buddha. After Emperor Asoka, who reigned over ancient India during the middle of the 3rd century B.C., had raised the religion of the Buddhists to the status of the religion of the Empire, the doctrine was not only eagerly taught in all parts of the country but missionaries were also sent across the frontiers and great conversions took place in Burma, Siam Ceylon, Nepal, Kashmir, Bactria, and Afghanistan. But, under Imperial patronage, the luxury of the orders increased, ritual became more complex and gradually more and more mystical mists enveloped the belief in which there were certainly beautiful tints but different among the different peoples, all according to the nature of their inner shades of difference.

The highest form of Lamaism is that of the Yellow-cap sect who now constitute the established church of the country. These Gelug-pa Lamas profess a purified and more spiritual form of the Mahayana Buddhism, highly mystical and ideal in its tenets, and resort less to the grosser methods of magic indulged in by the two lower sects; and, unlike these sects, their members are strictly celibate. To this sect belong the two highest dignitaries of Tibetan Lamaism, the Dalai Lama of Lhasa, and the Panchen Lama of Tashilhunpo.

Compared with the Buddhism of Ceylon and Burma, the Buddhism of Tibet is corrupt and extreme, blended as it is with an oppressive Demonolatry inherent in the Mongol stock. To this Shaman element in Lamaism is due the conversion of the humble mendicant-monk of primitive Buddhism into the Lama wizard-priest of today, without whom no event in the life of the people can come to a successful issue, and from whose earnings the Church draws a large part of its revenue. These components of Lamaism, the Yellow, Red and Black churches, may be said to exploit the Three Qualities (Gunas) of the Universe, spiritual and material. The Yellow church develops the aspect of Sattva or Harmony: the Red, the Rajas or Physical Activity (Tantric Yoga): and the Black church wars against the power of Tamas, the Indifference and Darkness of Inertia. Such is the composition of the Buddhist Sangha, as it exists in Tibet today.

In the eleventh century a great revival of Buddhism was brought about by the arrival of the great Indian Pandit Atisha (also named *Jo-do-c'en po*=" Great Lord ")

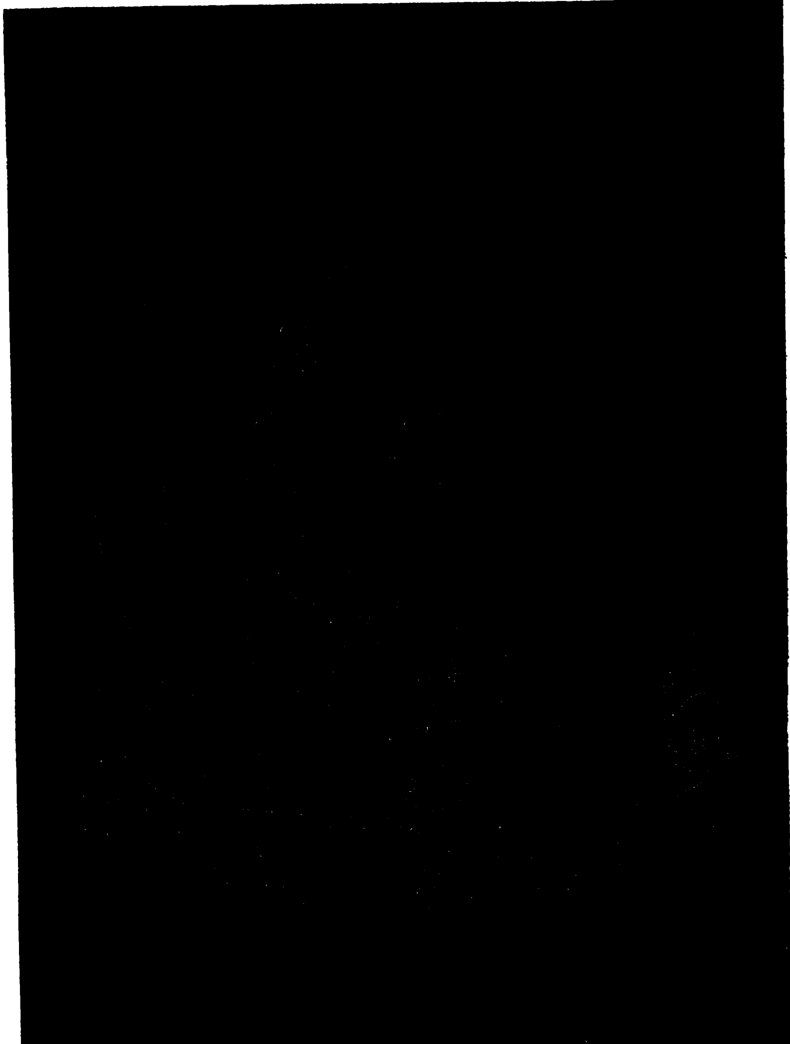
Atisha, also known as Dipankara Sri Jnana was born in 980 A.D., in the royal family of Gaur at Vikramanipur in Bangala, a country lying to the east of Vajrasana (Bodh-Gaya) His parents—Kalyana Sri and Prabhava;i—gave him the name of Chandragarbha, and sent

him while very young to the sage Jetari for his education. After acquiring proficiency in philosophy and religion he commenced the study of the meditative science of the Buddhists preferring the practice of religion to the ease and pleasure of this world. For this purpose he went to the vihara of Krishnagiri to receive his lessons from Rahula Gupta. Here he was given the secret name of Guhyajnana Vajra, and initiated into the mysteries of esoteric Buddhism. At the age of nineteen he took the sacred vows from Sila Rakshita, the Mahasankhika Acharya of Odantapuri, who gave him the name of Dipankara Sri Jnana. At the age of thirty-one he was ordained in the highest order of Bhikshu and also given the vows of Bodhisattva by Dharma Rakshita. After this Dipankara went to Suvarnadvipa to study under Acharya Chandrakirti. He returned to Magadha after twelve years.

The Buddhists of Magadha now acknowledged him as their chief and unanimously declared him to be the hierarch of Magadha. At the request of king Naya Pala he accepted the post of High Priest of Vikrama Silā. At the invitation of the king of Tibet—*Lha-tsun-pa Chan Chub Hod*—Atisha visited Tibet via Nepal accompanying Raja Bhumi Sangha, Pandita Parahita Bhadra, Pandit Virya Chandra and others. He was given a royal reception at Tibet by the King and his people. Atisha died at Nethan near Lhasa at the age of seventy-three in the year 1053 A.D. He was the spiritual guide and teacher of Bromton, the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet.

Dipankara wrote several works. The following names of his works occur in Tibetan books:

1, Bodhipatha pradipa; 2, Charya sangraha pradipa; 3, Satya dvyāvatāra; 4, Madhyamopadesha; 5, Sangraha garbha; 6, Hridaya niscita; 7, Bodhisattva manyāvali; 8, Bodhisattva karmādimargāvatara; 9, Saranagatadesha; 10, Mahayanapatha sādhana varna sangraha; 11, Mahayanapatha sādhana sangarha; 12, Sutrārtha samuchchyopadesha; 13, Dasakusala karmopadesha; 14, Karma Vibhanga; 15, Samādhi sambhara parivarta; 16, Lokottarasaptaka vidhi; 17, Guru Kriyākrama; 18, Chittotpāda sambara vidhi karma; 19, Sikshā samuchchaya abhi samaya; 20, Vimala ratna lekhana (this is an epistle addressed by Dipankara to Naya Pala, king of Magadha).



From a old Tibetan stencil drawing

It will not be out of place to mention here the names of Indian Pandits who worked in the

Buddhist propaganda and were engaged in translating Sanskrit works into Tibetan. They were the wollowing:

1, Sānta Rakshita, a native of Gaur, who was the High Priest of the monastery of Nalanda; 2, Padma Sambhava, an Afghan; 3, Dharma Kirti; 4, Vimala Mitra; 5, Buddha Guhya; 6 Sānti Garbha; 7, Visudhi Simha; 8, Kamala Sila; 9, Kusara; 10, Sankara Brahman; 11, Sila Manju of Nepal; 12, Ananta Varmana; 13, Kalyana Mitra; 14, Jina Mitra; 15, Surendra Bodhi; 16. Silendra Bodhi; 17 Dana Sila; 18, Bodhi Mitra; 19, Muni Varma; 20, Sarvajna Deva; 21. Vidyākara Prabha; 22, Sraddhākara Varma; 23, Mukti Mitra; 24, Buddha Sri; 25, Buddha Pala; 26, Dharma Pala; 27, Prajnā Pala; 28, Subhāsita; 29, Prajnā Varma; 30, Dipankara Sri Jnāna; 31, Dāna Sri (his nephew); 32 Smriti Jnāna Kirti; 33, Sangha Sri, 34, Jnāna Sri of Kashmir; 35, Chandra Rahula; 36, Dhira Pala; 37, Atulya Dasa; 38, Sumati Kirti; 39, Amara Chandra; 40, Vindu Kumbha; 41, Kumāra Kumbha; 42, Kanaka Varma; 43, Sadbhārata; 44, Jayānanta; 45, Gayādhara; 46, Amogha Vajra; 47, Somanatha; 48, Sunyatā Samadhi Vajra; 49, Jnāna Vajra; 50, Prajnā Guhya; 51, Mahayana Vajra; 52, Vāla Chandra; 53, Mantra Kaluksha; 54, Sugata Sri; 55, Jamāri; 56, Vairochana; 57, Manju Ghosha; 58, Surya Kirti; 59, Prajnā Srijnāna; 60, Gangādhara; 61, Dhana Gupta; 62, Samanta Sri; 63, Nishkalanka Deva; 64, Jagat Mitranandi; 65, Buddha Srijnāna; 66, Sakya Sribhadra of Kashmir; 67, Vibhuti Chandra; 68, Dāna Sila; 69, Sankha Sri; 70, Sambhoga Vajra; 71, Ratna Sri; 72, Mahārajna of Nepal; 73; 73, Vajra Kirti of Nepal; 74, Gayā Sri of Nepal; 75, Kirti of Nepal; 76, Kumāra; 77, Sanātana Sri; 78 Sadhu Kirti; 79, Vinaya Sri; 80, Sila Sri; 81, Mandala Sri; 82, Vimala Sri; 83, Darpan Acharya; 84, Jayadeva; 85, Lakshmikara; 86, Ratna Sri; 87, Ananta Sri; 88, Rāhula Sri; 89, A Guru from Tamradvipa; 90, Kirti Pandita; and others. It is interesting to note here that many of these savants hailed from Bengal.

The most celebrated figure of Mediaeval Tibet was Mila-ras-pa (=cotton-clad wild one) —Milarepa—who died in the year 1122. He was a great man and a great poet, whose songs are still familiar to most of his countrymen. One may always recognise him in art by his right hand held to his ear, as though to "catch the echoes of nature" (so the Tibetans phrase it).

In the year 1358 was born the most celebrated of all the propagandists of Buddhism in Tibet—Tsong-ka-pa (bTsong-ka-pa = Onion Valley Man), so named from his place of origin. He was the most widely read and widely travelled man in Tibet. As a result of his deep study and extensive travel he reached the conviction that religion as practised in his country stood sadly in need of reformation.

His agitation for reform spread far and wide and he demanded celibacy of every rank of the hierarchy of Lamaism, to whom he further tabooed the use of wine. The old sect of the bKa-gdams-pa (Counsel sect), founded by Atisha, was reorganised by Tsong-ka-pa and became known as the Gde-lugs-pa (Way of Virtue sect) or the "Yellow Hats" from the head-dress of its ecclesiastics, who thus distinguished themselves from the members of the rNying-ma-pa (Ancient Sect) and other long established sects, all characterised by their red hats. The great monasteries of Ganden, Sera, Depung, and Tashi-Lhunpo were instituted by Tsong-ka-pa and his associates.

Tibetan monasteries are of various grades. First in rank stands the Ling (an island). Every Ling is ruled by Khanpo who also has the distinction of being considered an incarnate Lama. Next to the Ling rank the Chhoi-de. After the Chhoi-de may be placed the hosts of ordinary Gompa. Lastly, may be mentioned the Pug-pa, or hermit's cell.

Here is a description of some of the important monasteries of Tibet.

A. Galden Ling (Dga-ldan Rnam-par Gyal-wai gling)—the Ling of completely victorious joyfulness—is the headquarters of the Gelukpa sect and stands enthroned on the Wangkhor hill, about 25 miles E.-N.E. of Lhasa. It was founded by Tsong-ka-pa and the chief object of veneration is the grand tomb founded in the sacred memory of its founder. It is a lofty mausoleum-like structure, of marble and malachite, with a gilded roof. The number of inmates here is reckoned at 3,300.

B. Sera Ling (Gsera Tugs Chhe Gling)—the Ling of the Mighty Heart of Gold—one of the three Gelugpa foundations, placed 2 miles due north of Lhasa. The monastery of Sera is remarkable for three large temples of several stories in height, all rooms of which are gilded throughout. Inmates are estimated to be 5,000.

C. Dai-pung—situated 5 miles west of Lhasa. Its inmates number 7,000.

D. Tashi-Lhunpo Monastery (Bkra-shis Lhunpo)—the Mound of the Good Luck. It has 3,800 inmates. This is the seat of Government of the semi-autonomous Province of Tsang. The head of the whole monastic establishment is the *Panchen Rimpochhe*, who is likewise titular King of the Province of Tsang. Formerly his rule was independent of all control from Lhasa. Now, though taxes are levied in, and

passports issued in the name of the Panchhen Lama, yet in military and imperial affairs the authorities at Lhasa are paramount. Panchhen Lama is supposed to be an incarnation of Amitabha Buddha.

E. Sakya Ling (Sa-skya-Gling)—the Yellow Earth Ling—a monastery of the heretical Sa-kya school of Buddhists. Eight of the abbots, known as the Sa-kya hierarchs, were *de facto* kings of Tibet. Sakya Monastery stands some 50 miles due north of Mount Everest. It is famous for its magnificent library, containing numerous unique treasures of Sanskrit and Tibetan literature, unobtainable elsewhere. Its inmates dress in bright deep red robes. The Sakya Lama is supposed to be an incarnation of Manjusri.

F. Sam-ye Ling—notable as being the most ancient of all monasteries existing in Tibet. It was erected by King Ti-srong Deu-tsan at the instigation of Santa Rakshita. Sam-ye is used by the Tibetan Government as a bank, where reserve treasure in bullion is stored.

G. Sam-ding Monastery. An important establishment, noteworthy as a monastery of monks presided over by a female abbot. Inmates number only 200.

Besides these there are many more monasteries. Space at my disposal does not allow to describe them all.

The claim of one of the abbots of Depung Monastery to temporal power was confirmed by the Mongols who invaded Tibet in 1640 and again by the Chinese who established their suzerainty over it later. The abbot in question was supposed to be an incarnation of Chenrezi (Sron btsan sgampo). The Grand Lama—Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtso (Ocean of Powerful Speech and Noble Mind)—erected the famous monastic palace known as Potala, perhaps the most imposing palace in the world. Here all the Dalai Lamas have lived for 300 years. The present Dalai Lama, who has been found out very lately, is eleventh in number from the first one who came to power after 1640.

According to the Geluk-pa sect Buddha is constituted of a state of Consciousness, the state of Perfect Knowledge. Undeceived by the transient, illusive glamour of Appearance (Maya), this Perfect Knowledge penetrates to the Immovable Foundation of all things, visible and invisible, and knows It to be uncreated, independent, uncompounded, beyond Mind and Speech—the inherent principle in all things and in which all things are one. To realise this is to become Buddha (Enlightened); not to realise It is to remain bound to the Wheel of Re-birth. To bring all living beings to this state of Perfect Knowledge (Buddhi), to this perception of the One Indescribable Reality, is the noble goal of the Mahayana, the "raison d'etre" of its being, the impulse of its ritual and its Art. For this reason, Tibet is covered with religious monuments, its temples filled with sacred figures, paintings and symbols: for this reason, its monks strive to attain to Buddhi through Yoga, and its peasants mutter Mantras and turn their Prayer-wheels, for this alone—that by these means all animate beings in the three worlds may develop the Buddhi-Consciousness, the state of Buddhahood, which is deliverance. All that we see in figures and symbols in every nook and corner of Tibet are devised for the service of the Buddhi, or for the destruction of the retarding power of Illusion.

Lamas before the Buddha image reflect thus:

> "All the Buddhas are the same with myself: it is only because we are self-deceived that we think otherwise: to remove the obstacles in the way of such right knowledge I now come to worship the 'precious objects' and so desire to benefit all living things."

Of the Ultimate Reality, the Immovable Foundation of all that is, nothing can be said What it is in Itself is unknowable except by and its state is Nirvana. Its aspect in the sphere of its state is Nirvana. Its aspect in the sphere of phenomena is Being-Consciousness-Bliss, and is embodied as the First Best Buddha, the Adi-Buddha whose symbols are the lightning-sceptre and the bell, power and word (Om). From this supreme Buddha-mind proceed five kinds of Wisdom, one in essence, embodied in five Celestial Buddhas, Buddhas in Heavens of pure thought. By a similar process these Dhyani Buddhas bring into being, five spiritual sons, their active agents in the regions of re-birth: and on the earth the Dhyani-Buddhas manifest as the Five Human Buddhas who turn the Wheel of Law (Dharma) and thus check the Wheel of Re-birth. Of these human Buddhas Gautama was the fourth, the earthly manifestation of the fourth Celestial Buddha Amitabha, working in active co-operation with the Spiritual Son of Amitabha, Avalokita, the Spirit of Mercy and Self-sacrifice who guides the course of this world and who is the controller of Re-birth The six syllables of Avalokita's invocation [*Om. Mani Padme. Hum*=Om. The Jewel in the Lotus. Hum). These six syllables safeguard the beings of the six regions of Re-birth, turn back the powers of evil, and open the gates of Paradise. Each syllable has its own colour, according to the state of Re-birth in which it is potent. *Om*, is white; *Ma*, blue; *Ni*, yellow; *Pad*, green; *Me*,

red; *Hum*, black. In its local sense, The Jewel in the Lotus is the *Dalai Lama* in the heart of Lamaist Church at Lhasa: in its Cosmic sense, it is the Buddha-essence immanent in all things.] are all-powerful in releasing all animate beings from the six regions of Re-birth. It is to the Paradise of Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless light that the Lama hopes to reach, for it is a Buddha-field where the Buddhi-Consciousness is perfected, where, if he so choose " the dewdrop may slip into the shining Sea ". If he choose— but, if others remain still bound to the Wheel of Re-birth ? No: the Bodhisattva ideal is otherwise. The Bliss of Buddhahood must be renounced till the dread wheel turn no more— till the full stature of the Cosmic Buddha be manifest. The Buddha-wisdom is male, the Buddha-compassion is female; and down the scale of spiritual hierarchies, (the manifold forms of the One Supreme Buddha), all are represented as aided in the work of Deliverance by female spouses or Saktis.

Out of the doctrine of deferred Buddhahood, of which the seed had been sown by Sakyamuni in renouncing his Pari-Nirvana for 40 years after his Enlightenment, grew one of the most characteristic features of modern Lamaism, that of the so-called Incarnation-Lamas. This peculiar and powerful doctrine teaches that certain Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and human saints of outstanding sanctity, have, as a matter of fact, postponed their irrevocable entry into the state of unclouded Buddha-consciousness, until such time as the deliverance of all living beings from ignorane shall have been accomplished. In the forefront stand the Spirit of Mercy, Avalokita, and his spiritual father, Amitabha, who incarnate in the bodies of the successive Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo respectively. In the same way, the Bodhisattva of Transcendent Wisdom, Manjusri, the Saint Michael of Buddhism, incarnated in the body of the great 15th century Reformer Tsong-ka-pa, and continues to do so through the Grand Lamas of the Kumbum Monastery on the borders of China, at the place where the Saint was born. So, on a less exalted level, great saints and Doctors of Religion still continue the work of deliverance in the bodies of certain Lamas not only in Tibet itself, but in Mongolia and at Pekin.

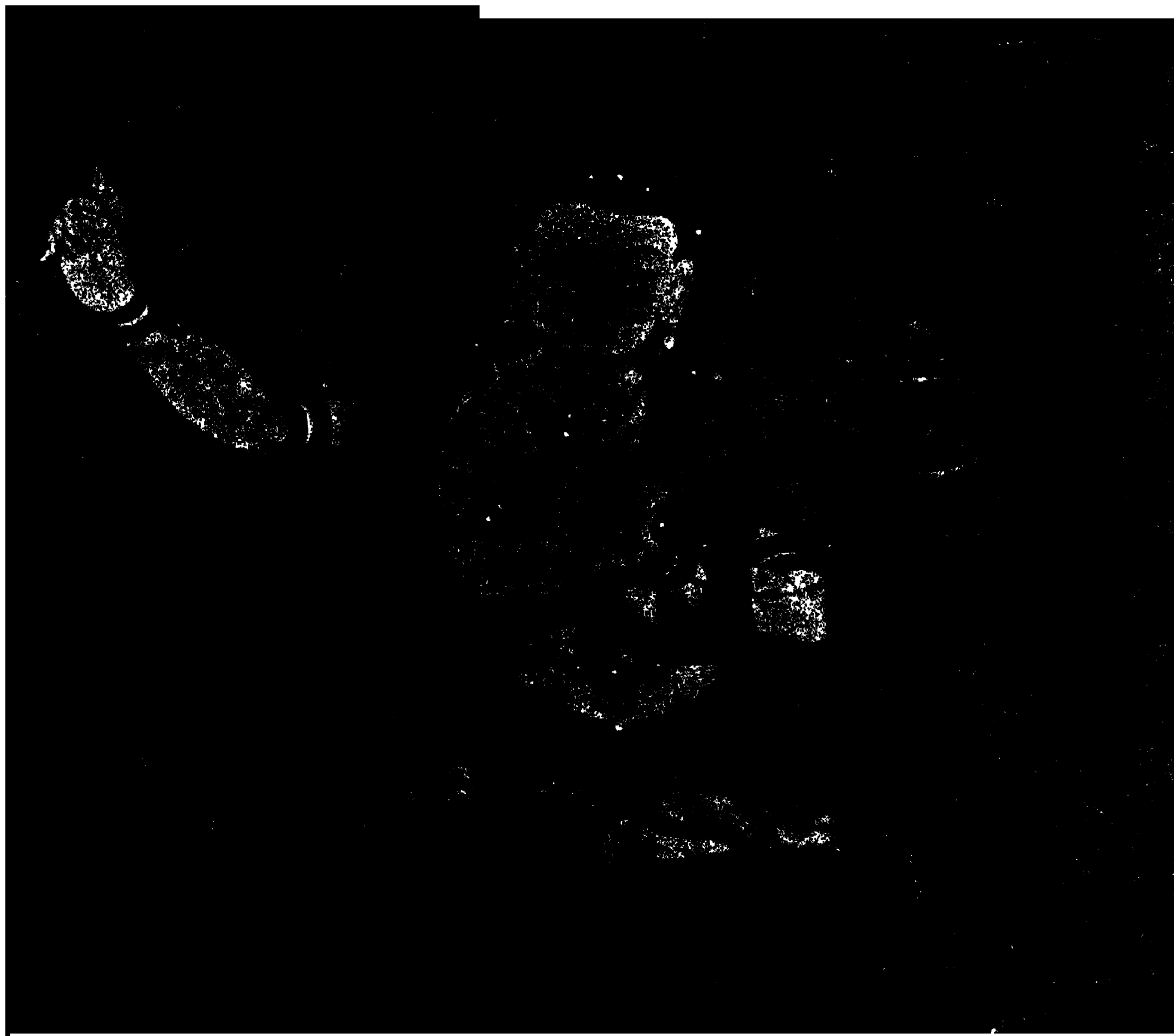
Whole-heartedly Tibet works for the coming of the Buddhi-consciousness by Image, Symbol, Prayer and Meditation; for in the Artists the Buddha-mind produces images and symbols, just as truly as it produces in the Lama engaged in spiritual contemplation (the Sadhana of Yoga) the realisation that in his own heart dwells the Jewel in its Lotus—for all is of the essence of Buddha. "*All The Buddhas Are The Same With Myself.*"

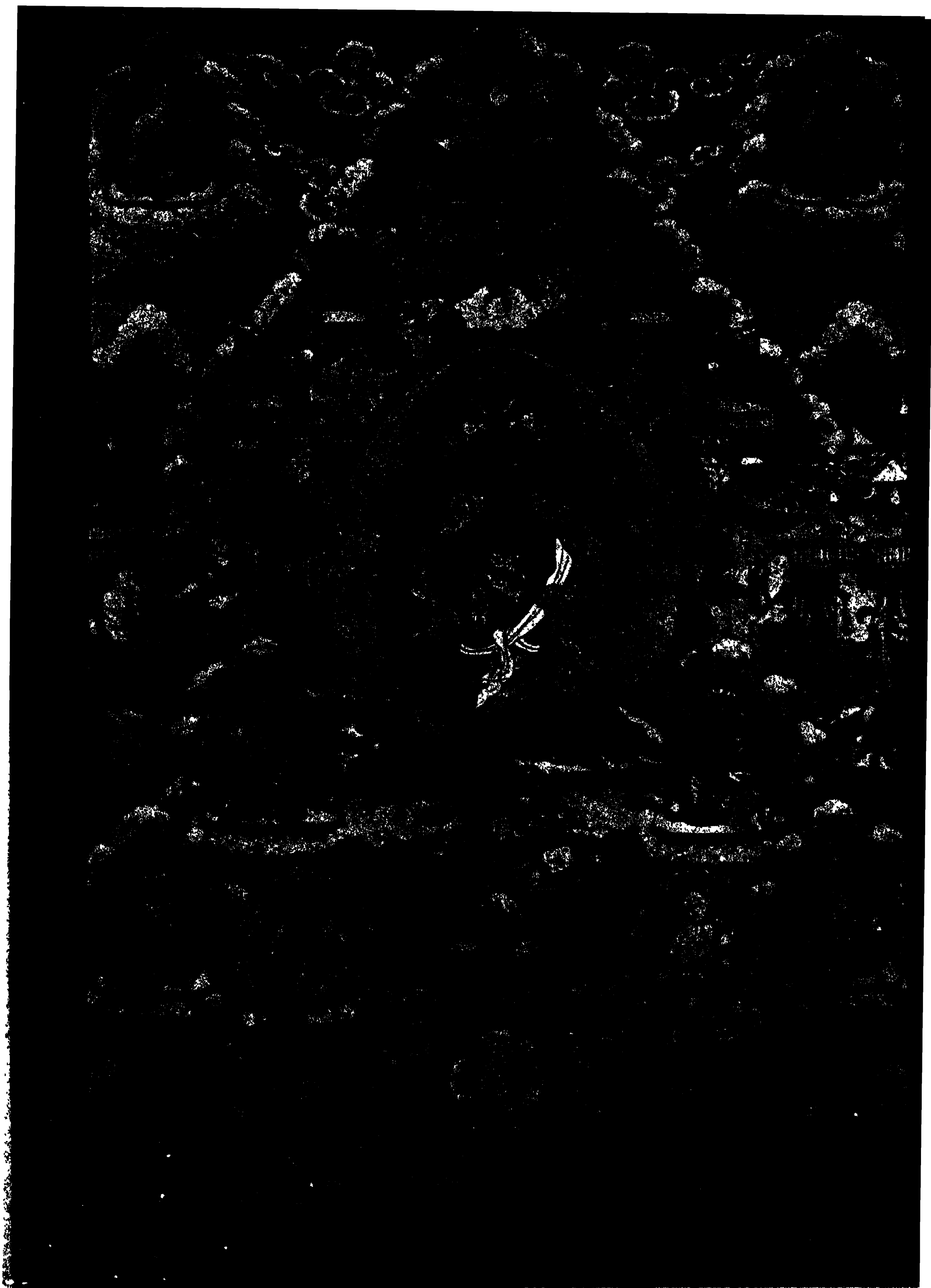
It must be evident that this highest impulse in Lamaism, this extreme of monastic Buddhism, is a very different thing from the severely practical Rule of Deliverance taught by Sakyamuni. In Lamaistic Buddhism the Saviour-idea replaces that of the self-perfected Arhat; we find Heavens of Light filled with graded hierarchies of " God's many " : a definite Solar-cult with its cognate symbolism is discernible, over against which the Powers of Darkness and Ignorance are placated with elaborate propitiatory services and gorgeous ritual. In the last analysis, these innovations may be all considered as extended methods of presenting the idea of the all-pervasive Buddha essence: and, indeed, so fundamental is this doctrine in Lamaism, that it has drawn to itself very many foreign elements from the religions of the great civilisations of Asia, whenever they could be used to advantage in the work of developing the Buddhi-consciousness. Amitabha, the Buddha of Boundless Light in his Western Paradise and the four other emanations from the Supreme Buddha, with their spiritual sons and earthly reflexes seem to suggest a Mazdean-Manichaean source: the Mithra-cult may have supplied the Saviour-Boddhisattva of Compassion, the Bull as the emblem of physical life and, possibly, the goddess Tara who has affinities with the goddess Anahita, the consort of Mithra : and from India, in the 11th century came Tantric Sakti worship, in the Kalachakra Tantra introduced by the Indian Reformer, Atisha.

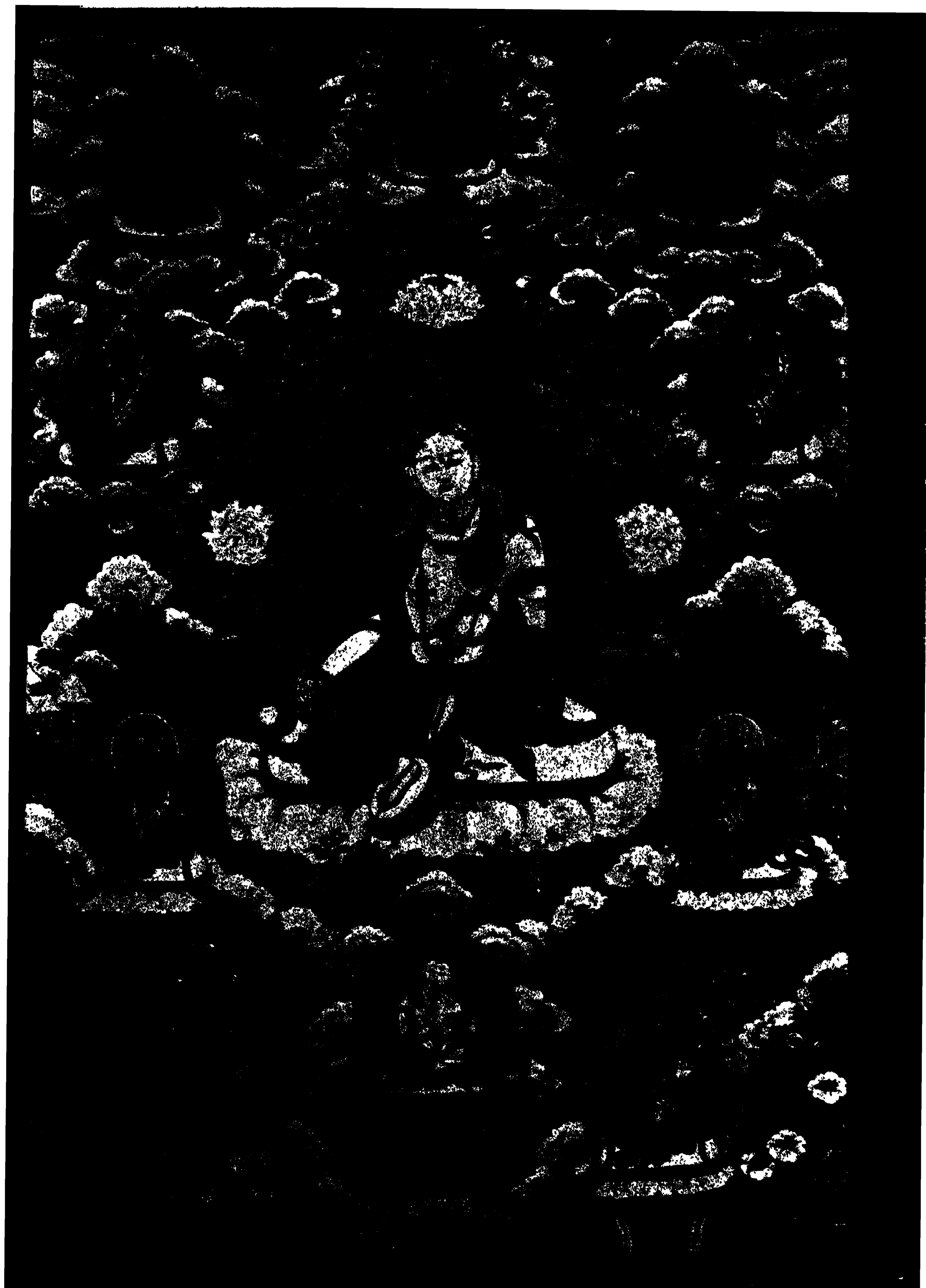
Buddhism of this composite type, sometimes termed Scythian Buddhism, had reached an advanced development in Turkestan before the 8th century, as may be seen in the frescoes and hanging pictures found at Tun-haung and other sites on the border of Tibet.

The symbolic presentment of the Supreme Reality as Truth, Power and Wisdom is thus the goal which Lamaism sets before itself in its Doctrine, Ceremonial and in its Art. The Artist's profession is one of incalculable importance for he is the instrument of Buddha. For this reason he is mostly drawn from the ranks of the Lamas, where the requisite seclusion and personal purity are to be found.

In a peacefulness which is reminiscent of that in which the European medieval monk, in his quite monastic cell, looking out upon the luxuriant stillness of his monastic garden, calligraphied his little books of seasons and enhanced them with elegant initials, florescent tendrils and little miniature pictures, often luscious in sentiment— in such peacefulness, also, those Tibetan complete











The interior of the De-pung Monastery. Note the mask dance and the orchestra

miniature-tableaux were conceived and painted. They too are the work of monastics, but monastics of the East in whose blood is the brilliance of precious stones which ignites the brain with a light that transforms the spaces of the soul to the halls of a fairy palace. There the spirit reigns, a mighty master, over worlds still very unknown.

Whoever, lay or religious, offers the work of his hands to the Buddhas in devotion acquires much merit, and great promises are held out to him. Listen to "The Rewards of Faith":

"If men build stupas in brick or clay—even if they pile up heaps of dust in mountain or forest with devotion.

If little children, as they play, make mounds of sand in honour of the Jinas (Buddhas)—all these enter into Enlightenment.

If on painted walls they set out figures of the Blessed Ones well and truly painted, or cause painters to portray them—such too become partakers of Enlightenment.

All, even boys who in sport have made images of iron or wood—or sounded cymbals and drums, or sung melodies to the Blessed Ones—all these become Buddhas in this world.

Even they who offer a single flower . . . . . or join the palms in worship but once, or make but one bow before a stupa, or cry once "Glory to the Buddha" with wandering mind—even such enter into Enlightenment."

This poem reveals the impulse by which the artist must work. It breathes the wide, compassionate spirit of the Mahayana, that mighty vessel in which all the Beings of the Three Worlds will at long last reach to that Further Shore, beyond the Wheel of Re-birth, from which there is no return. The artist is, as it were, one of the crew who help to steer that ship to the heaven were she would be.

And with regard to the purity required of the artist who would portray holy things: listen to the directions to one who would depict the Conquerer of Death, Manjusri, the Lord of Transcendental Wisdom.

"It shall now be explained exactly the manner of painting his image according to the precepts of Sri Vajrabhairava. Let some piece of cloth be taken, the (so-called) Cura-cloth or that which bears drawings of flowers or 'the cloth of the son.' The painter must be a good man, not too meditative, not given to anger, holy, wise, controlling his senses, faithful, benevolent, without avarice: he should be endowed with these virtues. The hand of such a painter is permitted to paint upon the Cura-cloth. If he desires to attain Siddhi (spiritual powers), the gift of the Cura will procure it. He must draw his model in secret, after having polished the surface of the cloth (with a stone). If, beside the Painter, a Sadhaka (that is one who uses holy objects as stimuli to Meditation),—If, beside the Painter, a Sadhaka is present, he (the artist) is free to paint; but let no worldly man see it."

To treat sacred things in a spirit of levity or indifference is to incur Bad Karma, for oneself and all beings.

Where the traditional presentment of the subject is Indian, the artist must scrupulously adhere to the prescriptions set forth in the Sastras, and little more is required of him than

to be a faithful copyist. Very often indeed, a drawing is made from a parchment, the outline of the subject being pricked through in small holes, leaving a faint outline of the subject on the cloth underneath. In this way the fidelity of the presentment to the Sastras is secured. Many stencil-sheets were found in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-haung and those date from about the 9th century. Where there is no particular convention to be followed, the treatment of both plastic and pictorial subjects is strongly Chinese, especially in the picture landscapes.

Tibetan pictures may be classified under three groups. 1, Principal figures in the Indian Buddhist style but the accessory details are Chinese; 2, the peony throne and all the foliations are purely Chinese, the figures Indian; 3, in some the two above-mentioned influences are clearly discernible, but some drawings within conform exactly to neither convention and may be best defined as Tibetan.

Another form of picture is a speciality of the Nepalese craftsmen. The framing is of gilt copper and of silver filigree; the subjects are composed of innumerable precious and semi-precious stones. The convention is purely Indian. Tibet supplies the turquoise and lapis-lazuli and other semi-precious stones for these pictures and for the jewelled figures, but the coral, pearls, amber and rubies are importations from Mongolia, Nepal and Burma.

In many figures, that which immediately strikes the eye is their 'precious" gesture. The position of arms, hands and fingers of Buddhistic gods and Lamaistic service-priests always has a symbolic meaning. A conventional, sanctified attitude of the sort is termed a "mudra" in Sanskrit.

There are many mudras. There is the mudra of meditation (Dhyana mudra): then the hands lie, one upon the other, in the lap, palm turned upwards: the mudra of discussion (Vitarka mudra), when the right hand is raised to the level of the chest, the palm forwards, while the fore-finger and thumb touch and the other fingers are slightly bent: the mudra of prayer and so many more.

In art, where the mind lives in its expression, gesture is the continuation of the visible felt thought. Once the mind has ceased to exist, the hands hold less meaning than that of a stiffened corpse.

The time of the origin of Tibetan paintings is difficult to fix, as we have not sufficient particulars at our disposal for that purpose. Most of the original paintings now available as of yore date from the fifteenth century.

We have seen how important traffic once was with India. Spiritual embassies went there and came back the wiser; enlightened Indian Pandits sojourned at the court of Tibet at the request of the kings themselves; the purchase of holy Indian scriptures was endless, to such an extent, in fact, that present-day Buddhist scholars are unanimously agreed that, to be able to penetrate entirely into Buddhistic wisdom, it would be necessary first of all to fetch the keys of enormous monastery libraries of Tibet; Sanskrit, which is still the liturgic language (annotations, although written in Tibetan characters, are nearly always in Sanskrit)—all that points decidedly to very close spiritual connection with India. But also in appearance we see the likeness between the art of those two countries, in dress, head-dress—if only in the long-stemmed lotus flower, which is quite Indian, even though it is also seen in China, but there principally only in very ancient temple-caves, such as in the case of the Bodhisattvas, in those grand, superabundant, sculptured cave-vaults in Honan, which date from the first period of Chinese Buddhism, when China kept in constant touch with India.

The most interesting expression of Tibetan religious art is the temple hanging-picture—the t'ang-ka (tang-sk" or sku-tang=picture body). The material for painting on is cotton or canvas and silk. It is stretched on a frame and thickly coated with glue and chalk-dust, or with lime-and-flour paste and the white of an egg, and then polished with the smooth end of a conch-shell. The painting is done in tempera. Stencils are used to get the outline first. Charcoal powder is dusted over the stencil and the outline thus formed is then inked over. Then the colouring begins. T'ang-kas are always bordered with strips of plain or patterned Chinese silk, and mounted on wooden rulers with brazen ends.

That the Tibetan artists are also clever in portrait painting is evident from the portrait of "A Lama". This is simply exquisite and realistic almost to perfection.

Tibetans have developed a complex iconography and I am afraid it is not possible to do justice to the subject within the space at my disposal.*

Those who have seen the originals, lost themselves in them. What inner riches all these paintings bear testimony to!

* I have dealt exhaustively about the subject-matter of this article along with Tibetan Iconography in my book (in progress), *Tibetan Art*, which would have been published by this time but for the War. It is being published from America.

Notes on Illustrations

Sakyamuni Buddha: Note the varieties of *Mudras* in the miniature Buddhas surrounding the main figure.

Manjusri: The Bodhisattva-God, holding the Book of Wisdom placed on the blue lotus, by left-hand; and wielding the Sword of Knowledge.

King Sron Tsan Gampo: In the illustration, he is seen riding on a white supernatural stallion, in full armour with helmet and crest and two lances, thus mounted in a glowing shroud of flames, his head against a flaming halo. 12 horsemen, all of them also mounted upon a white supernatural war-steed, surround him cantering.

This King first adopted Buddhism and married two Buddhist wives. It was the two favourite wives of King Sron Tsan Gampo, reigning over Tibet in the Seventh Century,—one called *Bhrikuti*, a daughter of the Nepal King, *Amsuvarman* (640 A.D.), the other *Wench'eng*, a daughter of the Chinese Emperor T'aitsung of the Tang Dynasty—who, both born and bred sincerely Buddhistic, converted their young husband—and moved him, for the weal of Tibet, to send his Prime Minister, Thonmi Sambhota and suite to India for the purpose, after studying the holy doctrine, of returning with capable Buddhist priests and the necessary holy scriptures for the conversion of the country.

Green Tara: Deified Nepalese wife of King Sron Tsan Gampo. Green because in Tibetan representations, this is the conventional colour for a swarthy complexion.

White Tara: Deified Chinese wife of King Sron Tsan Gampo.

Padma Sambhava: An Afghan wizard—brother-in-law of the great Indian monk Santa Rakshita. Arrived Tibet in 747 A.D. and founded the school of Lamaism, and is now deified. He is as celebrated in Lamaism as Buddha himself.

Atisha: Indian Buddhist monk who arrived Tibet in 1038 A.D. A profound reformer of Lamaism. Atisha's proper Indian name is Dipankara Sri-Jnana.

Dalai Lama: Died a few years back. Only the other day his incarnation was found out.

The pictures illustrating this article are from the collection of Mr. S. N. Sen

Kathmandu, Nepal.
17th July, 1941.

MY DEBT

By TANDRA DEVI

I want to settle my account,
But the Guard of Thy counting-house
Flings me out when I approach,
And I incur
More debts—more debts.

I want to settle my account
And I am crying
On the steps of Thy counting-house,
And there
The obdurate Guard
Pushes me out—
Out—to incur more debts.

Dear God! I have come
To settle my account,
But I cannot see the figures
Through tears,
And Thy Guard
Mocks
And sends me away again.

How shall I pay?
In blinding tears
I grope for the total;
The burden of it
Has made me blind.

Up again to the portal I falter;
My voice dies away;
I cannot even claim the right to enter;
I cannot find voice to call the Guard
O the burden of my debt has made me dumb.

Perhaps at last I shall pay
Unknowingly
When I fall utterly
Upon the way;
Then—dear God—
My hand maybe will find the coins
And spill them—
Unconsciously—
Into the hands of Thine Accountant.

It is Thou alone Who canst send him—
An angel to collect my debt.
Useless indeed is it for me
To stagger towards Thy counting-house!
Too strong is the Guard!
Too helpless am I!

O I want to settle my account.
Send then Thy messenger to me
Upon this dark roadside
Where I lie
Looking afar through tears
Towards Thy counting-house.

UDAY SHANKAR CULTURE CENTRE

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

Uday Shankar comes from an old Brahmin family and was born in the historic city of Udaipur. In 1917 he joined the Art School in Bombay, and in 1920 his father, the late Pandit Dr. Shyam Shankar Chowdhury, at the time Minister of Jhalawar State, sent him to London to carry on his studies in the Royal College of Arts. There he studied painting under Sir William Rothenstein and graduated with distinction, winning the Sepncer and George Clausen prizes.



Uday Shankar, the founder of the "Uday Shankar All-India Culture Centre" at Almora

His first experience of the stage was acquired when he helped his father to produce a performance in London in aid of Indian soldiers wounded in the Great War of 1914-18. He also gave musical racitals and helped his father with certain short plays which the latter had written. During this period he often danced at private entertainments for his friends and the attention of the famous Russian dancer, Anna Pavlova, was drawn to the young Indian on one of these occasions. In 1923, he was asked to join Anna Pavlova's Ballet Company and teach her the art of Indian dancing. He arranged two Hindu ballets in which he was her partner, and subsequently he accompanied her on a coast-to-coast tour of the United States.

After that Uday Shankar spent several years in Europe, slowly making a headway through a variety of experiences and difficulties. But he gradually made a name for himself as a professional dancer, and returned to India in 1929. His first solo performances in India were given in Calcutta, and were received with warm appreciation.



Simkie, Shankar's chief partner

The following year, with the help of Miss Alice Boner, a Swiss artist deeply interested in Indian art and culture, he assembled a company of Indian dancers and musicians and took them to Europe. This time his success was immediate and his future was now assured. After an extensive tour of Europe, he took his company to America. Uday Shankar and his company



Uday Shankar talking to His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallet and Lady Hallet at the Centre

have since shown their art during four different touring seasons in the principal towns throughout the United States and Canada, and have played to audiences totalling altogether more than a million persons.

Mr. Shankar now settled in India to translate his dream of life nourished for sixteen years into a living reality. In Almora he soon found a place after his heart. The natural setting of this queen of all hill-stations against the background of the eternal snows was a dream which he was long cherishing. The U. P. Government encouraged the idea and granted him for the proposed centre a spacious site of ninety-four acres of land, known as Simtola Forest, on the crest of a mountain just outside the town. In 1937-38 thanks to the substantial help received from Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Elmhirst of Dartington Hall, England, and of Miss Beatrice Straight of New York, as well as encouragement from many friends and well-wishers in Europe and America, Uday Shankar worked out a definite plan for the establishment of an All-India Culture Centre, which was inaugurated on March 3, 1940.

Purpose of the Centre

The purpose of the Uday Shankar India Culture Centre is manifold. In the first place, its aim is to train young talented dancers and musicians by a method which Uday Shankar has evolved as a result of his own studies and long experience. Secondly, it is intended that the traditional and folk forms of Indian dancing and music should be studied in the Centre in order to establish definite standards of production. By tihs means, the harmony underlying the seemingly confused state of India's dance art may be rediscovered or recreated. Through a study of the technique of dancing, drama and music, designed to reveal the inner significance behind the outer forms of expression, the Centre hopes to give a new interpretation to these arts.

Thirdly, the Centre aims at developing the ideal that an artist should study other forms of art in addition to the one in which he has chosen to specialise. A dancer would be a better dancer if his background includes music, acting and some knowledge of the graphic arts, mythology, the history of art and the rich heritage of India's spiritual teachings. It is this aspect of the Centre's courses which, it is believed, will raise the institution from a mere dance and music school to a Culture Centre in the truest sense of the term. Another purpose of the Centre is



The Maharaja of Baroda at the Centre



The girls of the Centre who are included in the tours and take a hand in teaching. The group includes Simkie, Zohra, Amala, Lakshmi

to inculcate in students the capacity to create and that successfully. The Centre does not want to produce mere imitators, but rather seeks to develop a spontaneous expression of the student's inner creative urge. Finally, it is planned to spread the message of the Centre in India and abroad, and for this object a permanent touring company is to be maintained.



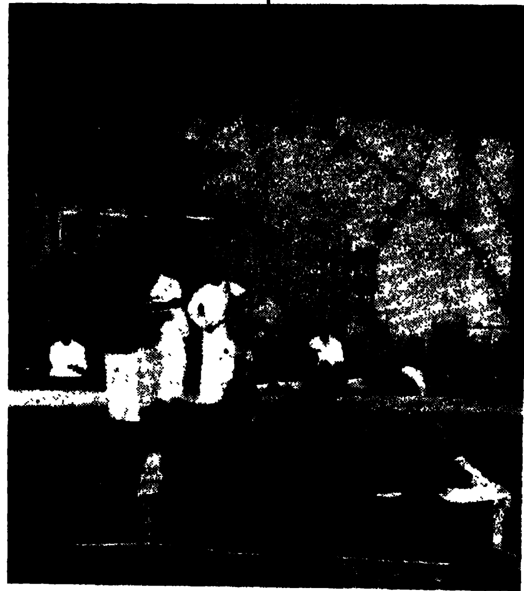
Uday Shankar, Guru Shankar Namboodri, Ustad Alauddin Khan and another teacher

During the team of 1940 many important visitors from all parts of India and abroad visited the Cehtre to see it at work. His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda and His Excellency the Governor of U. P. were the distinguished visitors. His Highness was so much impressed that he announced a recurrent grant for fixe years in appreciation of the work undertaken by the Centre. His Excellency too was very favourably impressed by the performance and the classes and made a grant of five thousand rupees to the Centre.

In the serene atmosphere of the Himalayas, where students and teachers freely mingle with one another with no artificial restrictions of race and religious belief, a new understadning will be found, which will open the eyes of the people of India to the fact that art is not only a guiding factor of life, but also a unifying one.



Vishnu Dass Shirali—the Musical Director



The main studio provides a full-sized stage



Uday Shankar with Poet Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan

The Centre has attracted students from all over India and Ceylon too. Besides dancing, the Centre has also started instruction in cognate arts like folk-song, staging, passion plays, designing costumes, painting and so on. The life in the Centre is extremely simple and shared alike by the teacher and the taught. Work is carried on there in a missionary spirit, most of the teachers getting less than Rs. 100 per month.

The Centre is situated at an altitude of 6,000 feet above sea level and commands a breathless view of the serene Himalayan snows. The climate, in spite of the altitude, is neither excessively damp in the rainy season nor unpleasantly cold in winter.



RABINDRANATH AND GANDHI

BY BIJAYA LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

"Yet only by the supernatural is a man strong."—
Emerson

A GREAT poet or a great philosopher is possessed with a puropse beyond his own. He is in the grip of a great idea. He believes that he has come into the world with a mission which is inescapable. He feels an urge, an ardour which he thinks is not his own but comes from a Higher Being. This "interior command, stronger than words" is felt by all men of genius and this realisation gives them the power to fight for an idea with a gambler's recklessness. As an egotist man is hopelessly weak but as a vehicle of a mighty idea he is formidable. Emerson rightly says in his famous essay 'The Oversoul': "The weakness of the will begins, when the individual would be something of himself." Again he says in his famous lecture 'The Young American': "Yet only by the supernatural is a man strong; nothing is so weak as an egotist." The same thought is expressed by Bernard Shaw in his *Man and Superman* through the mouth of Don Juan: "Man, who in his own selfish affairs is a coward to the backbone, will fight for an idea like a hero. He may be abject as a citizen; but he is dangerous as a fanatic." Yes, when a man imagines that he is fighting for a universal purpose, fighting for a great idea, nothing can stop him. He would struggle against great odds even when he is alone. He would welcome the frown of his enemy, look torture, prison, ridicule face to face, remain unmoved when his dearest companions desert him and mount the scaffold with perfect nonchalance.

This heroic virtue of the soul we see in the case of Mahatma Gandhi when the Congress Working Committee refused to see eye to eye with him and laid down a course of action opposed to his changeless faith in non-violence. It gave him immense pain but could not shake his faith. He remained firm like a rock in his conviction amidst an encircling gloom; but the agony of his soul he could not hide. He felt lonely like a star and in pathetic words his unhappy soul cried out; "Unhappy because my word seemed to lose the power to carry with me those whom it was my proud privilege to carry all these many years which seem like yesterday." But however lonely the path may be, a pioneer like Gandhi must travel it alone. His soul has been wedded to the ideal of non-violence and how can he forsake it? A message from the heavens whispers to him to keep aloft the flag of his faith and march on fearlessly towards the goal. And he writes: "For me non-violence is a creed. I must act up to it, whether I am alone or have companions. Since propagation of non-violence is the mission of my life, I must pursue it in all weathers." Had Gandhi been an egotist, his strength would surely have failed him. The almost inevitable tragedy was averted because he believed that he was an instrument in the hand of a Supreme Being. This faith sustain-



Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi at Santiniketan

ed him when the horizon was the darkest. He gives expression to his belief in many of his writings. Thus he writes in *Harijan* of 28. 7. 40. : "I believe that my footsteps are guided by God, and all my life is based on this belief." In his autobiography he gives voice to the same idea in these memorable words: "But in all my trials,—of a spiritual nature, as a lawyer, in conducting institutions, and in politics,—I can say that God saved me. When every hope is gone, 'when helpers fail and comforts flee,' I experience that help arrives somehow, from I know not where. Supplication, worship, prayer are no superstition; they are acts more real than the acts of eating, drinking, sitting or walking. It is no exaggeration to say that they alone are real, all else is unreal."

This faith in the existence of a God whose guiding hand he feels behind all his enterprises has been the main source of his strength and inspiration. Again and again we come across lines in Gandhiji's writtings which show unmistakably that he believes in an Oversoul which animates all his actions and has shaped all the momentous decisions of his life. Thus when he decided to fast for twenty-one days in the Yarveda jail, it was a message from above that urged him to take that decision. About that Epic Fast Gandhiji writes: "On retiring to bed the previous night I had no notion that I was going to annonuce the next morning a fast of 21 days. But in the middle of the night, a Voice woke me up and said, 'Go through a fast.' 'How many?' I asked. '21 days' was the answer."

About his famous Dundi Salt March he informs us that the decision to travel 225 miles on foot was not taken after much calculation. "But like a flash it came." Thus he writes about the historic Great March. The same thing happened when he called his countrymen to observe nation-wide Hartal on the 6th of April, 1919, as a protest against the Rowlatt Act. His duty during that crisis was clearly pointed out to him in a dream. Next morning he told C. R. about the message that came to him in his sleep. "But I dreamt about it." Thus he writes about his momentous decision to observe Hartal on the 6th of April as a protest against the Black Bill. As we minutely go through Gandhiji's writings we understand that in all great enterprises he has undertaken, in all his epoch-making plans the Saint of Sabarmati has obeyed a mighty Voice, has carried out the order of a Higher Being. And about this Higher Being he writes: "I may live without air and water but not without Him." Again he writes: "Prayer has been the saving of my life. Without it, I should have been a lunatic long ago."

* * * * * * *

"In spite of despair staring me in the face on the political horizon I have never lost my peace. That peace, I tell you, comes from prayer."

* * * * * * *

"In fact food for the body is not so necessary as prayer for the soul. Well, then I will say that this lying has a charm for me, a truth-seeker, if that mainstay or staff of life without which I could not bear to live for a moment is to be called a lie."

Thus we see that it is by the supernatural that Gandhi is strong and it is his unshakable faith in the guiding hand of a Supreme Being that enables him to bear up against all misfortunes, to brave all dangers with a smile on his face.

This kind of faith in some mysterious Being characterises Rabindranath's writings too. He calls this Being *Jivan Devata,* the Lord of his life. The consciousness that his life was a flute in the hand of a divine musician, that the Lord of his life was continually shaping his being as a potter's wheel shapes the pitcher came to him suddenly like a flash of lightning. What he felt at that supreme moment has been recorded in one of his Hibbert Lectures. There we come across the following lines: "I felt sure that some Being who comprehended me and my world was seeking his best expression in all my experiences, uniting them into an ever-widening individuality which is a spiritual work of art." Here we discover the reason why genius has been called religious by Emerson. He is the very reverse of an egotist. "The soul gives itself alone, original and pure to the Lonely, Original, and Pure, who on that condition gladly inhabits, leads, and speaks through it." This influx of the Divine mind into our mind at once raises us to a higher plane of existence. A great poet sings what he is ordered to sing by the indwelling Diety. His pen records joyfully what is dictated to him by a spirit higher than his own. In Rabindranath's poems we find again and again the joyous recognition of a Being that is continually seeking expression through the songs of the Poet, through his every experience. Thus he sings out in the fulness of his joy: "Thou hast taken me as thy partner of all this wealth. In my heart is the endless play of thy delight. In my life thy will is ever taking shape." So we find in the writings of both Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet the startling revelation that behind their great deeds

and songs is hidden a spirit higher than their own whose command they have carried out in joyful obedience. "When thou commandest me to sing it seems that my heart would break with pride, and I look to Thy face, and tears come to my eyes" (*Gitanjali*). They have let the soul have its way through them; in other words, they have obeyed and not tried to be something of themselves. This is the reason why we find both in the Poet and the Mahatma the same craving to reduce themselves to zero, so that they might be perfect instruments in the hand of God. This complete self-surrender in the hand of a Supreme Being and to do His will in every act of life is the spiritual ideal that characterises the writings of both the great men.

WHAT RABINDRANATH TAGORE HAS DONE FOR HUMANITY

By S. N. DAS GUPTA, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), D.Litt. (Rome),
Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta

It has often been said that a nation is judged by the eminence of its great men. If this be true, India, which has given birth to Rabindranath, the greatest man of the present age, can claim her due share of respect and recognition among all nations. Rabindranath is generally known to the East and to the West as a great poet, but this is so only because the great majority of his writings are still in Bengali, which practically no European knows and which is but imperfectly known by most people of other provinces of India. Rabindranath is a towering genius who discovered all the main problems of humanity and the methods of uplifting it to a higher plane. For this, he did not owe much to book-learning or the views of other great savants of different countries. He was inspired from the beginning by the illumination of his own personality, which with him signified an emotional enlightenment from within, through which one can come in direct touch with the great joy that floods the starry universe above, the grassy lawns, the forests, the trees, the bushes and the groves below—that pulsates through every living creature—that by which our soul can spontaneously discover its unity with every form of life and pre-eminently the human life. With the lamp of his personality he approached the great wisdom of India, as embodied in the Upanishads and the past heritage of our culture. The secret of all his discovery of the true meaning of our Indian culture, at its best, was his spontaneous intuition. It is through this intuition that the mysteries of nature and life revealed themselves to him in their manifold character, from the most concrete and trivial to the highest and the most abstract. His poems, written in the various epochs of his life, reveal to us the unfolding of his own personality, containing in it a revelation of the great mystery—how the infinite and the subtle, the unknowable and the unknown, have expressed themselves in the language of the finite and the concrete. His life has discovered to us how in and through our concrete experiences we are always transcending them and coming in contact with a greater submerged reality, which was upholding them.

Understanding is always hemmed in by a sense of limitation. But the spontaneous intuition of a poet, unbanded by the limitations of schematised facts, is free both as regards perspective and achievement. It is for this reason that Rabindranath's genius could not be trampled or shackled by the dead weight of the fallacious perspective, the economic egotism, greed and jealousy sugar-coated by the name of nationalism and glorified with a sense of value which it really does not possess, but which has in reality been the cause of great mischief and degeneration of the western people. During the many years that have passed before our eyes the western people, who had been to us as models of culture and civilization, of nobility of thought and high achievement, have shown their inside in its naked reality. Their rapacious animalism is now on the point of devouring the very civilization that it created. Like seers of all ages Rabindranath was not overawed by the pomp and glory of these mighty peoples. He had the courage to sound the bugle horn of "Halt." The wheels of civilization must be slowed down and people must return to their inner nests to adjudge the value of their own actions. Posterity will remember with gratefulness the words of this great prophet who could have saved the civilization from ruin and devastation, if he was obeyed and followed. In our contest with our

foreign masters, in our quarrels among our communities, in our struggle to free ourselves from the bonds or our unmeaning social traditions, in evolving a plan of our true education Rabindranath had never committed the fault of onesidedness. He was never slow and timid in criticising our own limitations, weaknesses, faults and sins. He was never unduly harsh either to other communities or to our foreign rulers. He was the man who could perceive that the real solution of all our difficulties and troubles lay in our being able to grasp in thought, action and emotion the true significance of freedom; the narrow limitation of swaraj to political and economic freedom alone held within itself its negative dialectic of destruction. The ordinary concept of freedom was not only logically untenable but it would not stand the test that freedom must always beget truth, goodness and beauty. Like all true prophets he realised the fallacy of our current political, economic, social and educational superstitions and dogmas, Eastern or Western.

To understand Rabindranath, therefore, would be to understand the significance of all obscurities, under whatever pretended and pompous names they might appear to us. To understand Rabindranath would be that we should reconstruct and revaluate from a new perspective and orientation all our current sense of values. Incidentally he has also pointed out that the supreme wisdom with which we could effect it for the regeneration, fellowship and amity of humanity is to be found in the wisdom of our great scriptures. He has thus in a way drawn the attention of presentday India to the hypnotic torpor through which it is passing through the evil and polluted suggestions of the West to the great wisdom that India had discovered for the eternal blessing of humanity, irrespective of national or cultural limitations. Yet, he was not a man of India alone. He was a great torchbearer, whose business it was to illuminate the future path of the unfortunate and weary nations of the world. To them all he showed through the burning experiences of his own intuition the true heritage of mankind, for the salvation of humanity.

If we admire him as a poet for his delicate fancies, his flights of imagination, the charm of his music of words and ideas; if we admire him as the poet who has discovered for us our own inner experiences and has clothed them with glorious apparels and raiments; if he has sounded through his poems the notes of eternal truths of love and hatred, joy and sorrow, of death and life; if he has revealed to us the true relation in which we stand with regard to Nature that is before us and with regard to the Great Master of this magic show, who weaves in one dance the seasons of the year as well as life, in its progressive and retrograde processes of decay, death and regeneration; if he has discovered for us the steps of this Great Master-musician through our thoughts and emotions, our hopes and our anxieties and through the varied changes in the external nature from season to season—he has *not* done enough for us. But unlike other poets he has been the great prophet, who has revealed to the erring humanity that friendship and love, kindness and compassion are the true secrets of true freedom and enlightenment.

Taken in all these diverse aspects, Rabindranath stands before us, as a great teacher, as a 'Guru' of humanity. He has not only fed our fancies with the luxurious rainbow of imagination but he has vitalized our thoughts and awakened its dormant powers from the torpor of inert ideas, manufactured either in the East or in the West. He has lighted our emotions, not into a conflagration of devastation but with that sweet and soothing light that emanates from cordial and friendly eyes, shaking hands with mutual sympathy, for mutual co-operation for the attainment of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

Presidential Address delivered *in absentia* at a Special literary sitting of the New Delhi Bengali Club held on the 23rd October, 1941.



ROGER FRY: AND INDIAN ART

BY O. C. GANGOLY

ROGER FRY occupied a peculiar position in the world of British Art, in the post-Victorian era. Educated at Cambridge, where he studied for the Science Tripos, he failed to obtain a Fellowship. As he has himself put it: "I am a Professor without a Tripos,—a fox without a tail." He really received his training in Art in France. He studied Painting at Julian's studio in Paris, and, throughout his life he painted with his brush, and alternately, he wrote with his pen, on Art topics, being a regular contributor to the *Athenaeum*, as its Art-Critic. As his biographer has put it, "he was not a born writer," and "compared with Symonds and Pater he was an amateur, doing his best with a medium for which he had no instinctive affection." "Criticism and odd jobs of expertise was forced upon him against his will." Driven to earn his livelihood by journalism and by lecturing,—he slowly developed into a professional critic of Art, and trained himself by frequent travels in Italy and by study of the old Italian Masters which formed the staple part of his equipment as a critic. In a letter to his father he wrote:

> "You see whatever success I have had has been the result of my Italian studies, not only in lecturing and writing, but in painting. It is there that I find the real source of my ideas and there I must go often to get them."

For some time he was in charge of the purchasing department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and acted as an expert agent in England for selecting and purchasing pictures for that Museum. He had certainly a very intimate knowledge of Italian Painting but never attained anything like the status of the great continental authorities on Italian Painting—Van Marle, Berenson, Venturi or, even, of Oswald Siren. The university twice refused him the Chair of the Slade Professor of Fine Art, which fell to his lot ultimately (1933-34). In course of his lectures in London and other cities, he developed various theories of Art, frequently abandoning one set of theories for another, and he claimed to have discovered fundamental aesthetic principles—of universal validity when applied to all forms of artistic expressions, in all parts of the world. And his Slade Lectures cover every phase of Ancient Art—Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Aegean, Negro, Aztec, Peruvian, Chinese, Indian and Greek.

He had struggled throughout his life to destroy the narrow academic views of Art, prevailing in official Art coteries in England, who refused to recognize his new point of view, but, he certainly succeeded by his dogged perseverence, in demolishing Little Englandism in Art and in liberalizing and enlarging the British outlook in the understanding of Art. As the enthusiastic champion of the Modern Movement in Art, it was through his pioneer efforts that Post-Impressionism obtained a foot-hold in England, the first Exhibition of this School having been held in London in November 1910 under his initiative, and which evoked "awful excitement." As the leader of rebels, and for his association with the New English Art Club, he has been justly given the title of the father of "Modern British Painting." Opinions must differ as to his contributions as a critic and a philosopher of Art. Some of the obituary notices are tinged with sentimental exaggeration, *e.g.*, E. M. Foster's assertion:

> "Roger Fry's death is a definite loss to civilization. There is no one now living—no one, that is to say, of his calibre—who stands exactly where he stood."

Very few people will disagree with Virginia Woolf's estimate:

> "He changed the taste of his time by his writing, altered the current of English Painting by his championship of the Post-Impressionists, and increased immesurably the love of art by his lectures." "In spite of his failings that should have made his opinion worthless, it had weight—for some reason or other, Roger Fry had influence,—more influence,—it was agreed, than any critic since Ruskin at the height of his fame"

Though not well provided with scholarly equipment and accurate knowledge of the History of Art, his chief merit as a critic lay in the fact—that he went again and again to the works of Art themselves for an intensive first-hand study,—instead of looking at them through preconceived or pre-existing theories. And though the thoeries that he evolved could not be accepted as valid for all phases of Art (*e.g.*, Chinese, and Indian),—they had, at least, the freshness and sincerity of a direct study of the pictures in the Museums and the Churches. Though his principal pre-occupations were the

masterpieces of European Painting (with Italian Painting as the pivot), his vision now and then crossed the frontiers of European Art, and obtained intimate and genuine reactions to Aztec and Negro Art, and Chinese Sculpture.

But we are not concerned, here, with his position and authority as a critic of European Art, but with his attitude towards and his estimate of Indian Art. He had, certainly, a more un-biased and sympathetic attitude towards Indian Art, than any English critic (except Laurence Biniyon), although his contact with actual masterpieces of Indian Art was not direct and was derived mostly second-hand through reproductions and photographs. At the time when the late Mr. Havell was strenuously attempting to break through the stolid British bias and the prejudices of English critics against Indian Art, Roger Fry came forward with a remarkable article on "Indian Art" in the *Quarterly Review*, pleading for an un-prejudiced and sympathetic study of the merits of Indian and Far Eastern Art and to judge their claims as original contribution to the Art of the World.

"These claims have to be met," he pleaded, "we can no longer hind behind the Elgin Marbles and refuse to look."

The article, now forgotten (but commendably reproduced by the Editor on the covers of *The Modern Review*, several years ago) was a remarkable reaction to the criticism of Mr. Kakasu Okakura, who, when shown over by Roger Fry, the masterpieces of the European Schools in the National Gallery, depreciated the whole array of European Painting as not displaying any manner of aesthetic intention. Unfortunately, the hopes that Roger Fry had raised in his *Quarterly Review* article—for a systematic study of the claims and merits of Indian Art have not been justified by his later contributions, probably because he had no opportunity to come into closer contact with Indian masterpieces,—for, in the London Museums, excepting the Mughal School, there are no representative specimens of Indian Painting or Sculpture on the basis of which an adequate study or criticism of Indian Art could be undertaken. Sporadic attempts have been made by the India Society, London, to found an adequate and representative Museum of Indian Art in England, but the innate British prejudice against Indian Culture and Civilization has systematically stood in the way of any happy *rapprochement* of Indian and English culture, or of an unbiased understanding and appreciation of the merits and qualities of Indian Art.

To return to Roger Fry, his first study of Indian Art is recorded in a summary essay of 39 pages on the *Arts of Painting and Sculpture* contributed to an omnibus volume (*An Outline of Modern Knowledge*, first published in 1931).* In this summary treatment, Indian Art occupies only two pages. Most of the remarks are vague, though sympathetic generalizations :

"There is no art more singular than the Indian. It covers a vast area and yet, though there are local and temporal modifications, the specific qualities of the style are unmistakable. It is one of the most original and self-contained arts of which we know, proceeding upon principles which distinguish it in some ways from all other known arts. . . . . . In India religious sentiment transcended the motive of the State, and the splendour of the temples was a genuine offering to the God not a means to heighten the royal prestige."

The innate temperamental racial disqualification to understand the principles of Indian Art is frankly confessed :

"Indian sensibility differs so profoundly from not only our own but almost all other sensibilities as to embarrass our judgment and check our aesthetic response."

Medieval Indian Painting is disposed of in five lines :

The Moghul school "a decorative art (?) of no great interest, but the Rajput school developed a more authentic native style, which is however mainly decorative and descriptive, with little plastic feeling and a tendency to literalism in details."

Notwithstanding an inherent English incapacity to understand the beauties of Indian Art, Roger Fry made a very valiant attempt (with very inadequate materials and apparatus at his disposal) to come into closer grip with, and to analyse and estimate the merits of Art in India. This was attempted in his *Last Lectures* (Slade Lectures, Cambridge, 1933-34)

The opening passages are rather disconcerting :

"The general aspect of almost all Indian works of Art is intensely and acutely distasteful to me. It is excessive and redundant, it shows an extravagant and exuberant fancy which seems uncontrolled by any principle of co-ordination and above all, perhaps, the quality of its rhythms displeases me by its nerveless and unctuous sinuosity. In striking contrast to Chinese Art, the sensuality of Indian Artists is exceedingly erotic—the leit-motif of much of their sculpture is taken from the more relaxed and abandoned poses of the female figure. A great deal of their art, even their religious art, is definitely pornographic."

It is impossible to expect of a critic profoundly ignorant of the religious symbolism and mysticism of the *Yaksî*, *nayikā*, and *mithuna* motifs of Indian Sculpture to understand the significance and spiritual values of Indian

* I have been unable to find out the name of the ignoramus who had recommended this unsatisfactory and scrappy essay of Roger Fry as a Text-book for M.A. Students of the Calcutta University.

aesthetic types. From the Eastern point of view, a good deal of the arrays of Greek and Greco-Roman Venuses appear to be 'pornographic,' although we know they represent Pagan Goddesses and Icons for worship. The only concession made by this great English critic to the merits of Indian Sculpture is in the from of a lukewarm compliment :

"I have had to recognize that although the Indians are almost lacking in organizing and co-ordinating power . . . . . they nonetheless are gifted to an extraordinary extent with what I should call *plastic facility*. They have a very vivid sense of natural form" (?—some critics have complained that Indian sculpture displays ignorance of the norm of human anatomy) "and are able to reproduce it with extraordinary accuracy and ease, so that the most complicated movements of the figure present no difficulties to them."

As regards lack of "sensual logic," the Temple of Ellora, according to Fry, "is exceptional in Indian Art." He justly condemns the bastard art of the Greco-Buddhist School over which English Antiquarians (Vincent Smith and others) have gone into raptures :

"Few contacts between two different arts have produced such distressing results as this between Greek and Indian." "The Mathura School of the Second Century A.D. marks a considerable step in the re-emancipation of Indian Art from this unfortunate contact with Greece. Here, a very real plastic unity is achieved and the modelling of the mask shows a delicate sensibility."

In the reliefs of the Amaravati School, "you are now and then rewarded by designs of astonishing power." The Quelling of Nalagiri Relief in the Madras Museum—"is really a proof of the astonishing aptitude of the Hindu Sculptors for plastic expression."

"It must be admitted that here (Elephanta Trimurti) perhaps as never before, nor since, has art found a form capable of giving palpable expression to an idea of supreme cosmic power and self-consciousness."

Great indeed, as this compliment is, to Indian Classical Sculpture, it does not reach the level of deep penetration and insight of Rodin's profound appreciation.

"Here again" (Kailasa at Ellora), "I think, Indian Art rises to the highest point of plastic beauty."

In the sphere of Indian Painting, Fry is of opinion that the Bagh artists showed "greater power of organization and a finer grasp of pictorial space than those of Ajanta."

In the Art of Further India, Fry finds grounds for greater admiration, particularly in the reliefs of the stupa of Borobudur :

"The Khmer Art produced as I think you will admit some of the greatest masterpieces of sculpture in the world."

According to ancient Indian traditions of aesthetic criticism, critics are classified under various designations or groups, according to their respective capacities, qualities, or powers of response, *e.g.*, *Silpa-Visarada*, (one knowing his crafts); *Vicaksana*, or *Pandita*, (connoisseur); *Rasika*, (one competent to the tasting of *rasa*, hence, a true critic); *Bhakta* (a devotee with self-abandonment in his devotion); and *Alpa-buddhi-jana* (one lacking in aesthetic sensibility).

We attempt to analyse and judge of Works of Art, but Works of Art are themselves the touch-stones by which our capacities as a judge are examined and demonstrated. "Judge not, lest ye be judged." From this point of view, Fry when judged by Indian Works of Art has failed to answer the test, and we are reluctantly compelled to relegate his capacity to judge Indian Art to the class of *alpa-buddhi-janā*.

WOMEN OF THE WORLD

An Interview with Kamala Devi

By LEELA JOG

"AMERICAN men are dull but the women are very interesting," observed Shrimati Kamaladevi in an interview given to me after her return from a world tour.

This may be an uncharitable reflection but it was the first impression created upon her mind as she stepped on the Land of the Dollar and it remained so to the last. The reason perhaps may be that the main anxiety of Adam in the New World is to make money, while Eve is not so mercenary. She has numerous interests of her own and Kamaladevi found herself in a whole world of women wherever she went, to a cinema, a lecture or a concert.

In Kamaladevi's opinion the American woman is one up to her otherwise equal European sister in this that from her childhood she is better trained in the practical side of life. She is a very efficient person indeed and less dependent upon servants. For example, suppose something goes wrong with one's typewriter. "I shall not be able to set it right even though I may be using it for twenty years," said Kamaladevi, "but an American woman will just

turn a screw here or lever there and continue her work nonchalantly." This is unfortunately true even with many of our professional typists, who so often fail to deliver our typescripts because the machine was out of order!

Marriage in America may be no more than an incident however exciting but motherhood is never an accident. "A child never comes by: The American woman decides to have it. It means a job to her." This shows that American women are not at all flighty, as we are led to believe. Their status is equal to that of men. The American wife is never taken for granted.

On her way back Kamaladevi travelled all over China and Japan and she could see for herself the part played by women of those oriental countries in the war. It is all *must* in Japan, while everything is voluntary in China. Every Japanese woman must be a member of some national organisation. Thirty-three per cent of the industrial workers in Japan are women, whose services have become indispensable to the nation. This is truly a remarkable achievement considering how lately the women in Japan have come out of their seclusion.

Unfortunately, however, all this war effort of the fair sex appears to be a pathetic exploitation, pointed out Kamaladevi. The Japanese have still kept the old delusion that woman is inferior to man and must be his slave. She may get employment in most industries and professions but she is not allowed to rise to any high position.

As compared with her Japanese sister, the Chinese woman does share equality with her brother, but it is mostly a share in ignorance and starvation due to the poor economic conditions of the country. As far as their legal status is concerned, however, the women in China are much better off than those in most western countries. This is conclusive proof of the fact that freedom for women is no foreign idea in the East. As for Indian women they stand no comparison whatever with the advanced social status of their Chinese sisters.

"The most modern thing about the women of the most modern oriental country" is their beauty parlours and hair-dressing establishments. Even a woman of the poorest class patronises those shops. It is her firm belief that a woman must look chic and charming. This seems to be a revolutionary idea borrowed from the West by an oriental country, where women are generally indifferent to the art of make-up.

And yet it is not so, assured Kamaladevi, as she referred to the "Bride School" in Japan, which is only continuation of an old, indigenous institution. The young ladies in those schools are taught music, dancing, painting and rules of etiquette.

In Japan there is a happy mixture of the old and the modern, which gives an effect of continuity to their national culture. This is seen very prominently in the Japanese theatre which is revived and improved according to present day requirements. Kamaladevi, who has made no mean contribution to the modern Indian theatre, was very much impressed by the high standard of acting in Japan. She only fears that the Fascist methods which are adopted at present in Japan may kill the national culture.

Kamaladevi's lectures were attended by huge audiences. What surprised her most was that nearly half of the press reporters present at those meetings were women, even in cities like Chungking. She wonders why Indian women do not take to journalism. Our women journalists should go abroad and root out the false impressions that are formed by interested propaganda about India in general and Indian women in particular, who are considered to be no better than dumb cattle.

Almost the first question that was asked Kamaladevi at the end of her lectures whether in America or Japan or China was "Are you an Indian?—born in India?—of Indian parents?" "And when I quietly answered *Yes*," concluded Kamaladevi with a twinkle in her eyes, "it was their turn to look dumb!"

ERRATA

The Modern Review for November, 1941: Page 414, first column, 6th line from bottom: *Read* "of the husband" *for* "of the wife."

Page 409, second column, 13th line: *Read* "prefatory" *for* "prafatory."

WHY IS INDIA POOR?

By SUSOBHAN DATTA, M.SC., P.R.S.

SOME time ago a party of American tourists on a visit to Calcutta was staying in a luxurious Chowringhee hotel. A lady walking across the arcade was shocked at the sight of naked Indian beggars seeking alms. She asked a well-dressed British journalist: "Why does not the British Government see to it that these people are clothed?" A simple question no doubt, but the insidious and insistent propaganda carried on by the agents of British imperialism to enlighten the American people about the 'benefits of British rule in India' has failed to give an answer to the simple question.

After nearly two hundred years of beneficent rule by the most materially advanced country of the West, today thousands of the native dwellers in India starve and go naked; millions are under-fed, under-nourished and underclothed. India, in spite of her rich and varied resources, is today a by-word throughout the civilised world for the poverty of her people. 'The most striking thing about India is that her soil is rich but her people are poor.' Nationalist India has been complaining for a long time about the economic ruin brought about by exploitation and drainage of the country's wealth under British rule. To this the oft repeated reply of the agents of British imperialism has been that Britain is not in any way responsible for the poverty of India's masses. They argue that the material condition and standard of living of the Indian masses were always extremely low and the condition of the peasantry during Hindu and Mahomedan rule was no better, if not worse, than what it is now. This attitude is clearly reflected in the following words of Lord Curzon.

> "It is not a stationary, a retrograde, a down-trodden or an impoverished India that I have been governing for the past five and half years. Poverty there is in abundance. . . . . Misery and destitution there are. The question is not whether they exist, but whether they are growing more or growing less. . . . . If you compare the India of today with the India of Alexander (?), of Asoka, of Akbar, or of Aurangzeb—you will find greater peace and tranquillity, more widely diffused comfort and contentment, superior justice and humanity and higher standard of well-being, than that great dependency has ever previously attained."[1]

The same meaningless argument has been repeated *ad nauseam* by British spokesmen whenever the question of India's poverty has been raised. A short time ago the British Ministry of Information published a pamphlet entitled "British Empire Publicity Campaign—Talking Points on India," issued evidently for the use of British propagandists to enlighten the American people regarding conditions prevailing in India. The pamphlet gives an idea of the 'truthful' nature of British propaganda carried on in foreign countries about India. It contains untruths and half-truths calculated to lower India in the estimation of the world and tries to convince foreigners that India's poverty, illiteracy and backwardness are due to various internal reasons for which British rule must not be held responsible. *The pamphlet admits that India is poor.* The average annual income of the Indian peasant has been estimated to be Rs. 50 per head per annum.[2] But in trying to answer the question: "Why is the Indian peasant so poor?", there is again the same old ingenious attempt to cloud the real issues by stating that "India was always a land of great poverty among the masses; the old idea of its wealth came from the splendour of the courts and the habit of hoarding gold and jewellery."

Publicists and journalists in India have exposed the falsity of many of the statements and absurd assertions contained in the pamphlet. But on the question of the economic condition of the Indian masses under British rule, most of the critics seem to have missed the real point. Attempts have been made by them to controvert the statement that the Indian masses were always extremely poor by adducing historical evidence to prove the contrary. It has also been argued that India was not poor before British occupation as our British masters want us to believe, though the distribution of wealth among the classes and the masses was not, as in other civilized countries in those days, of an ideal kind from the socialistic point of view. But once the poverty of the present-day Indian masses is admitted, much of this controversy

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1. *Lord Curzon in India*, 1898-1905. (Macmillan Colonial Library), p. 62.

2. This is an over-estimate. The National Planning Committee has calculated that the average income of a villager is Rs. 35 a year. Still Mr. Amery says, *India is Prosperous.*

regarding the comparative economic condition of modern Indian peasants and that of the middle ages becomes absolutely meaningless. Who can conceive of comparing the condition of the common people of Britain at the time of the Norman Conquest or even at the time of Queen Elizabeth with that of today ? But Lord Curzon does not hesitate to compare the India of today with the India of Alexander(!), Akbar or Asoka, and boasts that there has not been any retrogression under British rule. Our British masters conveniently forget that the world has moved a great deal since 1500 A.D. or 200 B.C. and fail to realize how foolish it is to compare conditions in the year 1940 A.D. with those in the year 1500 A.D. or 200 B.C. Nothing but confusion of thought arises from such comparison of incomparables. *Whether British rule is to be held responsible for the sad economic plight of India's masses should be judged not by comparing the income of an average Indian citizen of the twentieth century with that of an Indian citizen of the sixteenth century or of an earlier period, but by comparing the condition of an Indian citizen of today with that of a citizen in another civilized country whose potential resources are similar to those of India. Judged by this criterion, the British rulers of India will undoubtedly remain condemned before the bar of world opinion for deliberately following a policy in India which has resulted in one-fifth of the total population of the world being kept in a state of medieval backwardness and ignominious and chronic poverty.*

Following Lord Curzon if we compare the condition of the masses in England today with that at the time of the Norman invasion or even with that at a much later date before the Industrial Revolution, what do we find ? In the words of a noted English writer :[3]

> "For centuries before Hastings and for centuries after, the majority of the people living in the squalid little towns of England were miserable, half-fed and disease-ridden. . . . . . Think of the Black Death of 1348 or of the Great Plague as late as 1665. What glorious breeding grounds for the invading germs ! The wonder of it is, not that millions of people died but that any at all survived. Diseases of the worst kind were rife for centuries : plague, cholera, leprosy, typhus, small-pox and many another, and at such times the credulity of the people was astonishing, exorcisms, incantations and charms being remedies frequently administered and greedily accepted.
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> Infant mortality was amazing. Dean Colet (d. 1519) was the only one of twenty-three children to reach maturity. Queen Anne (d. 1714) had seventeen children, and all save one died in infancy, the one surviving to the age of twelve."

3. *The Endless Quest* by F. W. Westaway. Blackie & Son Ltd., 1934, p. 874-878.

The condition prevailing in India in those days were not probably worse than this. But whereas in India even in the twentieth century conditions have remained very much the same and the masses have been kept in the same state of medieval backwardness, wonderful progress has been achieved in England and the material condition of her people has changed beyond recognition in the course of the last two hundred years. The Industrial Revolution was in full swing in England during this period and those who were in charge of her government took steps for the fullest development of her power and mineral resources, and other industries. After the last Great War, her government, determined to raise the country's material prosperity to the highest pitch and to maintain her pre-eminent position in industry made still more concentrated efforts to raise her industrial efficiency by harnessing her scientific men to the task of industrial research. The Dapartment of Scientific and Industrial Research and a large number of research organisations, such as, Food Investigation Board, Fuel Research Board, Coal Utilization Research Association, Industrial Research Council of the British Iron and Steel Federation, etc., were set up. At the same time her Government did not allow her ruling plutocracy to swell by exploitation of her masses. By passing various social legislations, like the Insurance Act, the Education Act, the Public Health Act, etc., her government has aimed at more even distribution of wealth and has tried to bring up the material condition of the masses to the best modern standards. The masses in England today are far happier, better educated and better placed in life than the average Englishmen of medieval times. England's greatness in various spheres such as literature, science, and industry, is in no small measure due to the enlightened policy followed by her Government.

Turning to India what do we find ? The country is still in the same state of medieval backwardness, and, judge her by whatever index you like, she lags far behind even countries like Japan or Turkey, whose natural resources are much inferior to those of India. The average income of the Indian citizen today is about Rs. 5/- per month; more than 90 per cent of her people are illiterates; famines and epidemics are of constant occurrence. Infant-mortality figures are still amazingly high and the average expectation of life is abnormally low in comparison with that in other civilized countries. Social legislations aiming at amelioration of the distressed condition of the masses are practically unknown. The masses are under-fed and under-nourished and enjoy sacrcely any of the

amenities of civilized life. The root cause of all these ills is the crushing poverty of the people and these cannot be remedied until and unless the problem of India's poverty is solved by increasing the productive capacity of the country. *The average Indian today is many times poorer than the average American or Britisher because the output of work per head in India is much less than that in America or Great Britain. The capacity of a country to produce wealth, can be quantitatively measured in terms of output of work, for 'wealth in the last analysis is merely the result of work done by men and machines.'* The following table will give an idea of the small amount of work output and the consequent low capacity of Indians for producing wealth in comparison with the people of other civilized countries.

TABLE I

DAILY OUTPUT OF WORK DERIVED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES (1929)[4]

(Millions of Horse Power Hour)

Country	Human	Coal	Petroleum	Water	Total Output	Population (Mill.)	Daily Output per capita
U.S.A.	40	1001	481	121	1643	122·8	13·38
Canada	33	55	17·6	59	134·9	10·35	13·03
G. Britain	15	270	28·3	4	317·3	47·71	6·65
Germany	21	333	9·5	13	376·5	62·34	6·04
Sweden	2	7·5	1·9	16	27·4	6·12	4·48
France	14	127	12·3	24	177·3	40·74	4·35
Australia	2·1	10	10	..	22·1	6·43	3·44
S. Africa	2·3	16	1·8	..	59·7	30·84	1·94
Japan	21	52	7	30	110	62·94	1·75
Italy	14	23	4·6	27	68·6	41·17	1·67
Spain	7·6	13	1·8	8	30·4	22·75	1·34
Mexico	5·5	1·5	9·5	4	20·5	16·40	1.25
Russia	53	56	35	4	148	158·50	0·93
Brazil	13	3·4	3·0	·6	25·4	40·27	0·63
India	106	34	8	3	151	318·88	0·47
China	133	43	4·13	..	180·13	400·80	0·45

India stands at the bottom of the list, taking precedence only over China. In the most advanced countries, the output of work per head per year is 15 to 25 times greater than that in India. Such large outputs of work cannot be derived from human or animal muscles but has been made possible, as would be evident from the above table, by utilization of mineral resources like coal and oil and by harnessing of water power. In India, even today, manual labour mostly supplies the working power of the population, as in the case of primitive peoples. This will also be evident from the following comparative figures (Table II) showing the consumption of electricity and coal in England, Japan and India.

TABLE II

ANNUAL PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF ELECTRICITY AND COAL (1936)

	England	Japan	India
Electricity (in KWH units) ..	450	340	8
Coal (in tons) ..	4·93	·7	·06

To raise the standard of living of the masses in India to the level of other civilized countries her work output must be substantially increased. This will be possible only if her power resources are developed and utilized to the fullest extent. Up till now, due to absence of any progressive state policy this has been done very inadequately.[5]

Today India's basic industry is agriculture and there is a wrong notion in certain quarters that improvement of agricultural methods by the application of modern scientific knowledge will solve the problem of India's poverty. It is from this erroneous idea that the cry "Back to land" is often raised. Even if the land in India were used to the fullest advantage the produce would not be more than is necessary to raise the level of living above the barest margin of subsistence. The problem of India's poverty cannot be solved merely by growing more paddy and potatoes. Improvement in agriculture is necessary, but that alone will not do; there must be simultaneous development of manufacturing industries resulting in a fundamental change in the distribution of occupation among the workers of India. The following tables (Tables III & IV) indicate the lack of balance between manufacturing industries and agriculture in India as compared with some of the progressive countries.

TABLE III

ANNUAL PER CAPITA INCOME FROM INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE (1933)[6]

Country	From Industries	From Agriculture	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
U. S. A. ..	830	219	1,049
Canada ..	544	307	851
United Kingdom ..	463	68	531
Germany ..	289	111	400
Sweden ..	384	129	513
Japan ..	167	67	234
India ..	12	59	71

4. From the *American Economic Review*, March, 1933, p. 58.

5. As for example, Sir M. Visvesvaraya estimates that only 2% of India's available water-power resources have been developed.

6. From a note submitted before the National Planning Committee by Sir M. Visvesvaraya.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION[7]

Country	Agriculture Fishing Forestry	Industry Handcrafts Mining	Commerce Shipping Transport	Public Service profession	Household work & various	Total
U. S. A. (1930)	22·0	30·9	21·1	8·5	17·5	100·0
Canada (1931)	31·2	26·6	23·4	9·1	9·7	"
Eng. & Wales (1931)	5·6	46·2	26·9	10·9	10·4	"
Germany (1933)	28·9	40·4	18·4	8·4	3·9	"
Sweden (1930)	35·6	31·7	17·5	6·3	8·9	"
France (1926)	38·3	33·2	17·1	7·4	4·0	"
Japan (1930)	50·4	18·9	19·1	6·9	4·7	"
India (1931)	67·2	10·2	6·7	2·6	13·3	"

Among civilized nations only a part of the income of the people is spent on food and the rest on other amenities. In the U. S. A. which is a very rich and practically self-sufficient country, only about 30 p.c. of the income of the people is spent on food, so that not more than 30 p.c. of the population have to be engaged in producing the food requirements and the rest follow other occupations. India cannot at present dream of reaching the standard of U. S. A. *But if India is to attain national self-sufficiency to any appreciable extent and if her people, in addition to being fed properly, are to enjoy the minimum amenities of civilized existence, the present bad balance between industries and agriculture must be redressed by transferring a vast number of her agricultural people to industrial occupations so that in place of the present 70 per cent not more than 50 per cent of the people may be engaged in agriculture. The question naturally arises: Does India possess sufficient resources in raw materials and in power, to bring about this transformation? According to competent authorities India is rich in resources, in power and raw materials which are essential for building up modern industries. The only thing lacking is the willingness on the part of the Government of India to follow a sound policy of industrial expansion in the country.*

It must not be assumed that the necessity of following such a sound policy of economic development was at any time not known to the British rulers of India. More than half a century ago, after the terrible famine of 1877, the Government of India appointed a Famine Commission to enquire into the causes and consequences of famines in India. Among the principal recommendations of the Commission were the following:

(*i*) In treating of the improvement of agriculture . . . . . the more scientific methods of Europe may be brought into practical operation in India by the help of specially trained experts, and the same general system may be applied with success both to the actual operations of agriculture and to the preparation of the market of the raw agricultural staples of the country. There does not appear any reason why action of this sort should stop at agricultural produce and should not be extended to the manufactures which India now produces on a small scale or in a crude form, and which with some improvement might be expected to find enlarged sales, or could take the place of similar articles now imported from foreign countries.

(*ii*) The Government might further often afford valuable and legitimate assistance to private persons desiring to embark in a new local industry, or to develop or improve one already existing, by obtaining needful information from other countries or skilled workmen or supervision and at the outset supply such aid at the public cost.

Even sixty years ago it was clearly recognised that the problem of India's poverty could not be solved by improvement in agriculture alone, but a simultaneous development of industries was equally necessary. But in spite of the findings of the Indian Famine Commission or the popular clamour raised from the platforms of the Indian National Congress since 1888 and of the Indian Industrial Conference which met for a number of years since 1905 as an adjunct of the Indian National Congress, for the encouragement of Indian Industries, the Government of India did not show the least eagerness to promote industrialization in the country. Long after, under the impact of the last Great War of 1914, the Government of India was awakened to the utter helplessness of the country and her dependence on foreign countries for the supply of the barest necessities of life. The Government felt the necessity for the change in its industrial policy and wrote to the Secretary of State for India as follows:

"After the War, India will consider herself entitled to demand the utmost help which her Government can afford to enable her to take her place, so far as circumstances permit, as a manufacturing country."

In pursuance of this recommendation the Indian Industrial Commission was set up in 1916 with Sir Thomas Holland as Chairman and including among its members notable Indians like Sir R. N. Mookerji, Sir Dorabji Tata and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The Commission formulated a comprehensive

7. Taken from the *World's Economic Future*—Halley Stewart Lectures, 1937 (George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London), p. 100. The figures for India are taken from *Statesman's Year Book*, 1938, p. 114.

scheme for State co-operation in industrial advance and also pointed out that the power resources of India should be developed to the fullest extent if India were to have her industries developed. A subsidiary committee was formed under the Chairmanship of Professor Thorpe to consider the scheme of State co-operation in the development of heavy chemical industries recommended by the Indian Industrial Commission. But what was the fate of the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and of its subsidiary Committees? The Government of India did nothing to develop the natural resources of India to make her industrially self-sufficient, nor gave effect to the recommendations of the Commission aiming at technical improvement of existing industries and rendering them assistance in other ways. The net result was the birth of a new bureaucratic department—the Imperial Department of Industries, which was sometime later replaced by a Department of Industries and Labour. The people of India are not aware what these Departments of Industries have done to promote any of the major industries in India.

The lessons of the last Great War were totally lost to the Government of India, though all other countries began to think of self-sufficiency in the production and supply of essential commodities necessary in times of peace and war. Even in Great Britain and Germany, which were already industrially well-developed, concentrated efforts were made by their governments to mobilise the available scientific and industrial talents to devise further plans for development and to give effect to them. Their governments liberally backed up these various programmes of industrial research. Countries like Sweden and Switzerland, which prior to the last war depended on imported coal to serve as fuel for their power supply, made great efforts to develop all their power resources and to reduce their dependence on imported foreign materials as far as possible. The greatest effort was made in Russia, which before the war was somewhat like present-day India,—a country of farmers exploited by landlords and princes. Like India the country had vast possibilities, both agricultural and industrial, and her new government achieved within a few years thorough industrialisation of the country leading to the development of her land and mines and production of all essential materials in the country by her own experts.

India, however, has remained very much in the same position in which she was before the outbreak of the last Great War. In spite of pious intentions expressed from time to time by her Government, her power resources have not been developed and no step has been taken for planned industrial development or for mobilising the scientific and industrial talents of the country for industrial research on a comprehensive scale, which is an essential pre-requisite to industrial development.[8] Even important industries like the ship-building industry or automobile industry, recently started in India by private enterprise, have not met with any encouragement from the Government of India and have not been given recognition as part of the war effort. That the attitude of the Government of India towards the develpoment of shipping industry has been more of hindrance than of help will be evident from the following statement of Mr. Walchand Hirachand, Chairman of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company:

> "It is a matter of deepest despair for India that those who are struggling to establish a ship-building yard in India and build ships therein are called upon to fulfil impossible conditions, many of which are beyond their control. . . ."

Even at such perilous times when President Roosevelt makes the remark: "The present rate of Nazi sinking of merchant ships is more than three times as high as the capacity of British ship-yards to replace them," the agents of the British Government in India do not see their way to recognise the ship-building enterprise in India as a war effort and to effectively support it. It seems Britain wants India's part in the war effort to be mainly to provide raw materials and foodstuff. There is really a suspicion in the minds of India's leaders of commerce and industry that our British masters want 'India to be the granary of the British Empire and Australia and Canada to be her arsenals.'

Indian leaders from Dadabhai Naoroji to Mahatma Gandhi have emphasised the 'economic ruin' of India brought about by long continued exploitation and drainage of her

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8. In 1940, a Board of Scientific and Industrial Research under the Chairmanship of the Commerce member of the Government of India was set up as a war-time measure. Its activities will be mainly to concentrate on finding out ways and means of manufacturing those materials which are required for military and certain civil purposes and the supply of which might be cut off on account of the war. According to Government *communiques* the Board will act purely as a consultative body and the officers working under the Board will be recruited by the Government departments. The amount sanctioned by the Government for the working of the Board and the administrative machinery set up fall far below the expectations of the public and the needs of the country. It would yet be premature to judge how far the Board will be able to promote industrial research in India or serve as an agency for the industrialisation of the country.

wealth under British rule. This is not denied. But the other cause which is responsible in a far greater measure—in any case to a very great extent, for the poverty and backwardness of the Indian people has not received the attention which it deserves from the Indian leaders and critics of the British Government. It has not been sufficiently emphasised that *India's poverty and medieval backwardness is predominantly, or at least very greatly due to the unwillingness of the Government of India to follow a sound policy of development of her natural resources in power, mineral and agricultural products, and to take up a well-planned scheme of industrial expansion by employing the latest methods of science and technology.*[9] Britain has nothing to say when she is asked: "How is it that in spite of her vast potential resources and her long connection with the most materially advanced country of the West, India is even today incapable of producing the barest minimum requirements for civilized existence of her people?" Britain cannot really answer, for she has no answer to give to the American lady's question: "Why does not the British Government see to it that these people are clothed?"

9. Readers interested to know more about the activity or rather the inactivity of the Government of India in developing the power resources and promoting the industrial development of the country may refer to the following articles published in *Science and Culture*: (1) *Technical Assistance to Indian Industry* by the Government of India," Vol. IV (1938), p. 147. (2) *The War Comes*, Vol. V (1939), p. 265.

UDAY SHANKAR INDIA CULTURE CENTRE

The U. P. Governor's Appreciation

During my visit to Almora this year I have once again had the great pleasure of seeing performances at the Uday Shankar Culture Centre. We saw a story from the Ramayana depicted as a shadow play. This was first presented to the public during the Durga Puja celebrations in the open air last September and a great crowd of over 10,000 persons gathered from all over India assembled in the huge natural amphitheatre to witness this performance; I have no doubt that in future years many more thousands will pilgrimage to Almora to see this great religious spectacle. I may say without exaggeration that it is one of the most wonderful performances which I have ever seen and I feel it cannot but be highly appreciated by all who see it.

Unfortunately for financial reasons, this great Centre of Indian culture has no permanent home; it lives only in rented houses. In this age of war when we are fighting to prevent culture in its best sense being swept from the world by the victory of the Nazi power, our efforts must be directed to winning that victory. But we must at the same time do all that we can to encourage culture, which after all is a fundamental part of religion, and here in India we must see that the rising generation is not brought up in a purely utilitarian atmosphere. I was much interested to walk over the area of forest and hill land which the late Government of the United Provinces wisely gave to him for the establishment of his Centre. It is an ideal situation, high above the town of Almora, with magnificent views extending to the great snow-clad mountains of the Himalayas, Nanda Devi, Trisul, etc. No more suitable natural site for a centre of culture could be found. Some cynics, especially those who view everything from the utilitarian point of view, might regard him as a dreamer or a visionary. But dreamers and visionaries have done much, possibly more than commercial magnates, to give happiness to the world. And if Uday Shankar's dreams are fulfilled, he will succeed in giving happiness to India; India should support this Culture Centre and India will, I feel sure, support it. If I can do anything, however little, to help in the permanent establishment of this Centre, I shall feel that I have done something for India.

Governor's Camp,
United Provinces,
October 29, 1941

(Signed) M. G. Hallett
Governor,
United Provinces.

PROVINCIALISM : ITS CAUSES AND REMEDIES

By PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, B.A.,
Lucknow

PROVINCIALISM is a burning question of the day. And for a long time to come it will remain so. It has provoked widespread interest, and the intelligentsia of the country is trying to offer a solution. It is, therefore, only proper that just at this moment when it is expected that a new constitution should be framed for India, we should analyse the causes and suggest remedies for provincialism.

The question is not so much political as economic. The rapid growth of population during the last thirty years has changed inter-provincial relations in a remarkable way. In 1911 the population of India was 315 millions, in 1921, 319 millions : in 1931, 352 millions and in 1941 we are about 400 millions. Formerly land alone could support the entire population. But land supports population always on a much lower standard of life than industry. As population increased and as people aspired for a higher standard of living (which was the result of Western education) land, which is subject to the Law of Diminishing Returns, failed to support the population in the same manner as before. This was followed by specialisation in trade and industry. And a large section of the population moved to commercial and industrial areas and provinces with commercial possibilities. In this movement of the population, non-provincial elements became very strong in certain provinces. This has created provincial jealousy everywhere.

Now we come to another cause of provincialism. It is the rapid growth of education. Formerly the number of educated people was very small. But now-a-days every province can supply its services and posts with its own men. This has led almost every province to reserve its services for its own inhabitants, without any regard to the fact that it leads to the appointment of incompetent or comparatively less competent men in many cases. Anyhow, this has intensified provincial jealousy.

In this growing provincialism it seems that the communities that have always relied on services and employments and ignored trade and industry, are the hardest hit. As provincialism grows more acute, services are reserved for men of the respective provinces concerned; but business, trade and industry are open. There is no restriction there. Hence, such people as have taken up trade and industry are the least sufferers, whereas such people as have made services their main occupation are everywhere in difficulties. Moreover, there is another main difference. When a non-provincial man retires from a post, the province can appoint a provincial in his place and thus rectify its previous mistake (if it is prone to think it a mistake at all). So there is complete control over employments. But when a business-man retires, the province has no control over him, for he makes over his business to his sons or relatives. Therefore, the communities that live on trade and industry exploit one, many or most of the Indian provinces without the fear of being driven out of any one province, whereas the communities that took up services as their chief occupation are gradually eliminated from the services of provinces other than their own after a generation or two and may have to return to their own province to find that in their own province those people are making their living that drove them out from their own provinces. This makes for friction and intensifies provincialism.

Next, provincialism is intensified by want of tact and lack of good manners. And bad tact and bad manners are always reciprocated and thus go on increasing and also increase provincialism. The non-Bengalis in Bengal have never agreed to accept the Bengali language. Whether in tram-cars or buses it is not the Bengali language that they speak. And the Bengali gentleman will speak in broken Hindi which he understands as much as the man to whom it is addressed. Similarly in the U.P. our Hindustani friends have a grievance, and an honest one, so far as we can see, that the Bengali settlers have never accepted their language, though very many among them can speak it, and what is worse, when they speak in a mixed company of Hindustani and Bengali friends, the Bengalis speak in their own language. This is improper and causes real grievance and annoyance. We do not know about other provinces, but we are afraid things may be as bad elsewhere.

Here we shall discuss rather a delicate

question. When a people or community settles in the midst of another, should it or should it not completely forget its own culture and merge itself in the bigger community? Opinion will surely differ on such a controversial question. The extremists will say that a community must forget its own language and culture if it proposes to settle in another province. But, we should think that unless a community contributes something culturally to the province of its domicile it does not justify its existence there. So the best thing is, so far as we can see, that a community should not forget its own culture simply because it settles in another province. But it should also assimilate the culture of the province of its domicile, and should never make a parade of its own culture and language and should not try to assert it as against the culture of the province of its domicile. It should always be the option of the vast majority of the original inhabitants of a province to accept or not to accept the culture of a community that chooses to settle in their territory.

Next, we find that Provincial Autonomy has intensified provincialism. Sir T. B. Sapru in his memorandum to the Joint Parliamentary Committee stated:

"To create autonomous provinces with responsible Government functioning in them, and to link them up to a centre which is to continue to be responsible to British Parliament, will only tend to frustrate the object of those who believe in the necessity of a strong centre, and may seriously lead to the breaking up of that unity of India, which it has taken more than a century to build up. Autonomous provinces may, and probably will prove too strong for an unreformed centre. An arrangement of this character will, it is apprehended, promote friction instead of co-operation, between provinces and provinces and between provinces on one side, and the centre on the other."

His apprehensions, we are afraid, have come true. Autonomous provinces can realise their unity only under an autonomous centre. But Provincial Autonomy first created responsible provincial consciousness without creating the consciousness of responsible central unity. Thus provincial consciousness grew up at the cost of central unity. Provincialism was encouraged (although it is just possible though not probable, that it was done without any motive) and side by side the check on it, which is responsible central unity, was not provided for in the constitution.

So much about the causes of provincialism. Now we shall discuss the remedies.

There can be no check, we are afraid, to the economic causes of provincialism. Economic forces cannot be and should not be checked. There should be no restriction about trade and industry. But whereas trade and industry cannot be checked, they can be and should be taxed heavily to the benefit of the respective provinces concerned. This will relieve much of the ill-feeling that a province may have about the people of other provinces, who make their fortunes in it without settling in it, and send, spend and hoard most of their earnings elsewehere. Besides, it will bring about a better distribution of wealth, which is highly desirable.

Next, we come to another cure, which it is not at all difficult to effect and which it is only so very desirable to do. We have already referred to bad manners as a vital cause of provincial ill-feeling. Tact and good manners must improve on all sides. Eevery domiciled community in every province should improve its manners. It must learn the language of the province and use it more freely whenever there is a mixed company. It must enter more fully into the social and communal life of the province, as formerly it used to do. Education of a liberal character is, we hope, one of the few things that will bring round the happy inter-provincial relations that used to be the rule sometime back but is unfortunately no more. Every province should have the good sense to patronise the culture and language of other provinces along with its own. For the greatest benefit that is desirable from inter-provincial relations is cultural fusion. But this does not mean that a province must sacrifice its own language and culture. That must never be the case. It must retain its own individuality and still assimilate a number of other diversified culture. This will bring about the happiest and most spontaneous growth. Here we are reminded of what Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji once suggested as a remedy of the communal problem, namely, "Central unity" with "cultural autonomy." This indeed is the very best solution. And we can apply this expert advice in the sphere of inter-provincial relations.

Next, we want that the future constitution must rectify the mistake of the previous one. Provinces must on no account be autonomous unless the centre is autonomous first. We have already considered this point in detail.

Another remedy for provincialism is to do away with the segregation into "martial" and "non-martial" races. It has led to much resentment and ill-feeling. Moreover, this classification has particularly reserved the army, which is an all-India career, exclusively to people of a limited number of groups. It has thus restricted competition and has caused economic disdicontent among the so called "non-martial"

races. Thus, the removal of this classification will put an end to two-fold causes of inter-provincial discontent.

It is often thought in Bengal that since every other province is anti-Bengali, therefore, the Bengalis are humiliated everywhere. It may or may not be true. For the humiliation which the Bengalis suffer outside Bengal, we should suppose the political situation in Bengal to be primarily responsible. No people can retain its respect outside its own territory if inside it they are not in a very respectable position. The Bengalis outside Bengal are the Bengali Hindus and they have a poor status in Bengal. So how can they command respect? Hence it was a blunder on our part not to have accepted a coalition government in Bengal. This blunder should not be repeated. A coalition government will considerably improve the position of Bengalis outside Bengal. And this will remove much ground for provincial ill-feeling. Here we are reminded of another reason which has lowered the Bengalis outside Bengal—namely, internal quarrels among prominent leaders in Bengal, *e.g.*, Subhas Bose's quarrels with the late J. M. Sen Gupta, or the incessant quarrels between the two most prominent newspapers of Bengal that are supposed to be the mouthpiece of the province. Whether one party is right or another party is wrong is immaterial for our purposes. What matters is that it has detracted from the respect which Bengalis expect outside Bengal, which has encouraged ill-treatment of them. And this has led to provincial ill-feeling. This must be cured.

The next greatest cure of provincialism lies in provincial re-groupings on a linguistic basis. The present grouping is very unsatisfactory and is a potent cause of provincialism. The Bengali-speaking districts of Bihar have been a constant source of trouble. This kind of peculiar grouping should be done away with.

Next, we come to another cause of provincial ill-feeling. Domicile laws are not the same in all the provinces. Thus some provinces are at an advantage over the rest. This defect should be removed. All provinces must have uniform domicile laws. This will put all the provinces on the same plane and remove ill-feeling.

The cure of provincialism has something to do with the question of minorities. In every province now-a-days there is a certain portion of foreign, that is, non-provincial population, which is the minority. The proportion of this minority to the original inhabitants of a province has increased in almost every province during the past decades. This has also intensified provincialism. Formerly, say fifty years back, when the minorities were not as large and when railway travelling was not as popular as in our time, the minorities would merge in the bigger society of the original inhabitants of the province of their domicile. Thus, there could not be any question of provincialism in those days. But in our days things are different. Since the minorities are sufficiently big and since railway travelling is very popular, they organize themselves and keep up all connections with their original homelands and thus cannot merge themselves completely in the people of the province of their domicile. This causes friction and then the minorities are looked at as traitors and they are refused admittance in the body politic of the province of their domicile. Now, it is bad both for the minorities and the original inhabitants of a province thus to increase the difference that already separates them. For one thing is certain, that the minorities cannot remain as a group by themselves. They must identify themselves with a larger group—either they must keep connections with the people of their original province or they must identify themselves with the people of the province of their domicile. If they are refused admittance in the body politic of the latter province, then they will naturally look to their original province. And this will only create and strengthen opposition in every province. Hence the minorities should identify themselves with the province of their domicile and the original inhabitants of every province should make this identification possible. And in it lies the happiest solution of provincialism.

Lastly, we shall expect the educated classes throughout the country to give all attention to the problem that they should. Provincial feelings are so bitter at present that no *casus belli* is missed by some political leaders. They have used their remarkable talents to point out all supposed and imaginary grievances along with real ones. The only people who can handle such a delicate situation are the educated classes. Prof. Amaranatha Jha's endeavour in this respect is very creditable. He is an outstanding personality in Northern India. As Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University he holds an eminent place among the educationists of the country. His interesting article in *The Modern Review* (April, 1941) and his sympathy for the Bengali language, is, or at any rate should be, to other senior educationists glorious examples. It is not very necessary that the literature of a province must be preached and taught by the people of that province alone. Far more effective and sensible will be the scheme under which

every province will be interested in the literature of every other province.

The long and the short of it is that the situation is already bad. And it shall grow worse if it is allowed to. If even now it is not taken up in all seriousness, striking when the iron has already become cold will be of no avail. The intelligentsia must give undivided attention to this question, for upon a happy inter-provincial relation depends the feasibility of a greater achievement—namely, the proposed 'Federation of India.'

DIPAVALI

By BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

> "Heap cassia, sandal-buds, and stripes
> Of labdanum, and aloe-balls
> Smeared with dull nard an Indian wipes
> From out her hair."
>
> Browning. *Paracelsus*

1

Ages ago, as old books tell,
A demon did in Prajyotisha dwell,
Who cast his leering profligate eyes
On the daughters of men, and the goods of the skies.

2

The fairest of daughters, of gods, and of men,
He lured, and locked in his loathsome den,
Patâlâ, beneath the storm-tossed main—
They never saw the light of day again.

3

Then all the gods of earth, and sky,
With buckler, and armour, and sword on thigh—
"Narakasura shall not live another day,"
They said, and marched to the dread affray.

4

"Too long we have suffered his cunning wiles,
Lulled by the craft of his winsome smiles;
And now he has stolen, by infamous frauds,
Aditi's ear-rings, the mother of the gods."

5

But armour, and buckler, and sword of steel,
Failed to lay Narakasura by the heel.
They appealed then to Krishna of pitying eye,
And Krishna to Vishnu, lord of the sky.

6

But Vishnu did ponder, and hesitate—
"What is there down in the Book of Fate?"
"Evil deeds more than the sands of the seas,
But likewise much penance, and austerities."

7

"Stay now your hand," said Vishnu then,
"Merit still counts in the world of men."
Then Krishna laid down his fateful bow,
And let Narakasura scatheless go.

8

But Vishnu the all-seeing god of the sky
Marked his deeds, as the days went by—
"Weigh now his merits" then Vishnu said,
"If they kick the beam, let him pay with his head."

9

"Sixteen thousand, fairest of the fair,
In dark Patâlâ lie prisoned there."
"Grant him one wish, before he die,"
Said Vishnu to Krishna of pitying eye.

10

Then the downcast Narakasura said,
"One boon I crave, ere I be with the dead:
Let this day be a feast day eternally."
"Be it so," said Krishna of pitying eye.

11

And then, with one stroke of his puissant blade,
Narakasura's head in the dust was laid.
And straightway the daughters of gods, and men,
Were freed from Patâlâ's darksome den.

12

The fourteenth day of the dark fortnight
Of Kârtik ended that deadly fight,
Ages ago, as old books say—
That day is Diwali—and still today

13

All pious Hindoos rise from their bed,
With sweet-scented oils anoint their head,
And bathe in the soul-cleansing Ganga's flood—
But the nameless streamlet is just as good.

14

Lakshmi now takes the reins in her hand,
And the pious housewife, by her command,
Makes, of fourteen different herbs, a dish,
Succulent, and sweet, as heart may wish,

15

Symbolical of endless Ananta's thread,
With the watchful Fates interpenetrated,
With fourteen knots for the fourteen days
Of the waning moon, and her lessening rays.

16

Fourteen lamps, when the evening comes,
Are lit inside, and around their homes.
No image of Lakshmi adorns the place,
But a gold coin placed in the inmost space,

17

With suppliant flowerage interlaced,
And gilded with unctuous sandal paste.
The Vaishya now strikes his balance sheet,
And lays it at Lakshmi's symbolled feet.

18

Arrives now the hour of peaceful night.
Houses, and streets, are flooded with light
Of a myriad lamplets artistically,
Inviting the gaze of the passer-by.

19

Now children, who all should have long been asleep,
With ringing laughter, glad vigils keep,
With crackers, and squibs, and fiery sprites—
They are Lakshmi's especial favourites.

20

For Lakshmi, the bountiful goddess of wealth,
Rides on her viewless van by stealth.
No house will she enter upon that night,
But only those where the lamps burn bright.

21

The old gods die; and death is a birth;
And new gods people the sky and earth.
Ceres not lives, nor her peacocks bright
Draw Juno's car in her skyey flight,
But Lakshmi still lives, and reigns, on Diwali night.

NOTE

There are several versions of the Dipavali (row of lamps) 'festival of lights.' I have selected the one generally accepted by Oriental scholars.

With regard to the metre of this poem, every line, whatever its length, has only four 'beats' or 'stresses.' The sound length of every line is the same, except the last, which is an 'alexandrine.'

The Diwali season commences on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight of Kârtik (October-November). The fourteenth day is named Narak Chaturdashi, and commemorates the victory of Krishna over the demon Narakasura. This legend finds place in the Kalika Purana, and other sacred books of the East. The Vedas embody the earliest efforts of the Aryan mind, or of that branch of the Aryan race which emigrated to India, to formulate a consistent system of the universe. They are extremely subjective in parts, but mainly objective in outlook, being a personification of the elements, and forces of Nature—anthropomorphism. Parts of them are entirely metaphysical, known as the Vedanta philosophy—the end of the Vedas—'anta' meaning end. 'Ananta's thread,' a phrase appearing in this poem, means the endless thread—anta=end—an-anta=without end. The Upanishads are a compendium of Hindu philosophy, representing, according to Max Muller, the highest stage of speculation to which the human mind has attained. The Puranas, of which there are several, are a later production, embodying a vast collection of legends and myths, and folklore, which constitute the staple of later Sanscrit literature—epic, dramatic, and lighter works intended for the grasp of the popular mind. But behind all the fantastic, and often grotesque, imagery of tht legends and myths there is a metaphysical background, from which all the ceremonial and practical counterpart of these abstract ideas are worked out, wth a fatal logic, to all the details of the conduct of life, the daily round of every Hindu, whether he devoutly bows to the image of Ganesha, or applies his mind to the contemplation of these metaphysical abstractions. For the whole life of every Hindu, be he Brahmin, or Kshatrya, or Vaisyā, or Sudra, is guided and dominated by his religion—'Hinduism.'

"Religion is ever present to a Hindu's mind. It colours all his ideas. It runs through every fibre of his being. It is the very Alpha and Omega of his whole earthly career. He is born religious, and dies religious. He is religious in his eating and drinking, in his sleeping and waking, in his dressing and undressing, in his rising up and sitting down, in his work and amusement. Nay, religion attends him in antenatal ceremonies long before his birth, and follows him in endless offerings for the good of his soul long after death." (Sir Monier Williams: *Religious Life and Thought in India*).

According to the legendary history of India Narakasura (Narak=Hell, Hades. Asura=demon) was a fearful demon dwelling in Prajyotisha, supposed now to be the western part of modern Assam. The demon was profligate in the extreme, and, not content with smaller fry, at last carried off the ear-rings of Aditi, the mother of the gods. Aditi has her counterpart in Cybele, Berecynthia, and so on, in the mythology of the Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, all of whom seem to have borrowed from the ancient Aryans of India. The gods thereupon declared war on Narakasura, but being unequal to the combat, they appealed to Vishnu for help. Krishna, the Indian counterpart of Hercules, Theseus, and other classical heroes, slew the demon, and recovered the stolen jewels.

According to another version of the same legend, the women of both the worlds appealed to Vishnu (Apollo, Phoebus, the Sun, Mithra, etc.) to destroy the demon, and vindicate the honour of womanhood. But Narakasura, notwithstanding his profligacy, had, as is not uncommon in such characters, some grains of piety in his soul, and by penance and austerities had accumulated a store of spiritual merit, so that even Vishnu was not able to do him harm. But, at last, when Narakasura's evil deeds outweighed the good, Vishnu ordered Krishna to allow the demon one boon only at the moment of death, and then to slay him. The boon the demon craved was that the day of his death should ever after be observed as a day of feasting. "Be it so," said Krishna, and then slew him. Forthwith all the damsels he had kidnapped, and imprisoned in Patâlâ (Hell) were liberated.

By later accretions Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of wealth, came to be associated with the observances of the Diwali festival, and has now become the central figure. Her 'vahan' is the owl, not the hoot-owl, but the screech-owl. Sarasvati is the Hindu goddess of wisdom, as Minerva (the grey-eyed Athene) was of the Greeks. Both Sarasvati and Lakshmi are the daughters of Durga, the warrior goddess, whose 'vahan' is the lion. The lotus flower and conch shell are the distinctive symbols of Lakshmi; the 'vina,' or harp, the symbol of Sarasvati. The owl was the bird sacred to Minerva also.

On Diwali night Lakshmi is said to go about on her 'vahan' (Anglicized—van), and to bless only those houses that are illuminated, however humbly, as a token of the pious intention of the inmates.

Diwali is one of the cleanest, the brightest, and most picturesque of the festivals of the Hindu Calendar. In the present writer's opinion *Til Sankrant* takes the first place.

WHAT RABINDRANATH TAGORE WROTE IN MOSCOW ON HIS PICTURES

THE language of sound is a tiny drop in the silence of the infinite. The universe has its eternal language of gesture, it talks in the voice of pictures and dance. Every object in this world proclaims in the dumb signal of lines and colours the fact that it is not a mere logical abstraction or a mere thing of use, but it is unique in itself, it carries the miracle of its existence.

But there are countless things whom we know but do not recognise in the fact that they *exist* though we may have to acknowledge them as facts that are injurious or beneficial. It is enough for me that a flower exists as a flower, but my cigarette has no other claim upon me for its recognition but as being useful for my smoking habit.

But there are other things which have certain rhythm or character in their forms which makes us acknowledge the fact that they *are*. In the book of creation they are the sentences that are underlined with coloured pencil and we cannot pass them by. They seem to cry out, "See, here I am," and our mind bows its head and never questions, "Why are you."

In a picture the artist creates the language of undoubted reality, and we are satisfied that we *see*. It may not be the representation of a beautiful woman but that of a commonplace donkey, or of something that has no credential of truth in nature but only in its own artistic significance.

People often ask me about the meaning of my pictures. I remain silent even as my pictures are. It is for them to express themselves and not to explain. They have nothing ulterior to their own appearance, and if that appearance carries its ultimate worth then they remain, otherwise they are rejected and forgotten even though they may have some scientific truth or ethical justification.

Sept. 15, Moscow
1930

TAXATION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME IN BENGAL: ITS PROS AND CONS

BY BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE Government of Bengal has recently published a Bill for taxing agricultural income in Bengal. The proposal was in the air from some time past and it has as such not been a surprise to the public. In fact taxation of agricultural income is not an entirely new thing even in Bengal. The first Income Tax Act of 1860 did not exempt agricultural income from taxation, nor was such exemption granted when the certificate tax was converted into a general income tax in 1869-70. But when the Income Tax was introduced permanently later on, agricultural income was not taxed in Bengal because of certain historical reasons and has enjoyed exemption ever since. The Taxation Enquiry Committee after examining this problem came to the conclusion that:

"There is ample justification for the proposal that incomes from agriculture should be taken into account for the purpose of determining the rate at which the tax on the other income of the same person should be assessed, if it should prove administratively feasible and practically worthwhile."

Still some doubted the legality of such a measure but all such doubts have finally been set at rest by the Government of India Act 1935, which has definitely given the provincial governments authority to impose such a tax by mentioning 'taxes on agricultural income' as a distinct item in the provincial legislative list. The Governments of Bihar and Assam have already introduced such a tax after the inauguration of provincial autonomy. It is therefore only natural that the Government of Bengal—and specially this Government of Bengal, always smarting under the pain of budget deficits and hence in perpetual quest for new taxes, would hardly let go this opportunity of adding a new and substantial tax to its already long list of taxes. The Bill therefore is not surprising in itself. But the Bill is certainly surprising in its present context.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PROPOSAL

We have already referred to the findings of the Taxation Enquiry Committee, which though convinced of its desirability did not however unequivocally recommend its introduction. Since then the problem has been examined by the Land Revenue Commission and also by Mr. Gurner, the special officer appointed to examine the recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission. The majority of the Land Revenue Commission felt that the defects of the Permanent Settlement are so fundamental that nothing short of its total abolition can solve these complex problems. The majority therefore advocated the abolition not only of the Permanent Settlement but also of the whole zemindari system and pleaded for bringing

"the actual cultivators into the position of tenants holding directly under Government by acquiring the interests of all classes of rent receivers."

But the Commission also recommended an agricultural income tax chiefly as a transitional measure. It has been remarked in para 134-137 of the Report that:

"We desire to point out that on the basis of the present two-party settlement operations, it would not be possible to carry out a scheme of State acquisition in less than 30 years. The suggestions which we may make for improving economic conditions should not be postponed for so long a period, and in order to put them into operation it will be necessary to raise additional revenue. . . . . We should prefer an agricultural income tax, to be imposed as a transitional measure until the scheme of State acquisition is effected, or as a permanent measure, if Government consider that State acquisition should not be undertaken for financial and other reasons. *We are strongly of opinion that if agricultural income tax is imposed, it should be applied solely for the improvement of agriculture or with projects connected with agricultural improvement.*" (Italics ours).

Mr. Gurner, while examining the recommendations of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission, felt that if assurance could be given that along with the levy of an agricultural income tax Government would give effect as part and parcel of the same reform to the recommendations for greater facility in collection of rents, opposition would be largely disarmed. He however remarked that (a) if the tax is intended to be only a preliminary to compulsory purchase, it would have two very definite advantages to the State, *viz.*, even if the financial returns are relatively small the establishment of the principle would be of value in itself; and the landholder's own returns for the purpose of assessment of income tax would go a long way

to dispelling any exaggerated ideas as to the actual net loss which would be caused to them by compulsory purchase. But Mr. Gurner has kindly warned that the principle of applying the proceeds of the tax solely to agricultural improvement may not be adhered to in the long run, for,

"as is already the case, it might be difficult in practice to give effect to the application of the tax to these special purposes."

THE BILL: ITS PROVISIONS

This being the background of the Bill, it was naturally expected that any such Bill cannot in these circumstances but be a part and parcel of wide reforms undertaken as a result of the findings and recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission. Curiously enough the Government has scrupulously avoided committing itself to any particular line of action on this issue and Government statements both in the Assembly and the Council at the time of discussion of the Report are masterpieces of equivocation. This Bill again has been framed not as a measure of reform of the existing land system but because

"additional revenue is urgently needed to meet the expanding needs of the Province, and because the Government consider that it is equitable to impose such a tax."

With these objects in view, it has been provided that a tax would be levied on agricultural income arising from lands situated in Bengal the rates being slightly less steeply graded than those existing under the Indian Income Tax Act 1922, though the exemption limit is the same as under that Act, *i.e.*, Rs. 2000 per annum, and there is no super-tax. There is also the usual distinction between individuals and companies regarding the rates, for while the rates have been graduated in the case of every individual, Hindu undivided family or Ruler of an Indian State, the companies and associations have been taxed at a flat rate of two annas and six pies in the rupee.

The Bill by its definition of agricultural income seeks to tax three types of income, *viz.*, (*i*) agricultural income from land (*ii*) agricultural income from buildings and (*iii*) mixed income which is partially agricultural income and partially income chargeable under the Indian Income Tax Act under the head "business." Agricultural income from land includes all income derived from land by agriculture or by the performance by a cultivator or receiver of rent-in-kind of any process ordinarily employed by a cultivator or receiver of rent-in-kind to render the produce raised or received by him fit to be taken to market or the sale by a cultivator or receiver of rent-in-kind of the produce raised or received by him in respect of which no process has been performed other than a process of the nature described above. Agricultural income from buildings has been defined as any income derived from any building owned and occupied by the receiver of the rent or revenue of any such land with respect to which or the produce of which any operation mentioned above is carried on, provided of course such building is on or in the immediate vicinity of the land, and is a building which the receiver of the rent or revenue or the cultivator or the receiver of the rent-in-kind by reason of his connection with the land, requires as a dwelling house, or as a storehouse or other out-building. To this must be added all income derived from any rent or revenue derived from land which is used for agricultural purposes and is either assessed to land revenue in British India or subject to a local rate assessed and collected by officers of the Crown as such. Finally, exemption has been granted to all endowments made for charitable and religious purposes such as Debutter and Wakf properties. The assessable income in the case of land means all income under this head less any sums paid in the previous year on account of land revenue or rent or any local rate or cess (including Education cess) in respect of such land; the amount of interest paid in the previous year in respect of any mortgage or charge; certain allowances in respect of depreciation of, or current repairs to any irrigation or protective work or any other capital asset other than a building; any sum paid in the previous year as premium in order to effect any insurance against loss of or damage to such land or any crops to be raised or cattle to be reared thereon; and fifteen per cent of total amount of rent or revenue received necessary for maintaining administration. Almost similar allowances have also been made in the case of income from buildings. The Bill, thus, is intended to cover a large number of agricultural interests including the cultivator and the receiver of rent-in-kind on the one hand and the land-lords and all rent-receivers on the other as also a large number of agricultural operations beginning from cultivation and marketing and going upto rent-receiving and revenue-collecting.

SOME CONNECTED ISSUES

It is therefore little difficult to anticipate the real motive behind this curious measure.

Published at a time when the Bill cannot but be taken in conjunction with recent discussion on the subject, it however makes no open reference to these reports and recommendations but is supposed to be mainly a revenue measure. Thus besides other more technical questions the following general issues, amongst others must arise in this connection :

(*i*) Is this measure a part of any large scale reform under contemplation or is it an isolated measure ?

(*ii*) If it is not an isolated measure, (*a*) what is the nature of the reforms that the Government contemplates to undertake ? (*b*) Can this measure serve the purpose of the Land Revenue Commission, which in suggesting this as a temporary measure, explicitly mentioned that such a measure may be adopted only because the suggestions made for improving the economic conditions cannot be postponed for 30 years—a period deemed necessary for the liquidation of the zemindari system ? (*c*) Is this in any way meant for abruptly reducing the profit of the zemindars and thus artificially reducing the total amount of compensation if and when paid in any scheme of State acquisition ?

(*iii*) If it is an isolated measure, *i.e.*, an alternate to State acquisition of zemindaries, (*a*) Will this Bill satisfy the conditions laid down by the Land Revenue Commission that the proceeds of the tax should be applied wholly to agricultural improvement ? (*b*) Is this measure more in the nature of a political patchwork rather than a thorough reform framed, as Mr. Gurner thought, for disarming the opposition that this measure is likely to meet ? In what way can it be an alternative to a thorough-going scheme of land reform ?

The Bill—an Unacceptable Measure

The Bill in this way is thoroughly an unacceptable measure. Any critical examination of the main features of the Bill would clearly reveal that the Bill seeks to do more harm than good to the larger interests of the country. For the Bill is if it is not anything else a very clever mixture of opportunism, reaction and self-interest—an unholy combination in which bigger problems and wider interests of the country can hardly have any place. The Government has, while maintaining studied silence on the vital questions, thrown this as a sop to the cerebrus of public opinion. It has taken this cue out of the recommendations of the Land Revenue Commission no doubt, but this pose of radicalism (it is however not radical enough even for a pose) will not help the Government for long. The Bill in fact has been conceived in the narrowest of spirits; it is only a tax without its benefits, for, had the Government any real intention of benefiting the agriculturists, it would not have hastened to omit the limitations suggested by the Commission regarding the use of the proceeds of the tax. It is thus opportunistic in character because it seeks to exploit public feeling merely to raise additional money to be gambled away on the whims of the ministry. It is a measure prompted by self-interest because it may not only save the face of the ministry by reducing, if not by completely meeting, the huge budget deficit that is likely to occur but it would also satisfy the members of the coalition party—really no tenants but small landholders always at conflict with the bigger ones by penalising the big zemindars in particular without any benefit to the peasantry. Reaction in fact cannot go further. Times has certainly come to prick this bubble of ministerial hypocrisy. It is for the public to demand with all possible determination that this game of putting a cloak—though a very thin cloak—of radicalism on really reactionary measures has got to stop now. We should not therefore be satisfied with this piece-meal measure but compel the Government to take up the fundamental problems that demand immediate solution. "The duty of the Government in these circumstances," the present writer had occasion to observe in his evidence before the Land Revenue Commission,* "should be not to aggravate this tendency of individualist exploitation, but make a drive towards collective economy." The Bill, if made law, would without doubt aggravate this tendency of individualist exploitation thus deepening the crisis and making the solution of our fundamental problems more distant and more difficult.

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* *Vide* Vol. IV of the Report as also B. C. Sinha : *A Changing World and other Essays* (Prakashani).

THE PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL*

By Principal P. G. BRIDGE

The Dean of Durham who was Headmaster of some of the leading Public Schools in England for many years in *Things Ancient and Modern* observes that "most people feel that schoolmasters have had a great many opportunities of telling them what they ought to think when they were young and they see no reason why the process should be continued in later years." This observation would justify the publication of a book on Education by one who has not been a Headmaster and would condemn this present study as coming from one who has been in charge of a College for many a summer. In spite of this observation, which the Dean himself does not pay heed to, since he proceeds to write on Education and to extoll the Public School system, I go forward to write this analysis of this fresh criticism of our Educational system.

The book falls logically into two parts, though the author prefers four parts, a critical view of the past and a forward look to the future, the reconstruction of the Educational system so as to fulfil its part in the general remodelling of the New Age. The critical examination of the past has been attempted before. Criticism, some well-informed, others blinded by prejudices, are not lacking. Indeed one has grown weary of listening to platitudes condemning the whole system of Education. We need badly not Jeremiahs who just lament and shed copious tears over the present but Josuahs who will lead us out of the chaos and the captivity of the present into a glorious New Land. Bengal can count the critics of its educational institutions by the thousand but how few have come forward with new experiments, new models, to break down the monotony of our present educational system. Ideals, whether educational or moral or artistic, usually make their avatars and become incarnate, taking form and shape in individuals rather than in groups and in associations. And individuals, in becoming conscious of such incarnation, struggle and exert themselves to make the ideal real. We are in need of such incarnations not only in Bengal but in the whole world. We need leaders who will give their life-blood to a new school, to a new College and then pointing their finger to their sacrificial adventures they would be entitled to say follow me. Of commissions and of surveys we have had a surfeit. If this new publication on Problems of Education helps kindle zeal and fervour in some noble soul to show us the way out of the tyranny of curriculums and syllabuses, it would have rendered invaluable service to the Bengal of to-morrow.

The author breaks many a lance with the Secondary Education Bill. This has become a political issue and I refrain from passing comments on it. The legislators should be able to settle the issue to the best advantage of the country.

The constructive part of the book deserves careful study and consideration. It is indeed, as far as I am concerned, the part that matters. All who is really interested in youth will admit the great fascination of the scholastic profession. Academic life offers golden opportunities to the teacher and the pupil for mutual reactions and impacts. Personal contacts are the salt of life. And whenever there are free and spontaneous interactions of personalities something, which is of value to both, happens. This intercourse and impact may be rendered difficult by inadequate organization, and a faulty system of Education may ever hinder it. No teacher, however, who is interested in his vocation, can fail to find occasions for friendly communications with his young comrades. The author laments, as thousands of others do, that contacts between the teacher and the pupils are extremely difficult owing to the large numbers that overcrowd our institutions. The eyes of all are raised to the hills of Writer's Buildings for higher grants and more generous support to education. But what the millionaries of Calcutta are doing? Where is private initiative and enterprise? Then again pupils in Calcutta schools and Colleges spend large sums of money in supplementing the faulty teaching received there. Early in the morning and late in the evening tutors dart from pupil to pupil to coach them and to prepare them for the work which will not be done in the class room. It seems to have become an accepted dogma that no student can possibily succeed in his examination unless he gets a tutor. I have heard parents bemoaning the fact that, on account of their inability to engage a tutor, their son cannot be expected to do well in the examination. Private enterprise, support from the wealthy and a much higher scale of fees in the case of parents who spend a good deal in tutors would help to solve the present overcrowding of schools and Colleges.

Longing for a return of the good old days when pious Rishis, and scholarly Gurus gathered around themselves a handful of men and lived with them in intimate and friendly intercourse, will not help us much in the solution of educational problems in a democratic age. The educational mentors of Europe do not turn their eyes for their inspiration to the narrow and limited surroundings of the medievel school. This did flourish and prosper to an astonishing degree under the shade of the Cathedrals. It produced great scholars and savants. This is, however, a democratic age and the concern of democracy is not so much to produce scholars as to educate the masses. The Rishis in India and the priests in the medieval Cathedral fulfilled their mission creditably. In our age we require millions of Rishis and priests to mould the character of our youth and how difficult it is to produce a genuine article en masse! Herein lies the fundamental problems of democratic education. How to devise machinery to transform ordinary human mortals with their ambitions and their passions into real genuine rishis and priests, gurus and schoolmasters, in sufficient numbers, to staff our educational institutions with millions of students and pupils! Such problem has not been attempted by any human organization before. Plato and Aristotle still fascinate us and their ideals on education are still beacons of brightness leading us in a sea of darkness. But Plato and Aristotle were concerned only with the education of the gentleman-citizen. The foreigners, the parishes, the masses were to carry on in the cave of ignorance and unreality. Extremely few of them succeeded in reaching the coveted summit of citizenship.

The magnitude of the problem of Education in a modern democrtaic state should never be lost sight of

* *The Problems of Education in Bengal* by B. C. Sinha, Calcutta. Thacker Spink & Co., 1941.

in a realistic appreciation of our educational troubles. Cognate with this, and logically resultant from it, is the vagueness of our educational ideals. What are we aiming at? What is the ideal of education? Plato and Aristotle, and the leaders of education in the small Greek States of the past, did not lack a clear apprehension of Educational aims. Their philosophy of life and their conception of the Universe supplied them a ready-made methodology. But alas! today we have lost our guiding star, and in consequence the little ship of human endeavour is tossed to and fro in uncharted seas. We lack, a great writer says, sense of direction. The words—purpose, ideal, aim, have become empty words. "The great affair is to move," Stevenson assures us.

Should we, then, wonder, that educational aims, and in consequence, educational organization, currilums and syllabus, are concerned with the immediate present? Since the ideals of life are so nebulous why should the youth be annoyed with a consideration of their influence in their future happiness. And as the problem of *living well* becomes more shadowy another problem, that of earning a *living*, has become more pressing almost crashing beneath its titanic weight the hopes of the youth of the world. "The outlook of youth has been narrowed, doors have been sealed, channels have silted up, there is less choice of route at the cross roads. This specially applies to the middle class. For the great class the world has become more rigid than I remember it. A young man seems to me to have fewer avenues open to him and fewer chances in these avenues." (J. B. in his *Autobiography. Memory Hold-the-Door*). How true these words sound about the condition of our youth in India! One thing seems certain; pious condemnations of an undisciplined desire for a degree, for passing University Examinations or of any other examinations, will be like crying in the wilderness. In their struggle for living, the youth of the world will utilise any avenues which offers him even the slightest opportunities for success. Careerism may be an unworthy aspiration for a worthy soul. But when there is nothing else left to the young man, a career will naturally fill up the vacuum. The gentleman-citizen of Plato and Aristotle did not trouble himself with the cares of this world. Had he not multitudes of slaves and mechanics to provide him with all the necessities of life? He could devote himself to the lofty occupations of philosophical contemplation and to rule the state. He was serving the city by ruling it. This was his function, his sacred calling, and all his education was directed to this purpose, to prepare himself to rule like a gentleman.

In a modern democratic state the steel frame of primitive societies has collapsed. Today we are all potential rulers and all have to be trained to rule: We are all philosophers and we all have to be trained for philosophical contemplation. But we must all be producers also, field labourers, agriculturists and merchants and what not. What kind of education can the modern democratic age devise to fit each citizen for every thing, for ruling and for obeying, for earning and for spending, for producing and for consuming. Here is the tragic impotence of the modern state. Perhaps the problem is too big and too large for human endeavour and we, puny human beings, go on just struggling.

Mr. Sinha rightly emphasises the importance of religion in education and I gladly endorse his concluding remarks. Religion must supply, according to Mr. Sinha, the synthesis, the underlying unity, the harmony of the body politic. Every word he writes on the subject is of the utmost value to the solution of our educational problems. European tradition since the Masters of Greece wrote has been based on the necessity of an Architectonic Science which would unify all human activities and give to all of them a definite sense of direction. Religion only can supply this. It will not be easy to convince our youngman of the necessity of religion unless first of all we disentangle it from a large mass of excrescences which go by the name of Religion. It would take us too far afield to go into such details. I have come across an inspiring message from John Buchan in the book already quoted. "Religion is born when we accept the ultimate frustration of mere human effort and at the same time realise the strength which comes from Union with super-human reality."

These are a few thoughts which the reading of the Book so kindly presented to us by the Author have suggested to me.

THIS MODERN POETRY

By AMIYA CHAKRAVORTY, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

In most literatures, today, a tidal wave has come bearing new facts and fancies; the beach is strewn with strange arrival. Commotion and bewilderment has resulted, especially in the fish-market of criticism. Genuine critics have protested against typical "modernism" which is mere self-parading shallowness, but there are others whose lack of critical appreciation is a defensive mechanism against fresh creative ideas. Literary events of any magnitude—and "new literature" has arrived (in much the same way and in many countries) —cannot, however, be wished away or dismissed as individual or group conspiracy. In Bengal, too, we are in a ferment. Whether this will lead up to a fine access or merely register a necessary phase of change and revaluation, no one can tell. New poetry, in any case, has come undeniably, and the fact that it is evoking both hostility and fanatical support, and yet strengthening and varying itself, is proof of its vitality. Literary scholars must now take this movement seriously, criticise and question it, and also approach young initiative and experimentation with that tolerance which characterises a cultured mind. *Mainak** by Kamakshi Chatterji, is a significant product of the modern movement which challenges such interest.

Abrupt use of words, so as to confront the reader with a range of verse through which he cannot roll somnolently; the choice of incisive metaphors, demanding introspection; and the attempt to present a view from many points of view simultaneously—these are among the repertoire of *Mainak's* poetry. "Colour the waves of time," says the young poet, and this is not

* *Mainak* by Kamakshi Chatterji (Publishers: Kavita Bhavan. Price Rupee One).

mere colourfulness. "Life's decaying lines" convey a definite thought-form; the "lone beckoning of hills" touches our eyes and feelings at once. Lyrical expression struggles in these verses through a technique which is often experimental, but there are signs of genuine synchronisation. Stylistic newness in poetry is the result of *feeling* rendered with intellectual clarity. This needs creative power without which art, modern or unmodern, must defeat itself. Obsession with doctrines is not conducive to creative expression and often seeks false technical emphasis to justify itself.

Mainak is still oppressed, it is true, by a miasma of "new world weariness," for which social and political reasons can be found. but the author gallantly fights it, and the book shows definite emergence. A dedicatory poem speaks, in well-worn modernist accents, of bones, sunless days, and skeletal waste—cerebral subtlety notes this, and even exults in a strange and unreal emphasis—but the poem finally gathers itself up and conquers frustration by the human right to love. *Pasha* is a "frustration-complex poem," on customary lines; "God-opium," "life's gamble," and "commercial fatigue" alternate: but the poem survives. The pine-trees and the curved sky still hold, in a magical measure, "the Peace Kingdom." "O God, we are lost in the forest of men!" cries out another poem, but carrying an anguish of victory. *Dhankata Math*, coming later, is a fine achievement. Here the poet does not simulate identity with the dead field, bereft of grain, but discovers the force of hidden reality which is more than realism:

> "Suddenly in surprise
> On my eyes it fell
> Harsh stubble of hay
> Sticking out in a sick field."

The autumn light, at evening, had transformed the scene without changing it; there is an unbidden enrichment of experience. In such flashes of self-awakening the poet arrives at himself. Clinging habits of neurosis, so futile, and yet difficult for us to outgrow, must be cast aside. "An autumn evening with hay cut," may be desolate, but it is real. And reality never hampers, it carries us starkly and steeply onwards. In probing into life's facts, without a sense of adventure, an artist soon degenerates into a pose. From this attitudinising vein, devoid of mystery, and of primary feelings—typical of derivative poetry—the author has saved himself. He is intensely *engaged* and protests. Even when he says,

> "This shadowy night
> With its cold hands
> Has rendered me into stone,"

he reveals secret passion, breaking the paralysis of grief.

> "Streams of cattle, sheep in this night's
> darkness move,
> To be made into food for men
> On tomorrow's dinner table."

This is hardly the utterance of a petrified heart. He can hurl his sensitive challenge with force, which cold cynicism would kill, and evokes response. "Social conscience" to him is no doctrine, but a living testament; in attacking false religion which offers to the gods the food that belongs to man, he is betraying a living faith. Satirical-tragic pieces are often woven into the texture of *Mainak's* poetry, and not merely added; but, in many places, loose threads call for maturer craftsmanship. Continuous feeling, and no trick of propagandist art, can achieve unity of design; the author knows this, and creative organisation becomes more evident in some of his later writings.

The poem on *The Moon* is symbolic. The luminous disc gazes, as it were, on receding human time, and yet this is not mere cold registering of mortality's failure. The moonlight is there. Our experience of moonlight is a wonder which is a part of the human background; beauty itself is a challenge to futility.

This point needs emphasis when "social conscience," curiously enough, has sometimes been held as a justification for cynicism. Without entering into discussions of utility and motive which are extraneous to art, it may be said that art is a realm of values while high-brow scepticism prides in denial. Bengali poetry, occasionally fine in its recent flowering, still suffers from an imported blight of cold sophistication. Structural power, we know, comes from a sense of worth; authenticity in art derives from affirmation, and depends upon generous impulses that a sneering intellect would petrify. Essential form or "pure form" demands a positive content which the intellectual imagination has turned into the stuff of art. Display of "belief," is not validity either; for the last few decades, except in Rabindranath's works—and they are incomparably and supremely exceptional—Bengali poetry has been suffering from a weak excess, revealing an utter absence of poetic feeling. We have definitely emerged on a higher plane; freed from dead technique and derivative emotions, some of our younger writers have struck a new vein of initiative.

The last poem strikes the keynote. *Mainak* the clipped-winged, futile god, must leave the dream-world of mummies, memories, cricket's cries and old age; *Mainak* becomes a *Fighter*. "Arise and Speak!"—this is the poet's invocation to man's godly youth. In this poem, Mr. Chatterjee speaks with power; the hour of weary lament is gone even as the cloying patterns of imitative verse have been discarded; the vitality of new verse emerges. Technical terseness must find such creative stimulus of thought; in the finer products of modern European poetry this blend can be seen, poets are linking themselves up with a new faith. Fatalistic mirrorings of a self-destroying age will not save either poetry or the humanity of which it is the product. New Bengali poetry seems to be realising this. Mr. Kamakshi Chatterji's poems show that it has outgrown that early phase of defeatist and aggressive modernism. Profound human interest—out of which a new political conscience is being born—will vivify new verse and strengthen its bonds with imperishable traditions. That process we are watching amidst the cross-currents of modern Bengali literature.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in The Modern Review. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published--Editor, The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

A POSSIBLE TECHNIQUE OF DISARMAMENT CONTROL. Lessons from League of Nations Experience in Drug Control: *By Laura Puffer Morgan. Published by Geneva Research Centre, Geneva, Geneva Studies, Vol. XI, No. 7. Pp. 96. Price $0.40 or 1.75 Swiss francs.*

The chief object of this study is to suggest a method for supervising reduction and limitation of national armaments if, as, or when such action may be taken. One might question the timeliness of such a study in the midst of the Armageddon which the world is witnessing at the present time. It is, however, believed that "in the matter of disarmament, as in all of the other important aspects of the general problem of international peace and organization, the time must come, with the end of the present war, when new beginnings will have to be made; in anticipation of that situation such studies as the present one should be prepared in advance of the moment when they are needed." This study thus finds its place in the series of publications which the Geneva Research Centre intends to devote to problems of international reorganization deemed likely to arise after the war.

After having reviewed the different armaments limitation and control systems—quantitative limitation, qualitative limitation, budgetary limitation, restriction of acquisition of new armaments by manufacture or importation—the author, in the main body of her study, analyses the system put into effect by the League of Nations in the field of narcotic drugs control; this system could be, in the author's opinion, adapted, to some extent at least, to the regulation of the manufacture of and traffic in arms. It is to be noted that a proposal in this direction was actually made in the course of the Disarmament Conference. The author examines the essential elements of this drug traffic control system, the machinery and procedure therof, and analyses its applicability to the supervision of the manufacture of and trade in arms. Measures of national control over the manufacture and trade in arms actually in force are also carefully scrutinized. Mrs. Morgan arrives at the conclusion that the method which has proved successful in the drug control field is applicable also in the field of armaments. It could thus constitute, if put into effect in a proper political setting and given the existence of certain essential political conditions, a valuable progress in the direction of the limitation and reduction of armaments, prerequisites of any fully successful international organization in the future.

X.

A ROYAL ROMANCE: *By James Arthur. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House. 1941. Adyar, Madras, India.*

Mr. Arthur has written a book that will please very few, but that will interest many. It deals with a rather hackneyed literary problem in an altogether novel vay. Although good many books have been written on the Shakespeare-Bacon problem, it has long ago been decided that—even should Bacon have been Shakespeare, which is hardly likely—it would make no difference whatsoever to any genuine lover of literature. Mr. Arthur in 355 elaborate, but beautifully printed, pages has expounded theories which seem to be extremely far-fetched. Esoteric literary criticism is not an uncommon phenomenon in this country; I do not think it contributes in any way to the advancement of arts and letters. It rather leaves us stranded in a waste land of pseudo-spiritual and pseudo-scientific statements which have very little to do with literary criticism. However, those who wish to take sides and who want to know whether Shakespeare was Bacon or Bacon Shakespeare, will read the book with the greatest interest and enjoyment. The paper, the printing, and the binding of the book, together with the numerous illustrations, are excellent.

A. Aronson

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE: Vol. 7. Poona Affairs (1801-1810): *Edited by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A. Bombay, 1940. Pp. 579. Price 13s.*

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the importance of original documents in the reconstruction of history. We are thankful to the Government of Bombay for its enlightened policy with regard to the authoritative publication of English Records of Maratha history. Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai have been rendering their services gratis to the Government of Bombay in editing Poona Residency Correspondence of which eight volumes are already published, and one more is in preparation.

The Volume under review covers the period from 1801 to 1810 during which Colonel Barry Close had been—except for short intervals of absence on other duty—the Resident at the Court of Baji Rao II. It was during this period that the Subsidiary Alliance was rivetted on the Maratha State and its results, good and bad, on the most vigorous Indian power, became noticeable. It is not possible within the limited space of a review to deal with the varied interest and many-sided importance of the present volume. We catch a glimpse of the military genius of Arthur Wellesley as an organi-

ser of victory, his close attention to the minutest detail of equipment, commissariat and communications, and his policy of fore-arming against any contingency. Poor Baji Rao II is seen struggling helplessly against the python of British Imperialism unaided by his powerful vassals, who realised too late what the Maratha nation had lost through its own folly. Subsidiary Alliance was meant by Lord Wellesley as an injection for cure; but it proved one of slow poisoning. But this was due—as the English historians would observe—to the perversity of Indian character. This is true if we take Baji Rao II as a type. He would not keep even sufficient forces of his own to chastise petty jagirdars or guard his territory against any disturbance. He expected the Subsidiary troops to do everything because he paid for them. His was the economy of the rich Hindu commercial community of India who would grudge a few rupees to an armed guard for the protection of their lives and property and yet spend thousands in feeding lice, dying cows and religious vagabonds. Baji Rao II spent two lacs and a half in distributing sugar to the whole city of Poona and outside on the birth of a son; but he did not give any relief to his famine-stricken people whereas the English by their own efforts raised a subscription of about sixty thousand rupees from Bombay for saving the starving people from death.

We recommend this as well as all the previous volumes to the students of Indian history for careful perusal Every University library ought to procure these valuable publications before it is too late. We congratulate Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai on the success of this volume, the editing of which betrays no sign of age.

K. R. Quanungo

PAKISTAN—A Nation : *By El Hamza. Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore. 1941.*

Pakistan, in the sense of a separate political entity for Muslim India, seems to have been first conceived by Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who presided over the Muslim League Session in 1930. Choudharie Rehmet Ali invented the term in 1933, and popularised it among the Muslim students of Cambridge University. With the adoption of the idea by the Muslim League, Pakistan has, from the impractical dreams of a poet, passed to the realms of political agitation, arousing passions in the country. The term, however, is still applied to a number of different and sometimes mutually conflicting schemes of redistribution and division of India on a religious basis. This book shows that very effectively.

Written by a Punjab Muslim who is widely travelled, it tries to build up a case for the Muslims of India as a separate nation, or rather for the Muslims occupying north-west India, for "the author has not been able to enlarge to any considerable length on the subject of the national self-determination of the East Indian Muslims since he lacks intimate sociological knowledge of that region" (p. viii). The main criterion of his approach is what he calls ethnic and cultural unity, but the argument is self-contradictory. The author finds himself torn between two rival loyalities, the religious and the territorial. Out of the total Muslim Indian population, says the author, 30 millions live in Bengal, about the same number in Pakistan (by which he means the territories constituting the Punjab, Delhi, Kashmir, the N.-W. Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind and north-west Rajputana), and the remaining 30 millions are distributed over the other vast Indian territories. But in the course of his analysis, he speaks in certain passages, in a religious vein, of the Muslims all over the country possessing a distinct racial and cultural unity.

"Everywhere the Muslims are racially and culturally distinct from the non-Muslims around them, and there being no distinction of caste among them a uniform racial type has evolved after centuries of free intermingling" . . . . (p. 33). Or again,

"Uniformity of race, religion and culture has given the majority of the Indian Muslims a marked national individuality which is thrown into sharp relief everywhere by being contrasted with the national characteristics of the non-Muslim peoples" (p. 34), while in another set of passages, where patriotic sentiments for Pakistan overtake him, he speaks of the Pakistanis, whether Hindus or Muslims, possessing a racial and a cultural unity which separates them from all other people in this country.

"The Pakistani Hindus are the children of the soil and are of the same race as their fellow Muslim countrymen" (p. 34-35).

"When a Pakistani crosses the Jumna and travels eastwards through the Ganges valley he begins to feel that he has left his homeland and is a stranger in a strange country" (p. 44).

"Rarely, if ever, the Pakistani and the Hindustani are able to meet as brother countrymen" (p. 46).

What is amusing is that the author should emphasise the criterion of religion in the case of Muslims in India, ignoring the different languages, customs, and traditions of Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier, Rajputana, and Bengal, while ignoring the unity of religion in order to emphasise these various points in the case of "non-Muslims."

It is quite clear that the author has not valued the experiences of other countries bigger and more diversely constituted than India, where unity of the state has been preserved in spite of great differences of language, race, religion and customs. By Americanisation as an educational process, for instance, the people of the United States have been able to preserve their unity and freedom, belonging as they do to numerous races, nationalities and creeds The facility with which the author argues for the division of the country is somewhat painful, for such an argument completely ignores (1) that the Punjab and Bengal alike comprise Hindu districts, so that the plan would retain separate electorates with all their disadvantages and would merely create innumerable further difficulties of an administrative character, (2) that some of the predominantly Muslim provinces, like Sind and the North-West Frontier Province are economically so poor that it would literally break the back of other provinces in the Pakistan to maintain a satisfactory level of administration in the zone, and (3) that a completely independent state in North-West or in Bengal would be incapable of effective defence against a powerful foreign invasion and would render the rest of India equally defenceless.

Dr. Beni Prasad has said in his masterly survey of the *Hindu-Muslim Questions* that the advocacy of Pakistan reveals an attitude of psychological escape from facing the stern realities of the situation. "It is a gesture of a century of revivalism, a generation of separate electorates, half a generation of procrastination, a decade of misleading and misunderstood foreign influences, and two and a half years of orthodox parliamentarism." As the sky clears and the implications of partition are perceived, the good sense of both communities as well as the pressure of events is likely to give a new direction to politics; but in order to help the sky to clear, it is the duty of every thinking man in India to inquire into the causes of these "distempers of the body politic" and to remedy them as comprehensively and as speedily as possible.

Bool Chand

GROUNDNUT (Marketing and other Allied Problems) : *By B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu and S.*

Hariharan. Published by the Annamalai University. 1941. Pp. 147. Price Re. 1-8.

This publication is No. 7 of the Annamalai University Economic Series. At the end of the volume a list of publications past and future is given which reveals that some intensive investigations have been and are being made by some members of the staff and some post-graduate students of the University. This is for the good. The paper, cover and print are quite good—even luxurious. The volume contains a great deal of statistics and material gathered from blue books and proceedings of commercial associations on this very important Indian agricultural product.

But a scrutiny of the volume leaves the reviewer rather disappointed. Agriculture is generally analysed into the science, the craft and the business of agriculture, and the economist's proper place is the business side of the crop: the more he penetrates into the *economic* problem, the better. But this volume contains a chapter on "Groundnut, its cultivation" and another on "Agricultural Research and the Groundnut Crop." These chapters must have been compiled *in toto* from technical publications: if not, concerned experts should have been invited to write them. Even then, these chapters could not interest the student of economics, the questions being technical.

On the other hand, the annual publications by the Government of India—"Review of Trade," "Agricultural Statistics" and "Statistical Abstract for British India" contain practically all the data contained in this publication. The repetition was needless, and the separation of figures for Madras may lead to misunderstanding by superficial readers: they might mistake figures for Madras, for those of the whole of India. The concentration of attention to Madras Province is quite welcome, but one would expect the University men to take to intensive work and present results—whether such results lead to any solution of problems or not. One item which could have been studied is farm costs, of course in a small selected area.

The subject selected for the publication is also rather redundant. The Agricultural Marketing Department of the Government of India conducted detailed surveys on groundnut as well as many other crops before the end of 1939, and their reports, and the proceedings of the commercial associations of Madras Province during the recent visit (about eight months ago) by the Commerce Member, contain much more enlightening information than the volume under review. As recently as 1940, the Madras University published "Commodity prices in South India—1918-1938" (Bulletin of the Department of Economics No. 3), and this latter small volume goes a greater length into the question of prices of groundnut than the Annamalai publication. For instance, the graph lines on page 23 of the Madras University publication are more educative than the graph lines given on page 102 of the Annamalai volume, the former going so far back as 1922, the latter beginning with 1931.

On production, costs, prices and direction of trade, the authors have little original to say. On page 55, after six pages of a panoramic review of co-operation, beginning with India and the *laissez faire* policy (practically from Adam and Eve), the authors say:

"To fetch a fair price and eradicate the existence of the middleman, it has been observed by well-known co-operators that the sale society should buy the produce outright and pay sufficient advance to the ryots and adjust the same as soon as the produce is sold at the port."

What a revelation! How is this a special solution for groundnut trade? The authors should have tackled fundamental problems in this region rather than leaving the reader in an abyss like this. How to get at the wherewithal? Should the "sale society" be co-operative or company? What part should be played by the Government in such organisations?

The questionnaire contained in Appendix "C" makes the honest reader desperate. Question 1 is: "What is the average yield per acre in different districts of the Presidency for a period of 20 years, that is, from 1919 to 1940?" (It does not make 20 years from 1919 to 1940). Question 2 is as follows: "How much of total production of the Presidency is being retained in the villages and for what purpose?" What do the authors expect from the witness?

The only answer to the first quetsion could be by reference to Government publications and records about outturn of crop, etc. And everybody knows the degree of reliability of these figures. The Indian Central Cotton Committee's view of these figures are most categorical. And the authors have done nothing to tell us what they found to be the outturn like even in a small selected area. On question 2, the information is more impossible to get at. Of course some figure could be given by the rule of thumb or by arithmetical processes on Government statistics, but these statistics lead one nowhere, specially in the past, and it is not worth the paper and ink to build up super-structures on such sandy foundations. One cannot but conclude that the authors are novices in the field of economic research.

The index is one page, the bibliography half a page. Good money has been wasted on several photographs which are quite out of point. There is a photograph of the groundnut plant, another of the village oil mill. Surely, no one will read the volume who does not know the groundnut plant, and the reader is not the wiser for seeing the nice picture of the village oil mill. The Annamalai University in particular, other Indian Universities in general, will do well to scrutinise MSS. carefully through qualified external agencies before deciding on publishing bulletins and "books."

S. Kesava Iyengar

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PRISON REFORMS IN MYSORE: *Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Bangalore. 1941. Pp. 410+xxii. No price mentioned.*

The Report of the Prison Reforms Committee of Mysore deserves more than a passing notice. Diwan Bahadur Chandrasekhara Aiyar, former Chief Justice of Mysore was its Chairman and, but for two non-officials, it was constituted of serving and retired Mysore officials. The terms and scope of reference were comprehensive in character and the report goes into minute details, drawn from British Indian experience and makes, on the whole, sound suggestions. Not the least valuable part of the report consists of four Drafts of Bills on Prisons, Children Borstal Schools and Probation of Offenders.

The report starts with an account of the prison system in Mysore and recommends that the various criminal prisons in the State should be classified into two categories of Central and District Jails and new prison buildings in proper sites are suggested. In the section on Prison population, apart from the salutary recommendations relating to female prisoners and others, there is a section on "political prisoners." The Committee are of opinion that special treatment is to be accorded not on the basis of *motive*, alleged or presumed, but "on the moral turpitude of the act and on the status in life and intecedents of the prisoner including education and habit of living." This indefinite declaration is to be read with their suggestion that "inclusion in the special class may be limited to those few individuals who break the law simply by way of protest and

not as an organised movement against constituted authority." Few outside the official world would agree with the Committee's attitude in the matter.

The chapters on Employment of Prisoners (especially the principles laid down in the matter of jail industries); on Reformative Influences; and the Committee's recommendation in favour of a tentative earning scheme—are examples of the practical approach to problems by the Committee. The chapters at the end on youthful delinquency, trends in penal reform, recidivism and criminal tribes are excellent texts for not only prison-reformers but students of penology as well.

Undoubtedly, a review of prison conditions in the provinces of India and attempt at overhauling the basic ideas of our prison-system, have become overdue and are bound to produce valuable practical results. Since the Cardew Committee's comprehensive but unsatisfactory effort two decades ago, no such attempt has been made. The Mysore report brings to the British Indian reader another pointer in that direction.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEA

THE SONG CELESTIAL: *By Sir Edwin Arnold, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Kitabistan, Allahabad and London. First published in India in 1939. Price annas twelve only.*

There is no need for the reviewer to dilate on the beauty or worth of the Song Celestial in its original version or on Sir Edwin Arnold's version at this time of the day. But it is a welcome edition for all lovers of the *Gita*. The flexible metre in English sets off the Sanskrit version quite well.

The preface is, however, out of date and the publishers would have been well advised to omit it altogether, including the passage where the translator would place it in the third century after Christ, and trace in it the influence of Galilee!

A TEXT BOOK OF MORALITY (FOR USE IN INDIAN COLLEGES): *By C. A. Dobson, M.A., M.R.C.P., Professor Emeritus, Holkar College, Indore. 1939.*

The author asks the fundamental question, what is the connection of morality with religion It leads him to the quest of the true, the good and the beautiful, prompting the tripartite division of the book into the True or Satya (Part I), the Good or Dharma (Part II), and the Beautiful or Ananda (Part III). It is wholly different in ideas and in treatment from the usual run of text books on the subject, the writer being more compact in his expression and more matter of fact in his outlook on life and its duties, at the same time that he is more liberal.

P. R. SEN

THE DOCTRINE OF SAKTI IN INDIAN LITERATURE: *By Dr. P. C. Chakravorti, M.A., Ph.D. Edited by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravorti, M.A. Published by G. Chakravorti, 31, Tollygunge Road, Calcutta. Pp. 123. Price Rs. 5 only.*

The author of the book was extensively read in Sanskrit literature in all its different branches. In this book, he traces a similarity not only in the use of the term *sakti* by the different schools of religious and philosophic thought, but he goes further to say that the use of this common term implied the acceptance of a common concept, too. The term *sakti* etymologically means "power," "ability," "efficiency," etc. It comes from a root from which several other words are derived. All these are words of very common use in the Sanskrit language.

But the word *sakti* has also a very definite special meaning in *tantra* literature. *Sakti* as the goddess of a religious sect is very different from, say *Sabda-Sakti* or the capacity of a word to mean what it means. The fundamental idea underlying the use of the word *sakti* as the name of a goddess is also "power"—the power of creation, of sustenance and of destruction. But there is a difference in meaning between the two uses of the term. The term may be employed to mean the efficiency of a cause to produce its effects. It may also be employed to mean the power of a God, say Vishnu, to do his work. But these uses of the term *sakti* do not imply the same meaning as the specific deity *sakti* of *Sakta* Tantras.

We feel, therefore, that we are not prepared to accept all the conclusions of the book. If, however, the author's contention was that the concept of *sakti* in the *tantras* themselves was really derived from a recognition of the power manifesting itself in various ways in the universe around us, then he would certainly stand on firmer ground. There are indications in the book to suggest that this was the conclusion at which he was driving. As the book unfortunately was not completed by the author, we are left to conjecture only.

In any case, the erudition of the author is beyond dispute. And the editor has succeeded in bringing out an excellent, well-printed and well-got-up edition of his work.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

AN OUTLINE OF THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF ANDHRA DESA: *By Dr. C. Mahadevan, M.A., D.Sc. Andhra University Series, No. 22. 1940. Price annas eight.*

This brief survey of the economic mineral resources of Andhra Desa is meant to be a pointer to the immense possibilities of mineral industries in a territory which is "mineralogically, one of the richest and most interesting units of India."

The review contains, among other things, notes on reported mineral occurrences with a bibliography of relevant literature, discussion on the present state of various mineral industries and their future possibilities, and a geological map of Andhra Desa. One feels however that the earlier chapters on general principles of geology or the outline of Indian geology are out of tune with the general trend of the book. The information on Archaean formations, in particular, is a little out of date.

Dr. Mahadevan has advocated the cause of indigenous industries on a cottage scale in a qualified manner. In the province in question, these are being strangled to death by an unsympathetic governmental policy; although, if they are properly encouraged, they may succeed in relieving the distress among people engaged in mining operations to a certain extent. This can be done without prejudice to large-scale mining industries, which should, in their turn, go hand in hand with a number of chemical and allied industries within the provinces. There are thus immense possibilities in connection with mica, graphite, manganese and bauxite, which are all fairly abundant in this part of India.

Dr. Mahadevan's appeal for a sympathetic and far-sighted national mining policy are very timely and worthy of the serious consideration of all interested in the industrial welfare of India.

The price of the book is unusually moderate.

S. K. ROY

ANCIENT SIND: *By C. L. Mariwalla, B.A. D. J. Sind College, Karachi. Pp. 44+ii, 1 map and 4 plates. Price Re. 1-8.*

In this brochure, the author has tried to present an outline of the civilization revealed by excavations at

Mohenjodaro. He has principally depended on the works of Marshall, Mackay, Majumdar and Rev. Heras. The brochure will prove helpful for College students.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

WORLD PREDICTIONS FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS (1941 to 1945 A.D.): *By B. V. Raman. Raman Publications, P. O. Malleswaram, Bangalore. Pp. 80. Price Rs. 1.*

At the present time when all minds are full of misgivings the author has published this book to reassure the public mind with reasonings based on Astrological datas that the Allies will be victorious. Horoscopes of King George VI and other prominent personages will be of interest to the students.

VARSHAPHAL OR THE HINDU PROGRESSED HOROSCOPE: *By B. V. Raman. Raman Publications, P. O. Malleswaram, Bangalore. Pp. 71. Price Re. 1-12.*

This book gives an easy method based on Tajaka system for calculating yearly results. The author has nicely explained the rationale with the help of examples which would be helpful to beginners.

SUHRID KRISHNA BASU

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE BHRAMARA-DUTA KAVYA: *By Rudra Nyayapancanana. Edited for the first time with Introduction in English and Appendices by Prof. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Ph.D. (London). Published by the Author from 3, Federation Street, Calcutta.*

The Bhramara-duta is published by Prof. J. B. Chaudhuri as the first volume of the Series *Samskrta-Duta-Kavya-Samgraha*. Dr. Chaudhuri's wide range of information as well as excellent editing work are bound to produce in near future a magnificent and most scholarly series of hitherto unknown Messenger-Poems or *Duta-kavyas*. The present volume is a specimen, as the editor points out, of the contribution of Bengal to Sanskrit Poetry in the seventeenth century A.D., the author flourishing in the celebrated Akhandala family to which Vasudeva Sarvabhauma, Ratnakara Vidyavacaspati, Kasinatha Vidyanivasa and Smarta Raghunandana belonged. The family-tree of the author appended by Dr. Chaudhuri also shows that Rudra Pancanana, author of *Bhramara-duta*, was the elder brother of the Bengali Naiyayika Visvanatha Tarkapancanana, author of the *Bhasa-pariccheda*. A celebrated Logician of the Nyaya school of Bengal, Rudra combined in himself the rare gifts of a first-class poet as well—and this has been amply borne out in Dr. Chaudhuri's Introduction to the work. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri's view in his *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Kavya volume, that the Bhramara-duta is a poor imitation of the immortal work of Kalidasa is no longer tenable. Dr. Chaudhuri has brought forth ample evidence to disprove this unjust remark. The learned Introduction further records many details about the literary activities of the exponents of Sanskrit Literature belonging to the said Akhandala family. The route described in the work is Mount Citrakuta to Ceylon and the descriptions of all the important cities, rivers, mountains, etc., which the Messenger Bee is to pass through throw much light upon the Geography of that part of Mediaeval India. Dr. Chaudhuri, apart from discussing about all these, deals with many points that are of absorbing interest and, it must be said, evade the attention of many scholars and editors.

Dr. Chaudhuri is a perfect master of editing work and the present volume adds only a new feather to his glorious laurel. Different types have been used for distinguishing the proper names, etc. The headings, etc., inserted by the editor are immensely helpful to the reader. All the four Appendices are important. Appendix B shows at a glance the large number of emendations suggested by the editor. These are indeed apt and scholarly. The Geographical Notes appended are also learned and interesting.

We fervently hope that Dr. Chaudhuri will thus continue in his unceasing effort to unearth invaluable records of Sanskritic learning and furnish the world with an unparalleled record of Research work in Classical Literature. Dr. Chaudhuri has the very great advantage of being trained in Western methods of Historical and Scientific Research and the Series of his works are already before us testifying that the East and the West are already on the move to produce a unique result of their combined effort. He unquestionably deserves unconditional praise for the large number of Research works he has already published.

AMARESWAR THAKUR

SANSKRIT

SARVOLLASATANTRA OF SARVANANDA-NATHA: *Edited by Rashmohan Chakravarti with a Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj, M.A. and an Introduction by Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, M.A. Rammala Library, Comilla.*

This is a critical edition of a little-known Tantric compilation, meagrely described in modern works and seldom referred to in older digests. It is attributed to Sarvananda (middle of 15th century A.D.), a famous Tantric saint of Tippera in Eastern Bengal. The edition is based on the collation of 8 manuscripts, collected from different parts of Eastern Bengal, outside which few manuscripts of the work are known. This is a rather peculiar treatise, consisting solely of quotations from as many as sixty Tantric works, mostly what are called original Tantras. An alphabetical list of the works from which quotations are incorporated in it is given at the end. The long and learned introduction deals with the life and date of the author and gives a critical account of the contents of the work. The publication of the work which devotes itself almost exclusively to an elaboration of Tantric rituals of the kaula type will be welcome to all lovers of Tantras.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

PRAKRIT-HINDI

TATTVASARATIKA: *By Brahmachari Sitalprasadji. Publisher: Mulchand Kisandas Kapadia, Digambar Jain Pustakalaya, Surat.*

We have here the Prakrit text and Hindi commentary of Sitalprasadji on an old Jain work—the *Tattvasara* of Devasenacarya (circa 10th century A.C.). The plan and execution of the work is similar to that of the *Yogasaratika*, already reviewed in a previous number of this journal. This also like the latter was issued as an annual presentation volume meant for the subscribers of the Jain magazine—the *Jain Mitra*. S. M Gandhi, whose munificence in memory of his late lamented wife has made the publication of the work possible, as well as Brahmachari Sitalprasadji who is well-known for his popular exposition of many an old Jain text, has earned the gratitude of lovers of Jinalogy by bringing an important Jain work within the easy reach of the general reader.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLA-SAHITYER NABAJUG : *By Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta. Publishers—Rasachakra Sahitya Samsad, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

Literary criticism in Bengal has yet to find itself along two main and concurrent lines of growth. We need historical estimates, with analysis of tradition, linguistic change, and of environmental values; we must also have interpretation of literature, from a creative standpoint. The latter requires an equipment which is not so easily had, for only artists, applying experiential values, can attain the necessary level. The last place to seek for it is, of course, in professional circles where derivative knowledge is applied with a certitude characterising the uninitiated. "Emotive reason" rare in all literature is rarer in ours where either theorising or sentimental personal reactions are apt to take its own course; the fusion of mind and feeling, covered by Macmurray's term, can be found only in a few of our critics who are also creative artists. This book, wherever it is interpretative, fails because the demands made above, are stringent; passages on Michael's poetry are, however, commendable. Historical estimate seems to come more easily to the author who could have made a better book of it had he kept to his path undeflected by effusiveness.

Here academic training counts and even scholastic circles can score more than debating points, they can be helpful. In contemporary Bengali criticism, of which this book is a typical product, the average is still far below the level of accurate, historical, and informative study of literature. A fine exception can be found in Dr. Niharranjan Roy's recent book on Rabindranath. But we are now in the grooves of a false tradition; rambling reflections, untouched by the historical sense, are joined up, physically as it were, by their inclusion under the same covers.

Scientific research methods, properly applied, would provide a wholesome corrective. Critics would do well to make a bee-line for the direct word and the clear phrase; the deletion of involved utterance, and the habit of de-generalising—a Five Year Plan to be specific and practical—seem to be called for. Critics might be led to sub-edit their own writings, compressing arguments, ironing out rhetorical passages, and making a precis, generally, of their main thesis. The tendency to go by mere bulk and weight in assessing criticism—the bigger the better—has assumed alarming proportions. These reflections, however, are not directed so much against this particular book as against weighty verbiage. The author seems to be well-qualified to give us studies of an earlier epoch of modern Bengali literature. This book ought to be followed by work on sound and spare lines, dealing with outstanding products of the nineteenth century thought in our province. We can expect from him the modern historical type of criticism which we need in Bengali.

Amiya Chakravarty

HINDI

DINABANDHU-KO SHRADDHANJALIYAN (Tributes of Respect to Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews) : *Compiled by Prabhudayal Vidyarthi Visharad. Pustak-bhandar, Laheriasarai (Bihar). Price Re. 1-4. With a fine cover design in colours.*

This is a very praiseworthy, interesting and inspiring collection of papers on the late Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews. They are from the pens of Rabindranath Tagore, Ramananda Chatterjee, Kshitimohan Sen, Gurdyal Mallik, An English Journalist, Mahadev Desai, Shri Ram Sharma, Kaka Kalelkar, M. K. Gandhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pyarelal, Bhawanidayal Sannyasi, Banarsidas Chaturvedi, Prabhudayal Vidyarthi, Gopal Saran Sinha, Purushottamdas Tandon, Mohan Singh Sengar, Sohanlal Dwivedi and Sundarlal. There is, besides, an autobiographical article by Dinabandhu Andrews himself.

Gandhiji's portrait faces his benediction. The Introduction is by Pandit Shri Ram Sharma. The compiler, too, has contribted a preface.

Besides a reproduction in colours of Dr. Abanindranath Tagore's portrait of Dinabandhu Andrews there are, in adition to Gandhiji's portrait mentioned above, the portraits of Rabindranath Tagore, Ramananda Chatterjee, Dinabandhu Andrews, Dinabandhu Andrews (in Indian dress), Dinabandhu Andrews (engaged in writing), Andrews (taking refreshments), Andrews, Gandhiji and Pearson in South Africa, Andrews with some village workers, Andrews with a student, Andrews' Father and Mother, and some more photographs of Andrews.

Of special and absorbing interest is Pandit Shri Ram Sharma's account of the last three months of the life of Dinabandhu Andrews.

X.

MANAV : *By Sriman Narayan Agrawal. Published by Hindi Granthavatnakar Karyalaya, Hira Bag, Bombay. Pp. 73. Price not mentioned.*

This is a collection of fifty poems by the author of *Roti Ka Rag*, which, when it appeared, filled the great poet Maithalisharan, with joyous faith in the future fulfilment of the young poet. The book, under review has amply justified that faith. If Sriman Narayan's *Roti Ka Rag* is the cry of a heart, torn asunder with grief at the sad spectacle of the grinding poverty of the teeming millions of India, his *Manav* is a song in praise of Man. In their intensity of emotion, the poems remind the reader, again and again of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* or Edward Carpenter's *Towards Democracy*, hence, their lyrical appeal. They are wrapped up in realism, no doubt, but it is a realism, which also sees beyond one's nose. "I love humanity," "While in search of God I stumbled upon the human heart," "Life is a garden of peerless beauty," "Without love life is a dream," "Life is a ceaseless flow," "Beloved, let us dance the duet of pain and pleasure," "In love lies the hope of humanity,"—such are the refrains of most of the songs. There are a few which, in their theme, are reminiscent of Wordworth's well-known lines :

> "Have I not reason to lament,
> What man has made of man?"

Some of them delineate the beauty of nature in terms of human response. The book closes on a note of self-dedication to the service of humanity. *Manav* is the harp of Humanism.

G. M.

ORIYA

KAVIVAR RADHANATHANKA JEEVANEE (Biography of Poet Radhanath) : *By Durga Charan Ray, B.A. Royal Octavo. Pp. 1207. Price Rs. 7.*

Poet Radhanath was maker of modern Oriya Literature. His biography was therefore in great demand in the literary domain of Orissa. Thanks to Mr. Durga Charan Ray that he has removed this long-felt want.

Mr. Ray not only gives the details of the poet's life but also throws lights on the social and political conditions of Orissa in which the poet flourished. Some correspondences that passed between Radhanath and prominent men of his time have been inserted; they provide an interesting reading. Criticisms of the poet's works from the pens of different scholars of Orissa have been given. Although some irrelevant matters have

encumbered the bulk, the work is, on the whole, a valuable contribution to the Oriya Literature.

B. MISRA

MALAYALAM

PATTA BAKHI : *By K. Damodaran. Publishers B. V. Printing Works, Trichur. Crown size. Pp. 78. Trichur, 1113. Price annas eight.*

This is a play in 14 scenes depicting the condition of a peasant woman severely oppressed by her *Janmi*, how her eldest boy is driven to steal and her daughter is forced to sell her chastity in order to support the family members and a minor brother. There is much of naturalness in the play, particularly in the setting of the naive rural life. The story is realistic and original with a touch of pathos and human appeal. It is neither comedy nor tragedy and ends abruptly. The drama will be immensely entertaining if the actors realise the paramount importance of a natural setting.

P. O. MATTHAI

TAMIL

VISHA VIRUKSHAM : *By Bankim Chandra Chattopadyaya. Translated from the original Bengalee by T. N. Kumaruswami, B.A. Published by Alliance Co., Mylapore. Pp. 310. Price Re. 1-8.*

A good translation in popular style of a high class social novel.

THIRU MURUGU ATRUPPADAI—THE GUIDE FOR A PILGRIMAGE TO THE SHRINES OF GOD MURUGA : *By St. Nakkirar of the Third Tamil Academy, Madura. With a short study in Sanskrit, English and Tamil, and paraphrase of the poem by N. S. Ramachandra Iyer, B.A., L.T., Muthialpet High School, Madras. 1937. Second Edition. Pp. xx+38. Price annas four.*

St. Nakkirar, the famous poet of the poem, who lived about two thousand years ago, is traditionally believed to have strongly criticized a Tamil stanza of God Somasundara characterising it as faulty and defied him boldly that he would continue to characterise it so, even though Somasundara opened the third eye in his forehead to burn him to ashes. He was punished for this and asked to learn grammar from God Muruga which he did and in grateful remembrance of that help and subsequent delivery from a Rakshasa, he has sung this poem in praise of Him.

This poem forms therefore a part of Saivite Thirumurais (Sacred works). Noted as it is alike for its literary grace and religious fervour, it is committed to memory by many an ardent Saivite and repeated daily during puja and otherwise. The learned commentator has made his work more helpful to them all by giving the paraphrase just opposite to the poem itself and the meaning of difficult words at the end. The readers will find his study also very interesting.

MADHAVAN

MARATHI

BODHAK-PATRACHE MARATHI SPASHTIKARAN : *By Raj Ratna Prof. Manikrao, Baroda. Published by Sunder Kumar, B.A., LL.B., Vithal Krida Bhuwan, Baroda. Crown size. Pp. 370 with 3 Appendices and Preface. Price Rs. 3.*

Prof. Raj Ratna Manikrao's name is one to conjure with in the field of physical education. For more than forty years he has devoted his life to the physical regeneration of India's youth and his gymnasium in Baroda is a unique institution, based and conducted on the most scientific principles. His chief accomplishment, however, lies in giving an orientation to the physical exercises, prominent among which are the mass-manœuvre performances like lathi, lezim and drill. Prof. Manikrao is also the author of the Hindi vocabulary of words of command used in such exercises and his phraseology has now found almost general acceptance in the physical-development institutions. He has explained it in the book under review and in doing so, has dealt with almost all forms of indigenous physical exercises in detail and has thereby provided the public with accurate and intelligible information on a subject which is now coming unto its own and is being given the serious attention it deserves. The present book therefore is a highly praiseworthy and useful publication.

CHANDRA-KALA (COLLECTION OF STRAY ARTICLES ON DIFFERENT SUBJECTS) : *By Bhalchandra Laxman Ranade, B.A. Published by the author himself at Sambhare Road, Sangli (S. M. C.). Crown size. Pp. 96. Price annas ten.*

About fifteen articles published elsewhere have been collected in this book. They treat of subjects of various sorts and are of an indifferent value.

D. N. APTE

GUJARATI

TRIVENTI : *By Srimati Pushpa R. Vakil, B.A. Printed at the Tattava Vivechak Printing Press, Bombay. 1941. Khadi Cloth cover. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1.*

Mrs. Pushpa and her husband are a talented couple, both of them graduates, companions from College life, sharing each others' ideals and at present engaged in educational work, are supplementing that of the other. Both have written verses, and both have published them, in some of them the husband pays his meed of praise to the wife and naturally in her own verses she reciprocates the sentiment On a comparison, one finds greater emotion, softness and delicacy in the wife's and a sort of ruggedness in the husband's outturn. The first section of this little book—Pranaya Lahari—gives the reader glimpses of how their companionship began, and how it terminated into life companionship and how it still continues in spite of occasional setbacks. The other sections *Ras-Lahari* and *Git-Lahari* also display spontaneous "lisping in numbers." On the whole the work is worthy of a cultured woman, shy, retiring and unobtrusive.

ENE CHARANE : *By Kapila Thakore. Printed at the Nalini Printing, Bombay. 1941. Thick card board. Pp. 53. Price Re. 1.*

"At his Feet" is a reproduction of an English translation of a German booklet, called. "An Unknown Woman's Letter." It is a pathetic document penned by a woman, whose son has just died, to a man whom she had loved all her life and to whom she had dedicated herself. It is the outpouring of the heart of one who loved the other genuinely but of which he was ignorant. Such happenings are common, but the beautiful and feeling language in which the incident is set out here, takes it out of the rut of common productions.

K. M. J.

THE BENGAL DOWRY RESTRICTION BILL, 1940

An Anthropological Analysis of Its Implications

By TARAK CHANDRA DAS, M.A.,
Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Calcutta

On the 6th September last, Mr. S. N. Biswas, M.L.A. introduced in the Bengal Legislative Assembly a Bill for restricting the dowry system prevalent among the Bengali Hindus. It is now lying on the legislative anvil and before it passes into law we would like to offer some comments. We shall approach the question strictly from the standpoint of social science, unaffected by personal considerations.

From the statement of objects and reasons of this Bill it appears that Mr. Biswas has been moved to take this measure by two facts, namely, "self-immolation of many girls and the financial ruination of innumerable Hindu families of Bengal." This shows that Mr. Biswas is anxious for the fate of the Hindus only and that is why he urges "to restrict the amount of dowry given at the time of marriage amongst the Bengalee Hindus." Again from the definition of dowry it appears that Mr. Biswas is only concerned with the prevalence of the so-called evil in Hindu society alone. The story of the death of a large number of high-caste Hindu maidens by various painful means, such as, burning, hanging, taking poison, etc., has moved him along with many others of his neighbours and countrymen. From his personal knowledge perhaps, as well as from press reports he has been convinced that such self-immolations are due to failure of the parents of the marriageable girls to provide suitable dowries, which is ultimately due to their economic condition. Mr. Biswas, forced by this belief, and with the best of intentions, has gallantly come forward on behalf of these unfortunate maidens, to bring relief to their parents by legislation. The object is laudable and the intention is sincere, but unfortunately the measure he has taken is half-hearted, ill-conceived and incomplete in its scope.

Mr. Biswas has been moved by the pitiable condition of the high-caste Hindu girl and her parents but he has no compunction for the unfortunate lot of the youths of backward and poorer communities of this province who have to pass the best part of their reproductive age in accummulating money to pay for their brides. He does not possibly think of them. But this is also not true. Section 3 of his Bill restricts payment of dowry to both the bridegroom's and bride's sides. So, he is not ignorant of this custom, but, perhaps, the payment of bride-wealth does not appear to him to be as oppressive as the other one. This is the mental atmosphere in which the Bill has originated.

The present Bill is incomplete in its scope. It only aims and attempts to bring relief to one particular religious community of the Province, leaving out of consideration the other sister communities. This naturally gives rise to the belief that the evil is not to be found among the latter or perhaps the initiator is unwilling or indifferent to the best interest of the other communities. We hope that Mr. Biswas is not actuated by any of these motives nor can we think that he does not know the existence of this evil in some of the other communities of the Province. The Muhammadans, who form the biggest section of the population of Bengal, possess this institution in both the forms. Bride-wealth as well as bridegroom-wealth are found among them and they influence the socio-economic condition of this community in the very same manner as that of the Hindus, though not with the same intensity. We do not find any ostensible reason for omitting the Muhammadans, and such other communities among whom this custom prevails, from the scope of operation of this Bill. If dowry causes hardship to the Hindus, does it not affect equally the Muhammadans ? Perhaps the introducer of the Bill will say that he does not wish to tackle the social life of a community of which he has perhaps no knowledge or only limited knowledge. But this leads to the assumption that he has enough knowledge of the community for which he intends to legislate. We shall later on see how he stands in this respect.

We have already remarked that the Bill is ill-conceived and half-hearted. Section 3 provides that

> "No person shall at any time offer or accept any dowry whose money-value exceeds the sum of rupees fifty-one."

In the explanation to this Section it is stated that the sum of rupees fifty-one

"shall not include the value of ornaments or any other thing in kind given by the bride's parents or guardian to the bride as a gift of free will."

It is clear that the measure contemplated in Section 3 is nullified by its explanation. Gold is equally valuable whether used in making ornaments or as coined money, and parents who intend to have a particular bridegroom for their daughter will have little scruple to avail themselves of this explanation. Instead of fixing the bridegroom-wealth in terms of coined money they will fix it up in terms of ornaments having so many tolas of gold and thereby they will remain the most law-abiding people. Dowry will remain as ever, causing the same mischief which is attributed to it. Mr. Biswas, however, will earn the blessings of the glodsmiths, who are the only people to be benifited by this piece of legislation.

There is another side of the question. Mr. Biswas has fixed the dowry at rupees fifty-one. He has not however offered any reason for this in the preamble. Perhaps he thinks it to be a quite reasonable sum, which every father should be prepared to pay. Perhaps he is not aware that even this is too high a sum for the overwhelming majority of the people of Bengal. It would have been better if he had asked an economist about the average annual income of a Bengali and fixed the amount in view of that fact. It may be very low in the eyes of the rich, low in the eyes of the middle class and reasonable with the lower middle class but certainly it is very difficult to pay for the common people who generally live from hand to mouth. In fact, among the masses of Bengal, who pay for their brides, the amount of bride-wealth moves round about this figure. Prof. Chattopadhyay's paper clearly shows how harmful it is from the biological stand-point. Thus, Mr. Biswas may think that he has attempted to bring sure relief to the three upper classes but in doing so he will be at the same time giving moral support and legal recognition to the very harmful condition which prevails among the vast majority of the people of Bengal who will go on suffering in spite of the passing of such a humane piece of legislation. Thus, neither the rich nor the poor will be benifited by this measure. It will merely adorn the pages of the Statute Book.

We do not like to examine further the remaining Sections of the Bill which also show a similar lack of imagination and sociological knowledge. Mr. Biswas has not tackled the problem in the proper manner; it seems he has not realised the importance of the measure which he is going to take. Social legislation in India has mostly failed owing to the half-hearted nature of the laws. Widow Remarriage Act and Sarda Act are glaring instances of such failures. The only piece of social legislation which has proved effective is that about the old Suttee rite. It was introduced by the Government with a definite purpose and pushed to the extreme limit and the evil has been eradicated, root and branch. We require similar drastic measures if we would like to combat successfully the social evils which still pervade our society. We want dictators, social or political, to remove these defects. We should be guided by the example of Soviet Russia which declared the equality of men and women and destroyed the purdah of the Asiatic women and brought them out of their harems and taught them how to enjoy this equality. Mere legislation would not have broken the thick walls of the harems of Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan. Legislation followed by intensive propaganda brought about this miracle.

Though we prefer drastic measures in social legislation, it is time to consider whether this is possible and practicable in the case under consideration. To us it appears that drastic legislation will not wholly eradicate this custom but force it underground where it will merrily go on unhampered by the hands of law. This possibility is inherent in the very nature of the custom, which really survives on the willing or unwilling co-operation of the exploiter and the exploited. On the other hand the utmost that we may expect from drastic measures is that they will lead to an increase of criminal activities and thereby give further grounds for increasing the already puffed up Police budget. So, in the interest of public money and morality, it is better to cast our eyes elsewhere for finding out means and methods to fight against this old institution.

Before going to discuss the effect of the present Bill, if it finds a place in the Statute Book of the Province, we would like to describe briefly the historical background of the institution. Dowry is an ancient institution of the Hindus and can be traced back to the Vedic times. It is of two kinds according to the nature of its recipients. It is given to the bridegroom as well as to the bride's people. Both these varieties of dowry can be traced in the Vedic literature. Mānusa Vivāha or sale of girls is mentioned in the *Yajurveda* and was in vogue at that time but it was disapproved. The *Grihyasutras* describe eight forms of marriage which are illustrated in the Vedic Samhitas.

But some of the earlier *Dharmasāstras* mention only six forms, though the later ones revert to the eight types of the *Grihyasutras*. In the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya we meet with the eight forms which also appear in the *Manu Smriti*. Even Raghunandan quotes these eight types from Yājñavalkya. The eight forms of marriage are Brāhma, Daiva, Arsa, Prājāpatya, Asura, Gāndharva, Rāksasa and Paisāca. The first four forms are recommended by the ancient sages for the Brahmins according to Manu. Now, Brāhma, Daiva and Prājāpatya forms of union contemplate payment of dowry in the form of ornaments, clothes, etc., to the girl by her father at the time of marriage while in the Arsa form the bridegroom has to give one or two pairs of cattle to the bride's father. The Asura form is plainly based on payment of bride-wealth and it is recommended for the Vaisyas and Sudras by the predecessors according to Manu, though he himself is not in favour of it. Kautilya arranges these means of acquiring mates in a slightly different order such as Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Arsa, Daiva, Gāndharva, Asura, Rāksasa, and Paisāca. He defines Asura as "giving a maiden after receiving plenty of wealth (*sulka*)" and states that

"The first four are ancestral customs of old and are valid on their being approved of by the father. The rest are to be sanctioned by both the father and the mother; for it is they that receive the money (*sulka*) paid by the bridegroom for their daughter. In case of the absence by death of either the father or the mother, the survivor will receive the *sulka*. If both of them are dead, the maiden herself shall receive it. Any kind of marriage is approved, provided it pleases all those (that are concerned in it)." (Kuntilya's *Arthasastra*--Eng. Trans. by R. Shamasastry, 1915, pp. 192-193).

This quotation from the *Arthasāstra* is significant in view of the fact that it contradicts the definition of the means of acquiring mates as enunciated in the previous section. Here, it is assumed that *sulka* is to be paid to the bride's parents in each of the last four types though this is only allowed in the Asura form according to the previous section. The detailed way in which the personnel for this payment is fixed leads us to believe that in Kautilya's time the bride's parents used to receive money payment in Gāndharva, Rāksasa and Paisāca forms too just like the primitive tribes of modern times or possibly this was the most important method of acquiring a wife among the common people while payment for educated and settled bridegrooms was the custom among the higher and more well-to-do groups. We can multiply examples of this condition from the vast sacred literature of the Hindus but we think there is no further necessity for it. What we have hinted at is sufficient to establish the fact that dowry of both the types was prevalent among the Hindus of old.

Dowry has two aspects in Bengal as we have already pointed out. It is given to the bridegroom or his people among the higher and wealthier classes of the Bengalees. On the other hand it is wrested from the bridegroom or his people by the bride's parents or guardian among the socially inferior and economically poorer classes of the land. These two aspects are to be kept separate in our study of its origin and effects. We shall first deal with the upper class problem for obvious reasons. The history of the custom shows that both these aspects were prevalent in the Vedic times and were handed down from age to age up to the modern times. The bridegroom with higher education received dowry in the ancient times in the same way as his compatriot of today. Vedic culture was intellectualistic in essence; it set premium on higher education. So the educated groom received dowry. Similar also was the condition of Bengal roughly during the last hundred years. Neo-Bengali culture also extolled intellectual attainments over the material ones and those who passed through the gates of the University commanded a higher price in the marriage market. We, of course, do not deny that at the back of this intellectual preference there also winked material considerations, as the University-educated people divided among themselves the lucrative services of the land.

But previous to this Neo-Bengali culture movement another factor raised its head in the marriage market. This was the inordinate desire to maintain family-purity—*Kula-dharma* as it used to be called in those days of *Kulin* polygyny. Preservation of the purity of blood and thereby the status of the family practically engrossed the whole attention of parents of girls in the highest social group of the Hindus. They did not hesitate to sacrifice their daughters at the altar of this dominant idea. It led to polygyny on the one side and payment of exhorbitant sums as dowry on the other. The number of available bridegrooms was artificially limited by setting up numerous social groups and sub-groups with complicated laws of hypergamy. The inevitable result was that there were more possible brides than grooms and fathers of girls did not hesitate to pay enormous sums for a suitable bridegroom or marry their daughters to polygynous husbands. They sometimes even took foul means to secure husbands for their daughters. This psychological instability at the top of the social scale also influenced to a cer-

tain extent the lower groups though, fortunately, not to the same extent. Gradually, however, this craze for the purity of blood subsided, but it still remains one of the important factors which guide selection of grooms in higher and wealthier groups.

At present the University graduates have also lost their eminent position in the marriage world. Mass production and consequent unemployment has brought about this change. In the life of the upper classes the demand is now for the earning bridegroom. Pure intellectual considerations have partially given way to material position. Now the father of a girl is not satisfied with mere pedigree and education but wants wealth at the same time. The following couplet, which expresses the view-points of the different persons on the girls' side, as to the desirable qualifications of the groom, really now reflect the wish of one man, the father.

कन्या वरयते रूपम, माता वित्तं पिता श्रुतं ।
बान्धवाः कुलमिच्छन्ति, मिष्टान्नमितरे जनाः ॥

It is this concentration of the desires of many in one, which is causing the trouble about payment of dowry. In the Vedic age the only desideratum was education; so the price for it was within perhaps reasonable bounds. In the 18th and 19th centuries pedigree came to be added to this and the payment also consequently rose to a higher limit. At present wealth has been added to the list and naturally the demand has also increased proportionately. Thus the heavy dowry that the upper and the wealthier classes pay for the grooms is a natural consequence of their social history.

Dowry is fundamentally based on the law of demand and supply. Where the supply is limited the demand increases and the goods are sold at a higher price. This law has operated in the matter of securing desirable bridegrooms in the upper classes. In the patriarchal society the wife moves to the house of her husband. The aim of her father is to secure a safe and comfortable berth for her in life. Sociologically marriage leads to the establishment of a new family, immediate or deferred, wherein the economic functions dominate over the sexual ones. So the person who countributes more to this economic partnership holds the better position. Consequently, the husband who is the bread-earner among the upper classes, is the more important member of this economic unit. Naturally, therefore, the other member who wants to enter into this economic relationship and enjoy its fruits without contributing equally, must pay for the life-long benefits which she will enjoy under the Hindu law of marriage wherein divorce is not allowed. Plainly speaking the wife in the upper classes is a burden; the higher the economic status of her family the heavier this burden grows. There has been no attempt, till very recently, to cover this difference in the attainments of the husband and the wife. Girls are not brought up with the idea that they will have to contribute to the family fund. Even ordinary education was generally denied to them till the last Great War. They are merely a source of expenditure. This has very adversely affected their position in the marriage market. Naturally the father wants to make up all the deficiences; he wants to insure for the happiness of her life and takes a single-payment life policy by paying a heavy dowry. It is neither unnatural nor unusual, nor is it prevalent in Bengal alone. This is the story of the upper classes in every civilized country except perhaps the Soviet, where this class is said to have not yet come into existence. This is an evil which cannot be removed by legislation alone. Attempts should be made to change our outlook on the method of bringing up our girls. If they can raise their value, dowry will automatically cease to exist. For a decade or so there was a demand for the Unievrsity educated girls: people set a premium on them and naturally there was some decrease of the value of dowry in such cases. But the tide has turned again. They have proved more costly and less useful in the wider sphere of socio-economic life. The youths of today have overgrown this infatuation. It proves that we have not yet found out the true education for our womanhood. Until and unless we turn our maidens into useful members of society, and not drones, we cannot hope to do away with dowry system. An examination of the position of the women in the poorer classes will bring out the significance of this suggestion.

The law of demand and supply equally works among the working class people where bride-wealth is the rule. If we consult the Census Reports we find that the total number of men always exceeds the total number of women among the Hindus as well as among the Muhammadans of Bengal and this is the story of several decades. But this absolute majority is not to be relied upon. The proportion of men and women at the marriageable age only really affects the dowry system. If the number of men be higher than that of the women there will be a natural tendency to payment of bride-wealth. As a matter of fact the number of men is higher at this age-period among the Hindus in general and also in almost all the castes—high and low,

rich and poor. Naturally we should expect bride-wealth equally among the upper and lower classes and in fact it is really so. The popular idea about high bridegroom-wealth is more apparent than real. It is only circumscribed within a very narrow circle of the upper classes which is more vociferous than the other sections of the community and has given vent to the difficulties of its own creation through the press, on the platform and through literature. We say this from personal knowledge of village census and it can easily be demonstrated if statistics are collected over a wider area. The story of the *bharār meye* is still fresh in our mind. Brahmin young men of lower social status had to buy their wives at a considerable price and many of them even remained celebate throughout life. The situation has slightly improved but still they pay for their brides in out of the way places where life is centered on agricultural income and the joint-family has not disintegrated. Among the Kayasthas, payment for the bride is still a common fact except in a very select group. Thus, the high bridegroom-wealth of the upper classes does not reflect the true condition of the entire Hindu community but only of a fraction of it and is not the natural result of its number but the artificial effect of wealth, conceptions of social dignity and division and subdivision into hypergamous groups.

Among the working-class people bride-wealth is the rule and this is the natural outcome of the proportion of men to women at the marriageable age-period. This may be demonstrated by a look at the number of any caste such as Jalia Kaibarta, Namasudra, Jolaha, and others. This natural tendency is further increased by the part these women play in earning their bread or in managing household affairs. The bride-wealth among the Goalas, Kumhars, Kaibartas, Tantis and such other castes, among whom the women play an important part in their trade or industry, is higher than among other castes of similar social and economic status. This is directly due to the contributions they make towards the family fund. The women in these communities are producers of wealth and the transference of their services from the family of origin to that of the husband therefore entails payment according to the broad principles of economics. The play of these natural forces is not hampered in these groups by artificial laws. The position of the Jolahas is exactly similar in the Muhammadan society. The payment in these cases are made to monopolise her services and not to monopolise her sexual charms. She is not a parasite like her sisters of the wealthier class.

That bride-wealth is associated more with economic than social factors is further demonstrated by the case of the Suvarnabaniks among whom bridegroom-wealth is the rule. In spite of their comparatively low social position they pay high bridegroom-wealth, which is directly attributable to their better economic condition. Even among the working-classes, instances of bridegroom-wealth appear sometimes along with the rise in the economic condition of particular families. Educated young men of these communities now-a-days command a price in the marriage market in imitation of the upper classes. The subversion of the established order in these cases is due to the expectation of a better economic prospect in life. It may be argued that the ancient Hindu ideal about the superiority of education over every other aspect of life may have something to do with these cases. But it seems to be remote and far-fetched.

From these facts it appears that the consideration money, paid for the bridegroom, is the natural effect of social and psychological factors whereas the bride-wealth is due to biological and economic reasons. Under these circumstances the proposed legislation will not bring any relief to the sufferers. Moreover, our analysis shows that the two types of payments depend on two different sets of causes. So their remedies will also differ.

It has been urged that the position of women may be improved by changing the law of inheritance and giving them a share of the paternal properties. This also appears to be extremely problematic. Among the Muhammadans we have this condition existing and it would be interesting to know how it has affected the different economic groups in this community. From superficial observation it appears that the wealthier section of the Muhammadan community at least has not reaped any benefit from this law. We are afraid that it will further increase the amount of bride-wealth, whereby it will cause greater mischief to a far wider group. Investigation among the poorer section of the Muhammadan community again may throw light on this problem. Moreover change in the law of inheritance will affect many other departments of life and raise new problems.

It is more difficult to suggest any remedy for the more important problem of bride-wealth. Here we would have to wage war against the more potent laws of biology and economics. Drastic laws may be passed making payment of dowry of any kind punishable for the parties, their parents, priests, etc. No kind of payment,

either in cash or kind, is to be allowed for a suitable period of time preceding and succeeding marriage rite. But will they produce the desired effect? We have already tried to show how such a measure will force the evil underground. There is another side of the problem. In the poorer section of the Hindu community where bride-wealth is prevalent such drastic laws would lead to neglect of girl-infants who will be regarded as burdens only and not assets, as at present. This may cause increase in the mortality of girl-infants in this section. Side by side with this possibility it should be taken note of that bride-wealth, at present, causes early widowhood in the same section of the Hindu community. These two aspects of the case should be carefully weighed and investigated before any definite course is adopted.

The nature of the Hindu social organisation, particularly the composition of the family, plays an important part in the continuance of the dowry. Marriage in Hindu society is still a matter for the elders to decide and the parties themselves have little to say except in rare instances. Cool calculations by hardened seniors precede every step in the negotiations for marriage. Softer sentiments do not play any part. Mutual love or attraction has no place in these business dealings. The husband and wife do not form a new unit of society just after marriage which depends for its maintenance on its own efforts. The wife comes to live in a joint-family where her feelings meet with little consideration and her value is assessed on her contributions to the family fund. Perhaps with the dismemberment of the joint family and increase of love-matches dowry will disappear. But here also we meet with instances which tell a different tale. In primitive society the husband and wife set up a new family soon after marriage in most of the cases and love-matches are a general feature of their society. Yet bride-wealth is almost universal among them.

All these facts suggest that we are confronted with a particularly complicated problem, which has its roots deep in the social, economic, biological and psychological factors. A proper solution of the problem will require an intensive study of type-specimens of the different socio-economic groups according to modern approved methods by competent social anthroplogists. We do not possess any kind of authentic data at present to work upon and arrive at any conclusion. Field investigation in different parts of the province is necessary before any solution can be suggested. Until and unless such a thoroughly scientific investigation is made and proper remedies found out thereby, mere tinkering, as attempted by Mr. Biswas, will not strike at the root of the evil.

Read at a meeting of the Anthropological Society, Calcutta University, held in July, 1941.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Sati Mirchandani

MISS SATI MIRCHANDANI, B.A. the only woman Barrister in Sind, had the distinction of topping the polls in the recent Sind Bar Council election. Miss Mirchandani had been in England at the outbreak of the war. Three years back, she had been presented to Her Majesty the Queen at Buckingham Palace. Besides being a lawyer, she is also an amateur journalist and is keenly interested in social problems.

"AN INTEGRAL INDIA"

I have read with great interest Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji's brief but telling article on Akhand Hindustan in *The Modern Review* for October, 1941 (pages 333-4). Writing about India's vivisection he says that "no Hindu can possibly tolerate" it "because it amounts to an attack upon his very religion." He then proceeds to indicate the manner and extent of the association of a Hindu's religion with the conception of the unity of Hindustan and explains that the political and administrative divisions of India into so many States and Provinces "are artificial and have no application in the realm of thought. The spiritual prevails over the physical." He concludes this part of his argument by saying that "the form of India is prescribed and fixed for the Hindu by his religious texts." Now take the case of a Mussalman. Like a Hindu he also seeks his spiritual sustenance from his religion and like a Hindu he also subjects his secular conceptions to his religious perceptions. Though Islam has tolerated the existence of a regional state never in its history has there been made any attempt to create a centre of religious allegiance other than that which exists in the Holy Land of Hedjaz for all the Mussalmans for all times. The result has been twofold. First, the Muslim States did not develop into exclusive national States and their political antagonisms and conflicts did not disrupt or even arrest the unity of the fundamental concepts of their spiritual entities. Secondly, they did not operate to prevent the gravitation of the minds of all Muslim citizens to that one single centre without of course being guilty of disloyalty to several secular seats of power. I will not ask for space to indicate the roll which the institution of Khalifate has played in maintaining and sustaining this cosmopolitan spirit in the polity of Islamic State but will feel content to point out that even in the days when this institution fell into decadence and the world of Islam witnessed the rather embarrassing spectacle of the three States of Spain, Egypt and Iraq claiming to be seats of Khalifate at the same time none of these three dared to appropriate to itself any title other than the Servant of the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina. In the words of Dr. Mookerji which he has used with reference to India these divisions were artificial and had no application in the realm of thought. "The spiritual prevails over the physical" as much in the world of Islam as in India. This states the irreconcilables in the two camps in India which means progress for none and difficulties for both, and in the face of the kind of argument presented in Dr. Mookerji's article more and more Mussalmans are asking themselves the inevitable question whether it is fair to expect them to adopt a type of nationalism which will have the effect of shifting the centre of their spiritual gravity from Hedjaz to India.

On pages 403-4 of the same issue there is quoted an article from Dr. Mookerji which appears in the *Current Thought*. Here he concedes that a minority "community is entitled to the cultivation of its own language and mother-tongue" and preservation of its script, and separate educational schools, where it is economically feasible, for the preservation of these differences in the very interests of culture and civilization. Religion is not a matter of language, script, culture or civilisation alone as Dr. Mookerji has himself made out in his article in *The Modern Review* when he pleads for the Hindus. Sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and it is mainly for this reason that I feel that the saner mind of India can conceive and construct a State or a Federation of States if you please to which both the Hindus and Mussalmans can owe allegiance without resiling from their respective religious loyalties. But this will need different methods and arguments than those which are prevailing today.

AHMAD SHAFI.

DR. MOOKERJI'S REPLY

Mr. Ahmad Shafi has done me the honour of quoting me in order to place some of his ideas in high relief. He has, therefore, contrasted his views with my conception of an integral India possessing definable geographical and ethnical boundaries. I feel that I owe him a reply.

I hold that a vision and an intellectual comprehension of India as an integral reality, spiritual, geographical and even political, is implicated in the Hindu way of living, thinking and worshipping. I have tried to show elsewhere how the Hindu mind conceptually traverses in its daily worship the whole of India, the banks of the Nervada and the Cauvery no less than the holy shores of the Indus, the Ganges and the Jamuna. The pilgrim travels over the whole of India in order to discharge his spiritual obligations. To partition India in any sense is to aim a blow at the entire life and culture of the Hindus in their present and historical setting.

The orthodox Hindu thought has always looked suspiciously at disembodied religious emotion which due to its high intensity may grow into a passion or a frenzy. Attempts have been made from ancient times to check these dangerous propensities which disturb not only the inner life but the harmony of life itself. Three principal methods have usually been adopted: (*i*) To impart to the religious emotions and intuitions an intellectual schema through श्रवण, मनन, and निदिध्यासन so that vague yearnings and thoughts may not waste the substance of the inner life; (*ii*) to translate slowly the large volume of emotions into action (कर्म) so that they may not suddenly disturb the balance of the personality; and (*iii*) to give to the religious feelings and intuitions a local and a social setting so that the inner life may grow into a concrete reality in association with the daily adjustments of life. All of these ideals and techniques interlace with India as a whole, with its many holy places that recall the age-old traditions.

India as a unitary geographical and historical reality, then, is a necessary setting for Hindu life. Religious life for the Hindu does not seek extra-territorial affinities for its realisation. Mr. Shafi, however, conceives of an apparently large field of political, social and cultural life for which there is a specified centre but no circumference. Hindu life has both its centre and its circumference within the territorial limits of India.

I do not wish that Mr. Shafi should "shift the centre of his life from Hedjaz to India." Let us not speak of centre and circumference. I say that Hedjaz should still remain the resting place and the sanatorium of his inner life. But the spirituality that must necessarily radiate outwards from the soul of all truly religious persons, should be permitted to shed its light of sympathy and soothing influence on the land in which Mr. Shafi dwells.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI.

EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

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The Social workers or technically called Social Engineer is achieving status as a new kind of specialist to whom all classes will resort for advice upon questions relating to social relationships and adjustments. It is irrational to imagine that while the physical ailments of an individual require the services of a professional medical man, the social, moral and economic maladies can be safely entrusted to individuals whose only qualification for the task is enthusiasm or benevolent intention or spirit of love and devotion. A social worker devoid of scientific knowledge and practical training is just like a mariner without a chart and there is every possibility that he may do incalculable injury to the cause and to the very person for whom he works.

"Thus a social worker by misdirected charity may easily convert the needy person into chronic paupers who make a virtue of their poverty and dependence. He may aggravate the very evil which he desires to cure and, further make the task for others more difficult by adding to the prejudice and suspicion with which a social worker is viewed by the community for whose amelioration his labour of love is directed. It cannot therefore, be too emphatically urged that the greatest care and caution should be exercised by anyone desirous of playing the role of a social physician. He should equip himself with a thorough and scientific knowledge of the subject before starting as a practitioner."

Social work has now come to be a profession and skilled knowledge is as much required in it as in any other profession. Commonsense alone will not solve problems demanding special knowledge. Communities can be built or rebuilt by a scientific tackling of the problem by the social worker. The task of the social engineer is much more difficult than of a construction engineer. It is not so easy to build or rebuild communities composed of living rational beings as the construction of roads, bridges or buildings. Till recently it was thought that the proper method of training in social work was to be an apprentice in a social service agency, but now with the growing complexities of problems, it is being admitted everywhere that the problems require a scientific tackling, and for scientific tackling a proper training is essential.

"The problem of law, medicine, teaching and engineering have all passed through the apprenticeship stage. It is not so many years ago that the proper training for a law student was considered to be a period of apprenticeship in the office of some established lawyer. It is only comparatively in recent times that schools, and particularly graduate schools, have been developed for these professions."

Regarding the importance of training and education for social work, Professor Felix Frank-furter of the Harvard University Law School speaking at the National (American) Conference of Charities and Correction in 1915 said :

"I submit that what has been found necessary for adequate training for those social activities which we call the profession of law and medicine, is needed for the very definite, if undefined, profession we call social work. I cannot believe that the preliminary training of a lawyer, most of his life spent in the adjustment of controversies between individuals, requires less of a background, less of a rigorous critical discipline, than is needed by those of you who go out to pass judgment on the social conditions of whole communities; by those of you who administer laws like minimum wage laws and the other social legislation now administered in great numbers by social workers. Secondly, I cannot believe that a training fit to discipline people who shall guide and deal with the social forces of the day, can be done in less time than the time found necessary for the training of lawyers. Thirdly, I cannot believe that the experience of medicine and law as to the quality of teachers to train men in those professions, applies less in regard to teachers of social work. I believe social workers, to reach the professional level, must be guided by teachers who give their whole time and thought to it. The time has gone by when the teaching of any profession can be entrusted to persons who from their exacting outside work of practice or administration, give to teaching their tired leavings."

The first attempt to give professional education more than apprenticeship training was made in U. S. A. in the summer of 1918 by the Charity Organisation Society when it established a six weeks course in social work which was continued for 5 years. After that the first full time school was started in Boston (U.S.A.) by Simmons College and Harvard University with only one class room, a small office and 26 students. At the present time there are about 40 full time schools of social work in that country.

It is an admitted principle that every professional education ought to be given according to the task to be undertaken by the trained worker. Therefore, first let us see what the task is that a social worker is called upon to do.

"It is, first of all, an attempt at individualisation in dealing with a person whose situation presents a problem of which the community thinks notice should

be taken. There are involved many complicated and complicating factors in the individual, his surroundings, in the relationship of his situation to the general level of well-being and the general attitude towards inequalities and unevenness in the enjoyment by human beings of the satisfaction available in the present state of the social, economic, occupational and governmental order of the day. In other words the social worker is called upon to assist in maintaining a minimum level of well-being. When an individual or group falls below that level, the social worker's services seem called for (1) to find out his misfortune and (2) to assist in readjusting the individual to his environments to that level."

Social work views the individual as an entity and seeks to bring all the community resources to bear upon his problems. To know what remedies should be applied to a case, and to know how and where these remedies are obtainable seems a task of no small responsibility, calling for thorough knowledge of both the client and the community combined with skill in adaptation. The social worker is the person to whom the client looks for advice upon all possible resources of relief—medical, physical, legal, educational, recreational, economic and so on which the community affords.

Social work, like medicine or law, is both an art and science. Its effective practice depends upon two factors : a proper technique or skill, and an adequate knowledge of social sciences in particular which describes the material with which the social worker deals. The aim of education and training for social work is to prepare the worker so as to understand these multifarious and complicated situations in which his client may be placed and to evolve a plan of treatment for him. This requires exhaustive knowledge of human characteristics and of the effects of environments upon individuals. Skill in personality adjustment can only be acquired through experience, while capacities of the individual out of which skill is developed, may be brought forth and increased through class room work.

The school work may thus be divided in three parts :

1. Academic curriculum.
2. Clinical social work or field work.
3. Social research.

Academic curriculum :—The social engineer is to help in the right nurture of the individual and the basis upon which this nurture is to take place is the existing cultural pattern and attitudes of the existing society and thus a full grasp of the social and economic problems and a knowledge of human nature is essential for a social engineer. A knowledge of the structure and functions of society is as important to the social worker as physiology is to the physician. The course of study should include such subjects as Social Origins, Anthropology, Social Economics, Sociology, Social Psychology, Pathology, as one cannot pass judgment in complicated problems without a sound understanding of the human mechanism and its working and the environments, and an adequate conception of normal human relationship.

In addition to this they should be given a fair knowledge of present statute and the statute drafting in social welfare, and administrative law in its application to social work and the courts in relation to social work.

"The critical study of social legislation—its history, its contents, and its results—is clearly an essential part of the preparation of the future administrator, and many forms of social administration are intimately associated with the processes of justice."

Since the social workers are to be given responsible jobs of public welfare administration and they will be required to shoulder the responsibility of planning and maintenance of the state institutions for the mentally diseased and mentally defective to direct programme for the dependent children, to run schools for the deaf and dumb, to chalk out programme for the handicapped, labour problems and what not, so the students should be taught methods of organisation, control and administration of public services.

Instruction in social case work should also form one of the major part of the social work teaching as it is the most essential thing in all sorts of social work. Dr. Manshardt, Director of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay, while addressing the students of his school at the opening session in 1936, said :

"Under this heading comes the great number of problems connected with family welfare—such as broken homes, individuals in need of advice, of medical treatment, of employment, of interpretation to other members of their group. In our study of social case work we enter such fields as mental hygiene and psychiatry, medical social work, child guidance, vocational guidance, juvenile delinquency, probation and parole. We survey the various processes by which the individual who has not achieved a satisfactory adjustment to the demands of life is consciously adjusted to his social environment. The field is so vast that some schools give their entire attention to social case work alone."

According to Prof. Tufts, Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago, Biology should also be one of the main subjects of instruction for social engineers. He says :

"Biology provides a concrete introduction to the general genetic or evolutionary point of view which is so important in the treatment of all social processes; it is also a foundation for studies in heridity and various problems of population, and for the fields of hygiene, sanitation and public health."

Field work :—The future social workers are to be trained to assume grave responsibilities of interfering with the lives of human beings; and proper service can be given only by those who have been practically trained for responsibilities of action. Practical work can teach more than political, economic, sociology and psychology can teach them of the science of human relations.

"Just as the medical student engages in clinical work in the hospital, so the social worker undertakes field work in various functioning social organisations as a part of his training. Field work is not to be confused with apprentice training. Field work is not a substitute for solid work in the class room. The purpose of field work is rather an attempt to clarify technical instruction. Just as the botanist goes into the field to study plants and flowers to supplement his text-book knowledge, and just as the geologist turns from a study of books to the study of rocks, so the social worker goes from the class room to the appropriate field work activity, using field work as a means of clarifying and adding point to the class room instruction."

In social work, as in medicine, no two cases are exactly alike and so it is impossible to prescribe treatment by mere theoretical study. It is only through supervised field work that the students can acquire the habit of analysing promptly, like an expert, all the contributing factors in a given situation and learn to take action promptly just like a physician. Moreover it is under such guidance only that the right kind of responsibility can be develeped that is needed for grave decisions involving the lives of human beings—men, women, and children, who are too often friendless people. Faculty members who themselves had training and experience in the field should get themselves assigned to the offices of the co-operating social work agencies where the students carry on their practical work. These professors should have no responsibility for the case load but should exclusively devote their time in watching and directing their students.

Before attaching the students to social service organisations for some responsible work visits to institutions and social service centres including factories, child guidance centres and the like, should be organised by the school as a means of practical experience. These visits should be systematically arranged to correspond with the lectures on the subject pertaining to the visit. Students should make thorough and searching enquiries there and on return should discuss their impressions in the class, with professors.

Porter R. Lee and Marion E. Kenworthy have defined the distinctive field work as follows:

1. To provide an opportunity for the development of skill through practice in the use of its several ingredients; knowledge, philosophy and technique.
2. To develop in students the ability to discern in actual situations and in human beings facts and concepts with which they have become intellectually familiar through study.
3. To provide the test of practicality or theories and methods with which students have become familiar through study.

Research (including Social Statistics) :—Students need to learn more than the principles and technique of social work. It is these students who will be obliged in future years not merely to maintain the status quo of the profession but to gather and interpret new data and formulate new plans and policies.

Scientific datas are needed in many unexplored social fields in which preventive methods are to be applied to deal with social evils, and a social worker is expected to evolve such methods. Social workers should be able to deal critically with the statistical arguments so often fallaciously put in support of some proposed measure of reform. Moreover, without a competent understanding of statistics and other research methods they will not be able to understand the significance of their own task on the scientific side. One of the main reasons of our slow progress in social reforms is that the social workers were mostly lacking in the systematic knowledge of analysing and interpreting facts from a research point of view. Social research knowledge and its application enables the worker to analyse the problem and evaluate results and to carry on scientific experiments in handling problems.

Esther Lucile Brown in *Social Work as A Profession* says:

"The adaptation of existing principles and methods to changing needs, and the creation of fresh technique to meet emergent situations, are tasks of such magnitude that the perspective social worker needs all the preparation that can be given to him. If he can be taught the method of scientific research by which to evaluate social work practices and analyse social problems, he will have a tool that will serve both him and his profession well. The future of social work depends so much upon the ability of its personnel to use the scientific method, that schools of social work certainly ought to provide the best possible training in it."

There should be a close connection between the school and bureaus of social research equipped to furnish field work to students.

In selection of students for training, a school for social work should make every possible efforts to take the right type of men as upon their selection depends the future of the society. Students should be graduates as the profession calls for high education and culture in no way inferior to that required in the profession of

law and medicine. The undergraduates are too immature to handle the subject matter of social work. The material with which social work deals is too complex for their comprehension It is unfair to bring too young persons to solve the intricate problems, as anybody who has ever tried to befriend the poor, the rich, the delinquent, etc., knows the tremendous strain on body and nerves. It is not only the training but something more which fits a man as a social engineer; he should be honest, strong of character, sympathetic, cultured, intelligent, diligent, painstaking and having an interest in the work, and so while selecting students for training these qualities should be ascertained from the candidates seeking admission. The teachers too should be highly qualified persons and individual attention should be given to each student.

The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay, established in 1936 is the first attempt in India to raise the social work to the dignity of a learned profession, and it can well serve as an excellent model for the other institutions to be opened for this training. It is a professional school based upon graduate basis which functions in the field of social sciences as does the school of medicine or law or any graduate professional school in its own field, carrying the fundamental theoretical study with its clinical application. In co-operation with social and civic agencies in Bombay it offers professional training combining class room instruction at the school with field work under supervised instruction. The duration of the course is two years.

Opening for trained social workers :—There is no field where social work is not needed. If I can rightly forsee there are chances of employment of trained social workers in the following developing lines :

1. Probation officers for the courts in relation to juvenile offenders and adult criminals.
2. Visiting teachers attached to public schools to help the educationally retarded students due to social conditions.
3. Administrators of institutions and organisations of public welfare for organising recreation programmes, housing regulations, tenement planning, etc.
4. Labour Welfare Officers for mills and industrial areas, as also municipalities and governmental agencies.
5. Vocational guides and career teachers attached to educational institutions.
6. Medical case workers to collect data essential for successful handling of health problems in the clinics and the hospitals.
7. Publicity and Research workers in the Government.
8. Staff members of criminal and social welfare institutions for linking home conditions of the misfits so as to make them adjusted members of the society.
9. Members of faculty of the schools of social work.

Finally one word should be said about the opportunity of the university to provide the men and women who wish to serve their kind, not as social workers, but as members of other professional or business groups, with a competent understanding of the social service field. The public servants of the future—the members of future legislative assemblies, country boards, and city councils, are passing through our university halls today. It is important that they should learn while they are here that the failure in the past to apply scientific method and scientific leadership to the needs of the poor has wasted the tax-payers' money and left behind a trail of good intentions and futile efforts. In social welfare work the university represents not only the scientific interests of the community but it also represents disinterested and non-political motives of humanity and generosity and university will not grudge her services nor the service of her sons and daughters in assisting the average citizen of the modern state who wishes to offer the most constructive kind of help to the destitute widows and her dependent children, the feeble-minded girl, the delinquent boy, the neglected child of an immoral mother or a degraded father, the insane man or woman, the young prostitute, the vagrant, the criminal, and finally the unemployed. I admit that social service is of course nothing new for our universities. We have something of it in every university in such subjects as philosophy, history, economics, psychology, law, etc. But in its modern conception the study of such subjects is not to remain only theoretical as in the past but should be linked up with practical and concrete propositions so that one may use the knowledge for the good of his needy neighbours.

A DISCLAIMER

Srimati Nilima Devi of 10/2, Elgin Road, Calcutta, writes to say that she is not the author of the article, "An Exhibition of Graphic Art of Ramendranath Chakravorty," published in the last November number of *The Modern Review*.



Russian tark in Red Square, Moscow

RUSSIA IN THE TOILS

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

In the battle raging around Moscow, much more than the fate of Moscow is at stake. There is not the slightest doubt that the Russians have made preparations for all eventualities. There is no faltering in their determination and their armed forces are fighting back with unabated fury and gallantry. Therefore the question of a Russian collapse does not arise here, although serious looses have been inflicted on the Soviets' forces, as they are not giving ground excepting where they can no longer maintain a resistance due to weakness through casualties. There is no retreat anywhere round Moscow now.

But this battle, if won by the Germans would mean that, immense though their losses in men and material must have been yet the Germans would be in a superior position on the continent of Europe. For the loss of Moscow added to the virtual investment of Leningrad would immensely handicap the Soviets' forces both as regards supplies and reinforcements as well as that of maintenance and repair of their mechanised and artillery equipment.

On the other hand if the Germans are held off for any length of time it would most certainly entail severe deterioration of the fighting power of their armies before Moscow, unless they call a halt, assume the defensive and move the best part of their attacking forces to proper winter quarters. The Russian winter does not permit any liberties to be taken with it and exhausted troops fall easy victims unless they can recoup within quarters provided with special feeding and warming facilities. The cessation of the Nazi assault would enable the Russians to further strengthen their defensive arrangements, to replace wornout equipment and to bring up the equipment of their forces in tanks and fighter planes to parity.

The loss of Moscow would seriously hamper the recouping of the Russian forces, so far as arms and supplies are concerned, even if the Germanic forces do not press forward beyond the Moscow-Rostov line. The stoppage of German assault during the winter with the Russians in possession of Moscow would undoubtedly enable the Russians to meet the resumption of active warfare in spring on much better terms than that available now. And this probably is the reason why the Germans are hurling forward their forces, despite all the handicaps of winter, with a view to beat back the Russians by the immense momentum of the vast mass of metal marshalled forward towards the gates of Moscow. It is evident that the Nazi overlords consider the issues at stake sufficiently grave to justify the terrible losses their forces must be enduring.

Further south Marshal Timoschenko is fighting with equal determination to thrust the Axis forces back from the approaches of the Caucasus, and from the production centres of the Don and Donetz valleys. But much hangs on the results of the battle for Moscow, and the pressing forward of counter movements by this doughty leader will depend a great deal on the length of communication lines that he will have to maintain between his real supply bases and the battle fronts.

* * * *

This new phase of the war has not produced any perceptible pessimism in the minds of the Soviets' leaders. It is evident that they are



Marshal Timoschenko addressing his officers

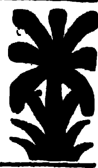
fully aware of their danger and that they are equally aware of the solidarity of their peoples behind and beyond the battle lines. Modern total warfare, with its immense demands on the civil population—in treasure, toil and life-blood—means that a great army can continue its fight with undiminished energy and determination, only if it be solidly based on the confidence, support and direct will to resist of the civil population. No amount of preparation, training or equipment can help an army to fight an equally strong enemy for any length of time if the country it is defending starts breaking up behind it. The tie between the civilian and the fighter must be something far stronger and more enduring than that which is woven by laws and empty speeches. The Soviets' resistance is unbroken and unabated after 23 weeks of the greatest assault in human history. Alone has Russia withstood the full fury of the Nazi forces substantially aided by nearly a million soldiers from Rumania, Hungary, Finland and Italy. France went down in less than half this period before a much lesser assault although she had nearly three-quarters of a million of allied troops to help her. The reason lay in the solidarity of the Soviets and the disunion amongst the French.



Dnieperstroi the Dnieper dam destroyed by the Russians themselves



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Shall we Call it a National Birthday?

Rabindranath Tagore is not dead, but more alive today than before. C. Chandrasekharan writes in *The Indian P. E. N.*:

People who were his ardent devotees naturally find Tagore as ever alive in his music as in his thoughts But even men who have no foolish stream hidden in the pebbled bed of their hearts have experienced, at his passing, a strange feeling welling up within, as of a spring. His greatness assumes a shape even to the hitherto thoughtless and indifferent amidst us. What has brought about the change? It is all the work of the deathless spirit of Tagore liberated from the confinement of his body. The one barrier to a real understanding of his limitlessness having broken down, he has mingled with all life. Hence the liberation of even the barren intellectual from prejudice against his poetry.

Shall we call the 7th of August, 1941, his and our Birthday? Perhaps it carries no meaning to the common man. But the wise will reckon it a real birthday, though it marks only his agelessness hereafter. He will remain ever at eighty without advancing; the ripeness of his wisdom will also remain undiminished. He will share his all with us. His bounty will be greater even as years roll by. His vessel will be always full to the brim even after we empty it of its contents. For Love has taught him the secret of replenishment.

Tagore deserves volumes in his praise. Many birthdays have to be celebrated in his name; for he has given us fresh birth, fresh life, fresh happiness.

What we have lost of our sages of old has come to us again with him. Everything that is beautiful and good finds in him an imperishable image. The mind that is naturally strong gets in him its clear objective of life. The mind that is embittered drinks in him the syrup of its own experiences. The child plays in his fancies, the woman in his similes. Flower and fruit, waterfall and cloud, sunlight and rainbow speak to him in their simple language. He knows them by their smell and colour, by their lisp and touch. But heaven alone can tell us how so much of this vast universe lies shining in him mirrored!

To those who are unfortunately ignorant of him and yet pride themselves on being Indians, his life-work can be of little help. They can be redeemed if good translations of his writings are made available in all languages. The desire to read him and to glimpse his greatness receives healthy stimulus from writings and books about him.

The Poet and the Dramatist

Writing on the cultural influence of the poet and the dramatist upon modern society Clifford Bax observes in *The Aryan Path*:

I do not believe that any living poet has or could have a hundredth part of Tennyson's influence upon society. I am thinking mostly of the situation in Great Britain,—and so, of necessity, I must continue to do. Perhaps a poet, such as Rabindranath Tagore, may still have a deep influence in India where saints, I understand, are national heroes and where poets, I daresay, are expected to be somewhat saintly. Conversely, it is impossible to suppose that any poet has the slightest cultural effect upon contemporary Germany or Italy. On the other hand, I can imagine a great poet emerging out of Poland's newest agony.

I fear that *our poets are voices crying in a wilderness of politics and machinery.*

Two or three years ago I bought in Oxford an extremely beautiful gold coin. It is an Elizabethan "angel." Despite its beauty and its heroic associations a taxi-driver, a greengrocer or a dentist would, I suppose, refuse to accept it in payment for his services. It is not current coin, and my taxi-driver would much prefer a dirty piece of paper if it happened to be a Treasury Note. Well, so it is with poetry. It is not current. Men prefer the newspaper, women prefer the novel or, as a Canadian lumberjack once said to me "You can keep your Shakespeare,—I preper Ruff's Guide."

There are several reasons for this increasing distaste for poetry.

Very well, then,—(1) the metrical beat in traditional poetry has an emotional origin and an emotional effect. Indeed, the regular rhythms of that old poetry may be fundamentally derived from our heartbeats. Now, every student of occultism knows that men have been steadily living more and more in their intelligence, less and less in their emotions and instincts. Prose is the medium of our age. (2) Politics and the will-to-power have brought us into so violent an era that poetry to most people seems to have no connection with what they call "real life." The newspaper, in a word, wins again. (3) Most of the newest poets, very significantly abandoning repeated rhythm, have been "left-wingers" and champions of the proletariat. This has not stayed them from writing in an idiom so obscure that, quite apart from any member of the proletariat, no hot-house professor can tell us what Mr. Auden or Mr. Dylan Thomas means. The poets themselves have alienated "the common reader" as far as they possibly could have done so. Your true left-wing poet should have written like Vachell Lindsey or even like Longfellow: but their creed lay only in their skulls.

Let us admit, nevertheless, that there is just one living poet—T. S. Eliot—who has had a considerable cultural influence upon "Young England." He was the voice of a generation.

The poetic tempo has faded from the mind of humanity as definitely as youth fades out in a man.

The poet does at least work by his fireside or under his fig-tree. The dramatist is out in the hurly-burly of the world. He must attract interest at once or his play will be sunk for good.

Long ago in the days when my Elizabethan angel was, like poetry, current coin, drama had an incalculable influence upon the vocabulary, and therefore the thought-power of Londoners.

Since then—and how long ago it is—the English drama has, I am afraid, done little or nothing to till the soil of the English mind.

There has, all the same, been one dramatist who very powerfully affected the culture of his time and country,— to wit, Bernard Shaw. We are not being extravagant if we say that Shaw and H. G. Wells have had a large part in forming the minds of two generations of young people in this country,—and perhaps elsewhere. Shaw's most valuable contribution to British culture has been, I believe, in stretching and opening our minds, very much in the manner of a gym-sergeant, so that the current generation is ready to examine any nation, and to pre-judge none. Shaw must have added immensely to the political tolerance and moral broadmindedness of England. For more than half a century he has been a pick-me-up and a tonic.

Just on the other side of the present hideous war, J. B. Priestly was bravely attempting to use the theatre for something of more value than surface entertainment.

Blitzkrieg

The latest fashion in war is the *blitzkrieg*. The word literally means 'lightning-war' and succinctly states the avowed motto of German strategy. M. R. Sampatkumaran observes in *The Twentieth Century*:

It has been brilliantly demonstrated in all the campaigns of the German army in this war, from Poland to Greece. At one time, in the dark months of May and June, 1940, it looked as though *blitzkrieg* might win for Hitler the world domination of which he had been dreaming so long.

The idea of a lightning-war is no inspired Nazi invention. Ever since Count von Schlieffen drew up, probably in the opening years of this century, his famous plan operations against France, the notion of a swift decisive war has been familiar to the German General Staff. One of Schlieffen's inviolable principles was that Germany should guard herself against a long and exhausting struggle. His pupil, General von Kuhl, wrote of the last war: "A strategy of attrition would necessarily have led to a long war and to our own exhaustion, owing to the unlimited resources of our enemies and to our isolation. Time was against us."

The evolution of modern arms has opened up new possibilities for this type of warfare.

Since the last war, tanks and planes have progressed by leaps and bounds. Study these figures. The tank of 1918 ambled at thee miles an hour and could advance at the farthest a distance of about 20 miles from its base. The aeroplane at that time had a maximum speed of 100 miles an hour or less and a maximum range of nothing more than 200 miles. Fantastic stories have been told of the performance of German tanks in this war, but probably they are as fast as heavy cars. They might do, under favourable conditions, forty to forty-five miles per hour. And today's planes, we know, can fly at between three hundred and four hundred miles per hour. And the speed of any offensive is limited only by the speed of tanks and planes.

In 1935, long before the present war started, General Guderian (who was recently reported

killed in action in Russia) drew up a prophetic picture of a planned German invasion.

"One night the doors of aeroplane hangars and army garages will be flung back, motors will be tuned up and squadrons will swing into movement. The first sudden blow may capture important industrial and raw-material districts or destroy them by air attack, so that they can take no part in war product. Enemy governmental and military centres may be crippled and his transport system disorganised. In any case, the first strategic surprise attack will penetrate more or less deep into enemy territory according to the distances to be covered and the amount of resistance met with. The first wave of air and mechanised attack will be followed by motorised infantry divisions. They will be carried to the verge of the occupied territory and hold it, thereby freeing the mobile units for another blow. In the meantime the attacker will be raising a mass army. He has the choice of territory and time for his next big blow, and then he will bring up the weapons intended for breaking down all resistance and bursting through the enemy lines. He will do his best to launch the great blow suddenly so as to take the enemy by surprise, rapidly concentrating his mobile troops and hurling his air force at the enemy. The Armoured Divisions will no longer stop when the first objective has been reached; on the contrary, utilising their speed and radius of action to the full, they will do their utmost to complete their break-through into the enemy lines of communication. Blow after blow will be launched ceaselessly in order to roll up the enemy front and carry the attack as far as possible into enemy territory. The air force will attack the enemy reserves and prevent their intervention."

How correctly General Guderian foretold the actual course of war in 1940, can be seen from the testimony of no less a person than Paul Reynaud, Premier of France in the fateful days of the invasion.

"The truth is that our classic conception of the conduct of war has come up against a new conception. At the basis of this conception there is not only the massive use of heavy armoured divisions or co-operation between them and planes, but the creation of disorder in the enemy's rear by means of parachute raids, which in Holland nearly caused the fall of the Hague and in Belgium seized the strongest fort of Liege. I will not speak to you of the false news and the orders given by means of the telephone to the civil authorities with the object, for example, of causing hurried evacuations."

The *blitzkrieg*, as demonstrated in the last two years of war, begins usually with a surprise attack by tanks and planes.

It is to be noted that German military thought lays emphasis on the element of surprise. In the words of Lieut.-Colonel Justrow: "Decisive success against a defence, which is prepared for all eventualities possible, if at all, only by a lightning surprise attack."

And probably, this obsession with a surprise offensive, explains Hitler's diplomatic falsehoods and deceits and systematic violations of treaties. It is part of the *blitzkrieg* creed that one must attack suddenly, even if treacherously, and without warnings of any kind. No diplomatic ultimata precede Hitler's wars. He attacks first and diplomatically notifies the "enemy" afterwards.

"The tanks, escorted by dive-bombers as a kind of flying artillery, advance at their maximum speed. In Nazi official military opinion, they are regarded as independent weapons of offence. German Tactical Instructions declare: 'Close connection with the infantry robs the tank of its advantage in speed, and increases the risk of destruction by hostile defensive forces."

With this may be contrasted the French view of the function of armoured divisions, as given by General Weygand: "Acting in touch with our fortifications, the mobile reserve of our covering forces will have to utilise the full speed of its armoured weapons at the threatened point to fill up breaches, and, with their light units, neutralise the effect of attacks on our rear communications."

The Russian Campaign

"The storm is violent; it is childish to attempt painting the clouds in rosy colours; it is sane to trust and obey the pilot."—*The New Review* observes:

The Russian campaign has once more demonstrated the lightning mobility of Nazi manœuvring, the wonderful capacity of Nazi generals to organise and maintain their communications and the high technique of their staff work. These achievements should not be written down to the credit of Hitler, or Goering or even von Keitel; they are largely due to the generals directing operations on the battle-field. But these generals are little known as it is not conducive to good health to be well-known in a dictatorship. Yet Field Marshals K. von Rundstedt, F. von Bock, and W. von Leeb, who were in charge of the three Group Commands of the Reichswehr since its reorganisation in 1935 and are commanding the Nazi armies in Russia, make up as remarkable a military trio as could be fancied

On their photographs, they are strangely alike: with their piercing eyes, their tight and bitter lips and their hooked nose, they look stiffly aristocratic: the very embodiment of Prussian military pride. One feels that if they were to condescend to smile, it would crack their face, as an American reporter has it. Disappointingly for those who fancy that new blood is needed for new work, they are rather old: Rundstedt and Leeb are over 65 and Bock is 60. They are not Nazi party promotions but they love soldiering and are intensely patriotic. Their records on the field are brilliant; in the Polish campaign of 1939, Bock commanded in the North, Rundstedt in the South. Against France, Leeb was on the left, Rundstedt in the centre and Bock on the right; Rundstedt will go down in history as the one who devised the break-through at Sedan and had it executed by his subordinates, tank-generals Guderian and Kleist. Against Russia, Rundstedt is in the South where he routed Budenny's army by dint of bold strokes and his presence there tends to show that the conquest of the Ukraine looks more immediately important than the surrender of Leningrad or Moscow. Leeb, the friend of Marshal S. List who commanded the Balkan campaign, is besieging Leningrad.

Marshal von Bock was entrusted with the most difficult task: he was made to face the most highly reputed Soviet general and to hammer his way to Moscow.

Bock met the stiffest resistance and had to break through the most scientifically organised system of defence.

The defence plan however was not General Timoshenko's but must be credited to Marshal Tukhachevsky who designed it in 1936, one year before he vanished in a Soviet army purge; Marshal Tukhachevsky had the

Smolensk-Moscow road lined up with a string of steel-and-concrete islets and islands in which battalions and divisions could form themselves into circles and so avoid ever being taken in the rear; at the opening of hostilities some sixty divisions took shelter in the Smolensk defence works and waited for the onslaught of Bock's fifty divisions which were making for the Soviet capital. A frontal assault would have led to disaster; Bock had to outflank the defences, get steel prongs into the sides and master the steel islands one after the other. The Russians failed in keeping the Moscow road closed to the Nazi advance for two reasons: they suffered from inferiority in the air; the generals defending the islands were isolated and could not mount anything bigger than local counter-attacks.

Stubborn bravery in the troops does not make up for want of general strategic vision in commanders.

Once the defences were abandoned, the road to Moscow lay opened to the invaders and what was worse, Timoshenko's best divisions had been put out of action

The successive defeats of the Soviet armies were costly; they appear to have left the Soviet with fewer well-trained and well-equipped divisions than the enemy; the loss of industrial potential (mines and factories) is said to have reached up to seventy per cent. of the national production; even the railways and roads which brought the Baku oil to the Soviet war machine and agriculture have been cut or are seriously threatened; the disaster is on an unparalleled scale.

This disaster should open the eyes of all to the formidable strength of Nazidom. What is more, Hitler could at present keep on the defensive in the East and push south-west towards the Nile-valley or through Spain into North-Africa or make a rush through Caucasia and Persia. Moreover, as Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons, it would be within Hitler's power "to undertake all the three hazardous enterprises on a great scale together at one time." Over and above, he could attempt the invasion of England. It is no pessimistic caprice to mention such possibilities; on the contrary; it would be highly dangerous to minimise the enemy's power; "wishful thinkage," as some call a certain mental malady, is more certainly fatal than a frank view of realities; our peril lies in a relaxation of war efforts or in the defeatist reaction when supposed victories prove a delusion. Mr. Churchill is a safer guide, even if more austere, than most war commentators and radio speakers.

Mr. Churchill's judgment can be trusted when he views the situation as grave; he should be equally trusted when he promises victory.

The leading facts on which his hopes and our hopes are resting cannot be repeated too often. June, 1940, was the blackest hour, the initial Nazi success had been staggering, France had collapsed, America was hesitating, the B. E. F. was out of count as a body. Yet, even then, the heads of the British army, navy and air forces assured the Premier that Britain stood a fair chance of emerging victorious; events have proved that their judgment was sound. Today the position is improved a good deal; America is decidedly siding with Britain; the army has been built up; the navy and air force are stronger than ever; the Empire is solidly behind Britain; the will to win is as resolute as on the eve of Trafalgar and Waterloo. Such are the unchallengeable reasons of our hope and trust.

Indian Repatriates from the Colonies

The Indian Colonial Review observes editorially :

I had occasion to visit sometime ago the Camp at Matiaburz, Calcutta, where repatriates from the various Colonies of Jamaica, Br.-Guiana, Trinidad, Fiji, South Africa, etc., are living in large numbers and perhaps their condition of living is a sealed book to many. Their long wail of woe is want of work, low wages, bad sanitation and their miserable existence. Although repatriation has been going on for several years since the indenture system began, the repatriates were small in numbers as most of those proceeding to the Colonies preferred to stay there and settle down as agriculturists. One of the conditions in the agreement with the labourers at the time of recruitment was that the labourer is entitled to a free return passage after a stay of ten years in the colony or a grant of land for settlement in lieu of the passage money. About 200 repatriates were interviewed by me. On enquiry it was found that most of them paid their own passages back to India, although they were entitled as per agreement to a free return passage in as much as they have stayed in the colonies for ten years and more. Thus most of them were deprived of this right and suffered heavy pecuniary loss.

The Government of India woud do well to enquire into this specific grievance of the repatriates and find out in how many cases the Colonial Governments have acted contrary to the terms of the agreement.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Tributes to Tagore

India Today, the monthly bulletin of India League of America, New York City, publishes the report of a memorial meeting for Rabindranath Tagore, from which the following excerpt is reproduced :

On August 26, India League of America held a memorial meeting for Rabindranath Tagore. In spite of the pouring rain, a large number turned up to pay homage to the memory of India's sage and poet.

The keynote of the speeches was the appreciation of Tagore's unique contribution to the literary renaissance in India and to the world literature of his noble cosmopolitan spirit that transcended all boundaries—racial, cultural and geographic. Speaker after speaker emphasized the fact that what sustained Tagore in his life work was the faith that man's spiritual nature will ultimately triumph over his material and create a world state free of hatred and greed. It was recalled that Tagore eloquently and fearlessly assailed the aggressors both in Europe and Asia and in his last message to President Roosevelt, Tagore pinned his hope in democratic America to rescue mankind from its present tragic debacle.

Said Mr. G. B. Lal, in part :

"Taking the clay of his country's life and traditional culture, Tagore created a new body of modern civilization. His motto was a Sanskrit formula consisting of three terms : Peace, Self-Discipline and Unity of Mankind. . . . Always his fight was for the general good; never for his own personal ends. Once an English friend asked him whether under any circumstances a nation should fight, go to war. Tagore clearly answered that War and Peace were inseparable. He likened them to the musician's fingers and the strings of the guitar; only by the interaction of the two music was possible. War without love was brutality; Peace by itself might be sheer weakness. The important thing was neither war nor peace—but Life. The quality of life must be kept pure and superb; and both love and death may have to be employed for that; but Tagore preferred love as the instrument of better life."

The League received a number of messages from all over the country. We give below excerpt from a few :—

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt :

". . . the great man to whom you are paying tribute is richly deserving of this recognition and appreciate opportunity to express admiration of his genius."

Lord Halifax :

"With the death of Rabindranath Tagore India has suffered a grievous loss and I share her sorrow to the full. His thought embraced the spiritual riches of the East, and the scientific wonders of the West. Dr. Tagore's death removes a mind of rare quality from the world at a time when it can ill afford the loss."

Pearl S. Buck :

"He was one of the greatest of Man and he has gone on his way. We shall miss Rabindranath Tagore not only because he belonged to the world and so to us all, but because in these dreadful times he was peculiarly needed. He was India at India's best. But he was above that a human being at humanity's best. I grieve that we shall see his face no more."

Dr. Hu Shih :

"In the death of Tagore India loses one of her greatest sons and China, one of her best friends. I greatly enjoyed the many meetings with him and his learned and artistic associates when they visited China fifteen years ago and lectured at various educational centers. Their visit was the first revival of the cultural relationship between India and China which had been interrupted for almost a thousand years. It is our task to continue and develop further this work begun by Tagore in once more bringing together the cultures of our two nations."

Hon. W. Bostrom :

"I wish to associate myself with the world-wide tribute to the Great Thinker and Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, whom my country honored by the Nobel Prize in 1913."

Van Wyck Brooks :

"I wish to pay my tribute to Rabindranath Tagore. We Americans may be led to understand him through much of our own Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau, and I think of Tagore as one of the world's great poets."

Immanuel Kant on Perpetual Peace

In these days while all intelligent men are anxious to find out a way to lasting peace it will be of interest to read what the great German philosopher Immanuel Kant wrote in his essay on "Perpetual Peace." F. C. Copleston writes in part in *The Month* :

First of all Kant thinks that perpetual peace will remain an unattainable ideal unless the civil constitution of each state is republican. Kant, like Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau (these thinkers differed of course in the way they explained and applied the idea), regarded the State as founded on a free contract on the part of the members—as a logical presupposition, that is to say, rather than as an actual historical event; and he considered that the republican form of constitution corresponds best to this free association of rational beings, and that its fundamental principles, of equality before the law, etc., lie at the basis of every good form of civil constitution. But apart from the relation between the republican form of constitution and the contract-theory, Kant thinks that a republican constitution is best calculated to attain the desired result of perpetual peace. His reason—and not a bad one—is, this. "If, as must be so under this constitution, the consent of the subjects is required to determine, whether

there shall be war or not, nothing is more natural than that they should weigh the matter well, before undertaking such a bad business. For in decreeing war, they would of necessity be resolving to bring down the miseries of war upon their country." He points out that they will then have to fight themselves, and will have to pay for the war : in addition they will have to make good the subsequent devastation and will be burdened with debt "which will embitter even peace itself, and which they can never pay off on account of the new wars which are always impending." They will think twice therefore before going to war, whereas the despot can decide on war for the most trifling reason "as if it were a kind of pleasure party. Any justification of it for the sake of decency he can leave without concern to the diplomatic corps who are always only too ready with their services."

What does Kant mean by Republicanism ? He says clearly, that "Republicanism is the political principle of severing the executive power of the Government from the legislature." It is the opposite of despotism. Now according to Kant "democracy, in the proper sense of the word, is of necessity despotism." He declares, that unless the form of Government is representative, it is no true constitution at all, but goes on to admit, that in the case of autocracy and aristocracy it is at least possible, "that they may take the form of a Government in accordance with the spirit of a representative system."

The "republican" form of Government will not of itself however ensure perpetual peace. There is something further needed, namely a Federation of free States. Kant recognizes that "a State of nations," *i.e.*, a world-republic, is an impracticable ideal and in the "Rechtslehre" he implies that perpetual peace is also an impracticable idea. But the political principles directed towards an approximate to that ideal are not impracticable : on the contrary, a Federation of free States is capable of practical realization, even if the World-State is not. We do not require a mere "treaty of peace," which simply puts an end to one war, but a "covenant of peace," which seeks to put an end to war for ever. If a powerful and enlightened people, says Kant, should form a republic, it might serve as a centre of Federal Union for other States, which wished to join, and "gradually, through different unions of this kind, the Federation would extend further and further." Thus Kant does not demand the formation of a World-Federation of States at one fell swoop; he contemplates a gradual approximation thereto.

An interesting feature of Kant's essay is an "Article," which treats of a problem that has been of importance in history and is doubtless still possessed of topical significance. It runs thus :

"The rights of men, as citizens of the world, shall be limited to the conditions of universal hospitality." A strange statement, it may seem, to elevate to the rank of being the "Third Definitive Article of Perpetual Peace." What does Kant understand by it ? In the first place Kant insists, that we all, as men, as "citizens of the world," have the right to be treated without hostility by the owner of a foreign territory, which we visit.

In the second place—and this is the interesting observation—though the stranger (and so the European in the territory of a primitive people) has the right to be treated without hostility, he has no further right than to make an attempt at intercourse with the inhabitants; he has no right to attempt the spoliation of the inhabitants for his private ends. This consideration leads Kant to condemn the conduct of the commercial States of

Europe in primitive lands. "The injustice which they exhibit on visiting foreign lands and races—this being equivalent in their eyes to conquest—is such as to fill us with horror." He instances America, the negro races, the Spice Islands, etc., which, on being discovered, were "looked upon as countries which belonged to nobody; for the native inhabitants were reckoned as nothing. In Hindustan, under the pretext of pretending to establish merely commercial depots, the Europeans introduced foreign troops;—Oppression of the natives followed, famine, insurrection, perfidy and all the rest of the litany of evils which can afflict mankind." "And this has been done," remarks Kant, "by nations who make a great ado about their piety, and who, while they are quite ready to commit injustice, would like, in their orthodoxy, to be considered among the elect."

Such is Kant's ideal, the attainment of perpetual peace among the nations by the realization of a "State of nations," or—if that is impracticable—through Federation of free States in mutual harmony and trust.

Co-operative Experiment in China

In spite of the protracted war the Chungking Government is engaged in various kinds of important educational and social experiments. The following paragraphs are reproduced from the *NoFrontier News Service* bulletin :

CHUNGKING.—An experiment which is of great importance in the development of

the East has been launched in China's northern Fukien province. Here an entire town is being built and run on co-operative principles. With peasants and artisans gathered from neighbouring districts to construct the town, plans are being carried out for the co-operative ownership and administration of all of the town's activities. The co-operatives now have their own school, nursery and clinic, and are developing fruit and *tung* trees and the culture of rice, wheat, beans and vegetables.

Since 1937, the number of credit and other rural co-operative societies has grown from 2,508 with 120,366 members to 4,687 with 242,544 members, and the organization of co-operatives still goes on.

The Russian Front

In spite of the preposterous claims, the Nazi propaganda machinery have failed to convince the world with striking results in the Russian Front. Undoubtedly the brave Russians have offered tough resistance in the face of which the Nazi Blitzkrieg have failed. The reason is not far to seek. Thus writes the *Jewish Frontier* :

It must be conceded that the resistance of the Soviet Russian army, which may now rightly be described as heroic, has come as a pleasant surprise to many. Those who were informed about the practices of the Soviet dictatorship and its method of grinding all kinds of criticism, disagreement and opposition into the dust, felt grave doubts on the score of the enthusiasm of the Russian people to fight for their regime. Would peasant boys whose families were "collectivized" by force remain completely devoted to their leaders? Would city workers, who for years were made to toe the Stalinist line under threat of exile or death, display self-sacrifice for their political commissars? Did not Russia's war against Finland prove its unreadiness to cope with a much stronger enemy?

One lesson stands out from the events of the past weeks. The Nazi menace can be met either by a regime that is built on parallel totalitarian lines and bends the people to its will by the use of all means, or by a genuinely democratic political regime under which faith in democracy and the justness of its cause stand firm. The events of the past two years force this conclusion upon us. No country wherein the steadfast faith in democracy has been undermined by various concealed and open forms of appeasement and the people have been divided by racial and group hatreds, can long resist the Nazi legions.

But this hope which Russia's resistance holds out for the final destruction of Hitlerism should not blind us to the immensity of the catastrophe that has now befallen the Russian regions already occupied, nor to the fact that other areas will very probably be subjected to it before the final collapse of the Nazi hordes. In his speech broadcast throughout the world Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared that the Nazis are literally destroying entire groups of civilian populations in regions of Russia they occupied. There are no grounds to doubt this statement.

Harrowing tales of atrocities in the occupied areas by the Nazi army comes filtering through the rigourously censored press :

In occupying a large part of the Ukraine, the Nazis have seized another part of eastern Europe containing a dense Jewish population and, as could have been expected, the Jews are again paying a disproportionate price in life. From Russian sources there have come reports of inhuman pogroms against Jews in the cities of the Ukraine.

The practices of armies in occupied towns is one of the beastliest manifestations of war. Bear in mind that the Nazis had to fight bloody battles before entering the Ukraine, their hatred of Jews and especially of "communist Jews" (and Jews living in Russia are to them, *ipso facto*, communist Jews) and it unfortunately begins to appear that the Russian reports of extensive and hair-raising Nazi pogroms are true. In these activities the Germans will probably find plenty of allies. The Nazis are appealing for sympathy and assistance to Ukrainian nationalists. Any Ukrainian thirty-five years old or over has clear memories of 1918 and 1919 when the lives and property of Jews were at his mercy. It is hardly likely that during the past twenty years all of them have sprouted humanitarian wings under the Soviet regime.

Within a brief quarter century Ukrainian Jewry is being subjected to merciless pogroms for the second time. The traces of the former experience had hardly been forgotten; homes, hospitals and asylums still contain the permanently scarred victims of those horrible days, and now again the deluge of blood is engulfing that unfortunate country.

Travelling Schools

The following paragraph reproduced from the *NoFrontier News Service* will serve as a pointer to those who are working for the spread of education among the masses :

Bogota.—To reach children living in remote regions of the country who are unable to attend regular schools, the Colombian Ministry of National Education is making use of "travelling schools." These schools are equipped with moving pictures and large libraries from which books are distributed along the route.



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